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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS OF ENGLAND.

VOL. II.—PART I.

CONTAINING

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

THE CHRONICLE OF FLORENCE OF WORCESTER,

WITH A CONTINUATION AND APPENDIX.

EDITED AND IN PART TRANSLATED
FROM THE ORIGINALS,

BY THE REV. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A.
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THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

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PREFACE TO THE SAXON CHRONICLE.

§ 1. This first portion of the second volume contains two historical documents of considerable value, the Saxon Chronicle and the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, with its Continuation and Appendices; upon each of which it is necessary for us to make a few observations.

§ 2. Inferior, perhaps, in general importance to the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Beda, yet possessing an interest which is in some respects superior to that document, is the Saxon Chronicle. Each of these two great authorities has its own distinct value. The former claims to itself a more remote antiquity; it exhibits a regular continuity of narrative, and a systematic attempt to present a connected history of the introduction of Christianity into England, and its progress up to the time at which its author wrote—none of which characteristics belong to the Saxon Chronicle. Its authorship, too, is an undisputed fact. We know when, where, and by whom it was written; and we can trace with remarkable precision the materials out of which Beda constructed his narrative. And it has been transmitted to us in a degree of completeness and purity which enables us to decide that we have it nearly as it was left by its venerable author.

§ 3. But with the Saxon Chronicle the case is widely different. We are left in some uncertainty as to almost every question connected with its date, its origin, its progress, and its component parts; and the consequence naturally is, that its value is hereby seriously affected. We very rarely can affirm that the statements which it makes are those of a contemporary; we can only say that such is probably the case. It has come down to us through various MSS., each of which is in some degree independent of the other; while all of them exhibit sufficient uniformity of structure and language to lead to the conviction that they must have proceeded from a common original. We have to regret that this prototype of the Saxon Chronicle has not reached us; for, could it be recovered, the results to be derived from its examination would be most important. In its absence, however, we must endeavour to satisfy ourselves by throwing together the few inferences which may be gleaned from an inquiry into the condition of the existing copies—citing them by the designations which they respectively bear in the notes and various readings to the present edition.

§ 4. *A.* In many respects this is one of the most important copies which has come down to our times. It is preserved in the

Library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, having formed a portion of the valuable collections of Archbishop Parker which he presented to that society. It is now numbered clxxiii. It is written upon vellum, in double columns, as far as A.D. 417, at folio 9; but after that date, in a single column. It extends from the time of Julius Cæsar to the year 1070. The original handwriting ends with the year 891; and from that point onwards the entries have been made from time to time by a variety of scribes, specimens of whose writing may be seen in plates xxiii. and xxiv. of Petrie and Hardy's Monumenta Historica. From the fact of the first portion of this copy exhibiting some philological peculiarities which indicate a modified Anglian dialect, we may assume that it had its origin in the kingdom of Mercia, although, at the same time, its earlier entries relate chiefly to incidents which have no exclusive connexion with that kingdom. An alteration in the range of its information takes place about A.D. 806, after which date it becomes much more general. Many passages have been inserted from a copy corresponding with MS. *E*, and in several places it agrees closely with that marked *G*. Its uniformity with *C* in some points is also worthy of notice.

§ 5. *B*. The Cottonian MS., Tiberius A. vi., in small folio. It suffered slightly in the disastrous fire of October, 1731. Apparently it represents a copy which was compiled in the year 977, to which period it extends from the incarnation of our Lord. It is written in one uniform hand, which may be referred to about the latter half of the tenth century, and of which a specimen is given in Petrie and Hardy's volume, plate xxii. It is faulty (or, perhaps, imperfect), by frequently omitting dates at the beginning of its narrative of the respective years to which they refer. As far as the year 918 it agrees very closely with MS. *G*, as represented by Whelock's edition; from that point to 934 there is a considerable variation between these two texts; but the similarity is again perceptible from 934 to 977, where *B* ends. It has many points of correspondence with MS. *C*, and these so minute as to argue either a common origin, or that one has been constructed upon, or at least influenced by, the other. It is interesting as embodying what appears to have been an independent Mercian Chronicle, having for its object a narrative of the exploits of the lady Aethelfled.

§ 6. *C*. This copy is likewise one of the Cottonian MSS., being distinguished by the press-mark, Tiberius B. i. Before it became the property of Sir Robert Cotton it belonged to Bowyer, the Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London. Like its predecessors, it is written upon vellum, in folio. It extends from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to A.D. 1066, the original scribe carrying it on from the beginning to 1047. Various hands have been employed upon it from that point to its conclusion. A fac simile of the writing may be seen in Petrie and Hardy, plate xxi. There is a marked degree of similarity between this copy and *B*, as far as the latter extends (that is, to A.D. 977), with this difference, however, that in the present copy the chronology is complete; after this date it coincides with *D*, *E*, and *F*, to the end of the year 1056, from

which point to 1065 it is blank. It ends with a narrative of the exploits of the Danish soldier at Stamford bridge, in 1066; but this portion has been added by a hand of the twelfth century.

§ 7. *D.* The Cottonian MS., Tiberius B. iv., a folio volume, written upon vellum, extending from the Incarnation of our Lord to the year 1079. The original hand carries the narrative on to 1016, after which several scribes have been occupied upon its continuation. A specimen of the writing of the earlier portion of this copy is given by Petrie and Hardy, in plate xx. of the work already cited. Sometimes (though neither so frequently nor so decidedly as *E*) it gives indications of a northern influence, touching upon the affairs of Northumbria or Mercia, respecting which *A*, *B*, and *C* are either silent or comparatively uninformed, and this chiefly about the middle of the tenth century. In one place the writer speaks of himself as an inhabitant of the earldom of earl Siward, which he calls "this north end," (A.D. 1052;) now we know that Siward obtained possession of the earldom of Northumbria, extending from the Humber to the Tweed.[1] Its compiler appears to have had before him two texts, of which the chronology did not exactly correspond; and in order to remove the difficulty thus occasioned, he has, in several instances, introduced the same entry under two different years. The continuation, after 1016, bears internal evidence of being, in some places, the work of a contemporary. Thus, in the year 1036, the annalist does not venture to speak openly of earl Godwine and his party, but contents himself with designating them as "those persons who have much power in the land." It is also worthy of notice that during this period the year commences with Easter, contrary to the usual mode of Anglo-Saxon reckoning; thereby strengthening the presumption that we have here the narrative of a contemporary writer.

§ 8. *E.* The Bodleian MS. 636 (formerly known as E. 80, and as such quoted by Ingram), written upon vellum, in quarto, extends from the Incarnation of our Lord to 1154. As far as A.D. 476 it is written in double columns, afterwards in single. It appears to have been transcribed as far as 1122 by a contemporary scribe, from which date to the end various hands are perceptible. The latter portion is much defaced, and at least one leaf, possibly more, is lost at the end. Between the years 891 and 975 its information is very scanty; several years being blank. Its connexion with copies resembling *A*, *C*, *D*, and *F* can be traced. It frequently agrees with *D* in cases where these two texts deviate from *F*. It exhibits proofs of a Northumbrian origin, speaking of "our royal families," (A.D. 449,) as distinguished from "those of the South-humbrians;" inserting passages which relate to the history of that kingdom and the pedigree of its sovereigns, and omitting events which have reference to Mercia and Wessex, although introduced into other copies. It is open to inquiry, however, how far these passages are to be accepted as of primary authority.

[1] Simeon Dunelm. ap. Petrie and Hardy, p. 687. Dugd. Baron. i. 4.

§ 15. iii. Let us see if the hint thus furnished us by Gaimar can be made to coincide with the internal evidence supplied by the Saxon Chronicle itself.

It is by no means improbable that Alfred, a prince earnestly devoted to literature, should write, or cause to be written, a chronicle narrating the leading events of the history of his own country. That he should do this in the Saxon language, if he did it at all, is no less probable, when we remember that for the sake of extending our national literature he translated some of the writings of Gregory, Beda, Orosius, and Boethius into his mother tongue. The structure of the existing copies of the Chronicle favours the presumption thus raised. From the commencement of that document until the year 851, it exhibits all the appearances of a compilation; but from that period to 891 it assumes a more regular form, the narrative is more detailed, and it has every mark of a contemporaneous history. Again, from the year 891 onwards, the character of the document changes for the worse; its entries are less frequent and its information less valuable. These extreme dates of 851 and 891 limit, with tolerable accuracy, the period of Alfred's life.

§ 16. These considerations lead to the probable conclusion that the Saxon Chronicle—in its conception, if not in its execution—originated with king Alfred. We may further conjecture that, about the year 891, he sent a copy of it to each of the cathedral churches, or larger monasteries; a supposition which will not be considered extravagant, when we remember that he assuredly did so in the case of his translation of the Pastorale of Pope Gregory, the copies of which, transmitted by him to Canterbury, Worcester, and Sherborne, are yet extant. In these several monasteries, in which Alfred placed copies of our annals, we conjecture that the narrative was continued; and that the existing copies are framed from various combinations of these several manuscripts. The Editor is not aware that any more probable solution of the question as to the origin of the Saxon Chronicle has been offered; and he believes that this meets all the requirements of the case, leaving no essential feature in the inquiry without a probable solution.

§ 17. Four editions of the Saxon Chronicle have been published.

The first is due to Abraham Whelock, the professor of Arabic and Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge. It forms a portion of the supplemental matter appended to his edition of Beda, which appeared in folio at Cambridge in 1644. This edition is not without its value, even at the present time, since it is based upon the destroyed Cottonian MS., Otho B. xi. (see § 11), which we have reason to believe it represents, with a commendable degree of accuracy. Whelock also used our MS. *A*, of the value of which he does not appear to have been fully sensible.

§ 18. In 1692, Edmund Gibson, afterwards bishop of London, gave an improved edition of the Chronicle, having corrected Whelock's text by the aid of three important manuscripts, none of which had been employed by that editor. These are the copies *B*, *E*, and *F* of our list.

§ 19. Gibson's edition, in its turn, was superseded by that published in 1823, by the late Dr. Ingram, at that time President of Trinity College, Oxford. Ingram used all the existing manuscripts. This edition (though now valueless as far as the year 1066) still maintains its place in public estimation, since, from the date of the Norman Conquest to the year 1154, at which the Chronicle ends, we have no more satisfactory text than that which is here afforded.

§ 20. In 1848 appeared the first volume of the "Materials for the History of Britain," prepared by the late Mr. Petrie, and edited by Mr. Hardy. In accordance with Mr. Petrie's plan, this volume contains the Saxon Chronicle no further than the Norman Conquest. The text is entirely reconstructed, being based upon the earliest existing MS., that, namely, which we have designated as *A*, interwoven with which, however, are the additions furnished by the other copies. From the year 891, at which the text of MS. *A* ends, the narrative is framed from a comparison of all the surviving transcripts. It is accompanied by an English translation, which adheres, as closely as our modern language will admit, to the structure and idiom of the original.

§ 21. With the exception of a few unimportant corrections, the English version of the earlier portion of the Saxon Chronicle which is contained in this present volume, is a reprint of that which was published in 1848 by Mr. Petrie. The proprietors of the present series of English Historians are indebted to the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury for permission to avail themselves of the result of Mr. Petrie's labours, as far as this document is concerned. It will be remembered, however, [§ 20,] that this translation extends no further than the year 1066. From that date, to the end of the work in 1154, a new translation has been prepared, and for this the Editor is responsible. It will be found to differ, in many instances, from the version furnished by Dr. Ingram. The text, moreover, has occasionally been corrected by a collation with the Laud MS. *E*. [§ 8.]

The Editor cannot conclude his observations upon the Saxon Chronicle without expressing his regret that we are still unprovided with a satisfactory critical edition of the whole of these Annals, forming, as they assuredly do, one of the most interesting and valuable remnants of our early national literature.

Leighton Buzzard,
17*th November*, 1853.

THE

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

[The island[1] of Britain is eight hundred miles long and two hundred miles broad: and here in this island are five tongues; English, British, Scottish, Pictish, and Latin. The first inhabitants of this land were Britons; they came from Armenia,[2] and first settled in the south of Britain. Then befel it that Picts came from the south from Scythia, with long ships, not many, and first landed in North Hibernia, and there entreated the Scots that they might there abide. But they would not permit them, for they said that they could not all abide there together. And then the Scots said, "We may nevertheless give you counsel. We know another island eastward of this, where ye may dwell if ye will, and if any one withstand you, we will assist you, so that you may subdue it." Then went the Picts and subdued this land northwards; the southern part the Britons had, as we before have said.[3] And the Picts obtained wives for themselves of the Scots, on this condition, that they should always choose their royal lineage on the woman's side; which they have held ever since. And then befel it in the course of years that some part of the Scots departed from Hibernia into Britain, and conquered some portion of the land. And their leader was called Reoda; from whom they are named Dalreodi.[4]]

Before the incarnation of Christ sixty years, Gaius Julius the emperor, first of the Romans, sought the land of Britain; and he crushed the Britons in battle, and overcame them: and nevertheless he was unable to gain any empire there.

[5]Sixty years before Christ was born, Gaius Julius, emperor of the Romans, with eighty ships, sought Britain. There he was at first dis-

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[1] This description of Britain, which is found only in MSS. D. E. F., is taken from Beda's Eccl. Hist.—*P.*

[2] Armorica is meant: "De tractu Armoricano," Hist. Eccl. § 7.

[3] These words are those of Beda, from whose History this introduction is taken; and a slight but unmistakeable peculiarity in the diction enables us to decide that they are copied from Alfred's version of that history. See Smith's edition, 474. 19.

[4] The MSS. D. E. F. proceed with the paragraph beginning with the word "Sixty."

[5] MSS. D. E. F. in continuation of the introduction.

tressed by a fierce battle, and a large portion of his army was dispersed. And then he left his army to abide among the Scots,[1] and went south into Gaul, and there collected six hundred ships, with which he came again into Britain. And as they first rushed together, the emperor's 'gerefa was slain: he was called Labienus. Then the Welsh took large and sharp stakes and drove them into the fording-place of a certain river, under water; this river was called Thames. When the Romans discovered this, then would they not go over the ford. Then fled the Britons to the wood-wastes, and the emperor conquered very many of their chief cities after a great struggle, and departed again into Gaul.

A.D. 1. Octavianus reigned fifty-six years; and in the forty-second year of his reign Christ was born.

A.D. 2. The three astrologers came from the eastern parts in order that they might worship Christ. And the children were slain at Bethlehem, in persecution of Christ by Herod.

A.D. 3. This year died Herod, having stabbed himself, and Archelaus his son succeeded to the government. [2]And the child Christ was brought back again from Egypt.

A.D. 4, 5.

A.D. 6. From the beginning of the world to this year, five thousand and two hundred years were gone by.

A.D. 7—10.

A.D. 11. [3]This year Herod the son of Antipater obtained the government of Judea.

A.D. 12. [4]Philip and Herod divided Lysia (between them), and Judea they divided into tetrarchies.

A.D. 12. [5]This year Judea was divided into four tetrarchies.

A.D. 13—15.

A.D. [6]16. This year Tiberius succeeded to the empire.

A.D. 17—25.

A.D. 26. [7]This year Pilate began to rule over the Jews.

A.D. 27—29.

A.D. [8]30. This year Christ was baptized; and he converted Peter and Andrew, and James and John and Philip, and the twelve apostles.

A.D. 31, 32.

A.D. 33. This year Christ was crucified; being from the beginning of the world about five thousand two hundred and twenty-six years.

A.D. 34. This year St. Paul was converted, and St. Stephen stoned.

A.D. 35. This year the blessed apostle Peter established a bishop's see in the city of Antioch.

A.D. 36, 37.

[1] Some MSS. of Beda for "hiberna" read "Hibernia," whence, Hibernia being the proper country of the Scots, the Roman forces are sent thither by the compilers.—*P.*

[2] In F. only.

[3] This is an insertion in A.

[4] The text is here corrupted; see Beda, Six Ages, i. 627, from which this is erroneously copied.

[5] In F. only. [6] A.D. 15, B. C. [7] B. C. [8] A.D. 29, C.

A.D. 38. [1]This year Pilate slew himself with his own hand.

A.D. 39. This year Caius obtained the empire.

A.D. 40. [2]Matthew, in Judea, began to write his gospel.

A.D. 41—44.

A.D. 45. [3]This year the blessed apostle Peter established a bishop's see in Rome. [4]This year James, the brother of John, was slain by Herod.

A.D. 46. This year Herod died; he who slew James, one year before his own death.

A.D. 46. [5]This year the emperor Claudius came to Britain, and subdued a large part of the island; and he also added the island of Orkney to the dominion of the Romans.

A.D. 47. [6]This year Claudius, second of the Roman kings, sought the land of Britain, and brought under his power the greatest part of the island, and also subjected the Orkney Islands to the dominion of the Romans. [7]This war he effected in the fourth year of his reign: and in the same year was the great famine in Syria, which was foretold in the Acts of the Apostles through Agabus the prophet. Then Nero succeeded to the empire after Claudius: he nearly lost the island of Britain through his cowardice. [8]Mark the Evangelist begins to write the gospel in Egypt.

A.D. 47. [9]This was in the fourth year of his reign, and in this same year was the great famine in Syria which Luke speaks of in the book called "Actus Apostolorum."

A.D. 47. [10]This year Claudius, king of the Romans, went with an army into Britain, and subdued the island, and subjected all the Picts and Welsh to the rule of the Romans.

A.D. 48. [11]In this year there was a very severe famine.

A.D. 49. [12]This year Nero began to reign.

A.D. 50. [13]This year Paul was sent in bonds to Rome.

A.D. 51—61.

A.D. 62. This year James, the brother of our Lord, suffered martyrdom.

A.D. 63. This year Mark the Evangelist died.

A.D. 64—68.

A.D. [14]69. This year Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom.

A.D. 69. [15]This year Peter suffered on the cross, and Paul was slain.

A.D. 70. This year Vespasian obtained the empire.

A.D. 71. This year Titus, the son of Vespasian, slew one hundred and eleven thousand Jews in Jerusalem.

A.D. 72—80.

A.D. 81. This year Titus succeeded to the empire, after Vespasian; he who said that he had lost the day on which he had done no good.

[1] From F.
[2] From F.
[3] A.D. 44, B. C. F. G., and so originally A.
[4] The concluding sentence is from F.
[5] F. in a different hand.
[6] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. I. iii. § 10. B. C. G. ascribe this to A.D. 45.
[7] D. E.
[8] F.
[9] From A., inserted A.D. 47, note [7].
[10] D. E.
[11] F.
[12] F.
[13] F.
[14] A.D. 68, G.
[15] F.

A.D. 82, 83.

A.D. 84. This year Domitian, the brother of Titus, succeeded to the empire.

A.D. 84. [1]This year John the Apostle wrote the book which is called Apocalypse.

A.D. 85, 86.

A.D. [2]87. This year John the Evangelist wrote the book of the Apocalypse in the island of Patmos.

A.D. 88—99.

A.D. [3]100. This year Simon the apostle, the kinsman of Christ, was crucified, and John the Evangelist rested [in death] on that day at Ephesus.

A.D. [4]101. This year pope Clement died.

A.D. 102—109.

A.D. [5]110. This year Ignatius the bishop suffered martyrdom.

A.D. 111—115.

A.D. 116. [6]This year Adrian the emperor began to reign.

A.D. 117—136.

A.D. 137. [7]This year Antoninus began to reign.

A.D. 138—144.

A.D. [8]145. This year Marcus Antoninus[9] and Aurelius his brother succeeded to the empire.

A.D. 146—166.

A.D. [10]167. This year Eleutherius[11] obtained the bishopric of Rome, and held it in great glory for twelve years.[12] To him Lucius, king of Britain, sent letters praying that he might be made a Christian: and he fulfilled what he requested. [13]And they afterwards continued in the right faith till the reign of Diocletian.

A.D. 167. [14]This year Eleutherius succeeded to the popedom, and held it fifteen years; and in the same year Lucius, king of the Britons, sent and begged baptism. And he soon sent it him; and they continued in the true faith until the time of Diocletian.

A.D. 168—187.

A.D. [15]188. This year Severus succeeded to the empire, and went with an army into Britain, and subdued a great part of the island by battle; and then, for the protection of the Britons, he built a rampart of turf, and a broad wall thereon, from sea to sea. He reigned seventeen years, and then ended his days at York. His son Bassianus succeeded to the empire: another son of his was called Geta; he died.[16]

A.D. 188. [17]This year Severus built a rampart of turf in Britain, after he had won the land in battle, and a broad wall thereon, from sea to sea; and he reigned seventeen years, and then ended his days at York.

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[1] F. [2] A.D. 84, G., and originally A. 85 B. C.
[3] A.D. 90, G. This year is an insertion in B. C. D. E. F. G.
[4] A.D. 92, G. From B. C. D. E. F. G. and inserted in A.
A.D. 109, B. C. [6] F. [7] F.
[8] A.D. 155, D. In D. E., and inserted in A.
[9] Antonius, A. erroneously. [10] A.D. 189, G.
[11] The dates of the accession and death of Eleutherius are uncertain. The latest authority, Jaffé, (Regest. Rom. Pont. 4, Berl. 1851,) fixes his pontificate as extending from 177 to 190, p. 4. See Beda, Eccl. Hist. I. iv.
[12] B. C. D. E. G. assign him a pontificate of fifteen years.
[13] D. E. and inserted in A. [14] F. [15] D. A.D. 189, E.
[16] Here is an hiatus in D. to A.D. 963. [17] F.

A.D. 189. Here Severus[1] obtained the empire, and reigned seven years. He begirt Britain with a ditch from sea to sea, [2]and then ended his days at York; and Bassianus his son succeeded to the empire.

A.D. 190—198.

A.D. 199. [3]In this year the holy rood was found.

A.D. 200. Two hundred years.

A.D. 201—285.

A.D. 286. [4]This year St. Alban the martyr suffered.

A.D. 287—299.

A.D. 300. Three hundred years.

A.D. 301—342.

A.D. 343. [5]This year St. Nicolas died.

A.D. 344—378.

A.D. 379. [6]This year Gratian succeeded to the empire.

A.D. 380.

A.D. 381. This year Maximus the emperor obtained the empire; he was born in the land of Britain, and went thence into Gaul. [7]And he there slew the emperor Gratian, and drove his brother, who was called Valentinian, out of the country. And Valentinian afterwards gathered an army and slew Maximus, and obtained the empire. [8]In these days the heresy of Pelagius arose throughout the world.

A.D. 382—408.

A.D. [9]409. This year the Goths took the city of Rome by storm, and after this the Romans never ruled in Britain; [10]and this was about eleven hundred and ten years after it had been built. [11]Altogether they ruled in Britain four hundred and seventy years since Caius Julius first sought the land.

A.D. 409. [12]This year the city of Rome was taken by storm by the Goths, about eleven hundred and ten years after it had been built. After this the Roman kings ruled no longer in Britain.

A.D. 410—417.

A.D. 418. [13]This year the Romans collected all the treasures that were in Britain, and some they hid in the earth, so that no one has since been able to find them; and some they carried with them into Gaul.

A.D. 419—422.

A.D. 423. [14]This year Theodosius the younger succeeded to the empire.

A.D. 424—429.

A.D. 430. [15]This year Palladius the bishop was sent to the Scots by pope Celestinus, that he might confirm their faith.

A.D. 430. [16]This year Patrick was sent by pope Celestine to preach baptism to the Scots.

A.D. 431—442.

[1] See Beda, I. v. [2] Inserted in A. [3] F.
[4] See Beda's Six Ages, p. 635. From E. F. and inserted in A. under A.D. 283.
[5] E. F. [6] See Beda I. ix. B. and inserted in A.
[7] E. F. and inserted in A. [8] From A. See Beda, I. x.
[9] A.D. 435, G. [10] Inserted in A. [11] E. F. and inserted in A.
[12] E.F. [13] Beda, I. xi. [14] E. F. and inserted in A.
[15] See Beda's Six Ages. [16] E. F.

A.D. 443. [1]This year the Britons sent over sea to Rome,[2] and begged of them for help against the Picts; but they had none, because they were themselves warring against Attila, king of the Huns. And then they sent to the Angles,[3] and entreated the like of the ethelings of the Angles.

A.D. 444. [4]This year St. Martin died.

A.D. 445—448.

A.D. 448. [5]This year John the Baptist revealed his head to two monks, who came from the east to offer up their prayers at Jerusalem, on the spot which was formerly Herod's residence. At the same time Martianus and Valentinianus reigned; and in that time the Angles came to this country, invited by king Wyrtgeorne to assist him in overcoming his foes. They came to this country with three long ships, and their leaders were Hengest and Horsa. First of all they slew and expelled the king's enemies, and afterwards they turned against the king and against the Britons, and destroyed them by fire and the edge of the sword.

A.D. 449. [6]This year Martianus and Valentinus[7] succeeded to the empire, and reigned seven years. And in their days Hengest and Horsa, invited by Wyrtgeorne, king of the Britons, landed in Britain on the shore which is called Ypwinesfleet; at first in aid of the Britons, but afterwards they fought against them. [8]King Wyrtgeorn gave them land in the south-east of this country, on condition that they should fight against the Picts. Then they fought against the Picts, and had the victory wheresoever they came. They then sent to Anglen; desired a larger force to be sent, and caused them to be told the worthlessness of the Britons, and the excellencies of the land. Then they soon sent thither a larger force in aid of the others. [9]At that time there came men from three tribes in Germany; from the Old-Saxons, from the Angles, from the Jutes. From the Jutes came the inhabitants of Kent, and of Wight; that is, the race which now dwells in Wight, and that race among the West-Saxons which is still called the race of Jutes. From the Old-Saxons came the men of Essex, and Sussex, and Wessex. From Anglen (which has ever since remained waste betwixt the Jutes and Saxons) came the men of East Anglia, Middle Anglia, Mercia, and all North-humbria. Their leaders were two brothers, Hengest and Horsa: they were the sons of Wihtgils; Wihtgils son of Witta, Witta of Wecta, Wecta of Woden: from this Woden sprang all our[10] royal families, and those of the South-humbrians also.

A.D. 449. [11]And in their days Wyrtgeorn invited the Angles thither, and they came to Britain in three ceols, at the place called Heopwins-fleet.

A.D. 450—454.

[1] E. and inserted in A.
[2] Beda I. xiii.
[3] Beda, I. xiv.
[4] From F.
[5] From F. See Beda, i. 641.
[6] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. I. xv.
[7] An error for "Valentinianus."
[8] The passage ending with the word "North-humbria" is derived from E. and inserted in A.
[9] On the origin of these three tribes of invaders the remarks of Dr. Latham in his book on "The English Language" are entitled to attention, more especially his criticism upon the Jutish portion of the immigrants, p. 10, seq.
[10] Here we have an indication of a Northumbrian writer.
[11] From E., which continues the passage as at note [9] above.

A.D. 455. This year Hengest and Horsa fought against king Wyrtgeorn at the place which is called Aegels-threp [Aylesford],[1] and his brother Horsa was there slain, and after that Hengest obtained the kingdom, and Aesc his son.

A.D. 456. [2]This year Hengest and Aesc slew four troops of Britons with the edge of the sword, in the place which is called Creccanford [Crayford].

A.D. [3]457. This year Hengest and Aesc, his son, fought against the Britons at the place which is colled Crecganford [Crayford], and there slew four thousand men; and the Britons then forsook Kent, and in great terror fled to London.

A.D. 458—464.

A.D. [4]465. This year Hengest and Aesc fought against the Welsh near Wippedsfleet [Ebbesfleet?], and there slew twelve Welsh "ealdormen," and one of their own thanes was slain there, whose name was Wipped.

A.D. 466—472.

A.D. 473. This year Hengest and Aesc fought against the Welsh, and took spoils innumerable; and the Welsh fled from the Angles like fire.

A.D. 474—476.

A.D. 477. This year Aella, and his three sons, Cymen, and Wlencing, and Cissa, came to the land of Britain with three ships, at a place which is named Cymenes-ora,[5] and there slew many Welsh, and some they drove in flight into the wood that is named Andreds-lea.

A.D. 478—481.

A.D. 482. [6]This year the blessed abbat Benedict, by the glory of his miracles, shone in this world, as the blessed Gregory relates in his book of Dialogues.

A.D. 483, 484.

A.D. 485. This year Aella fought against the Welsh near the bank of Mearcraedsburn.

A.D. 486, 487.

A.D. 488. This year Aesc succeeded to the kingdom, and was king of the Kentish-men twenty-four years.[7]

A.D. 489, 490.

A.D. [8]491. This year Aella and Cissa besieged Andredscester, and slew all that dwelt therein, so that not a single Briton was there left.

A.D. 492—494.

A.D. 495. This year two "ealdormen" came to Britain, Cerdic

[1] The positions usually assigned to various places mentioned n the earlier portion of the Chronicle, are often very uncertain, depending chiefly on a supposed or real similarity of names. Where these, however, appear sufficiently probable, they are placed between brackets, if otherwise, a quære is added.—*P.*

[2] From F. [3] A.D. 456, B. C. E. [4] A.D. 461, B. C.

[5] Petrie here remarks that the place of his landing seems to have been near West-Wittering; and that the forest of Andred occupied the present Weald of Kent and Sussex. For its extent see A.D. 893.

[6] From F.

[7] One copy, E., assigns him a reign of thirty-four years.

[8] A.D. 490 G.

and Cynric, his son, with five ships, at the place which is called Cerdics-ore, and the same day they fought against the Welsh.[1]

A.D. 496—500.

A.D. 501. This year Port, and his two sons Bieda and Mægla, came to Britain with two ships, at a place which is called Portsmouth, [2]and they soon effected a landing, and they there slew a young British man of high nobility.

A.D. 502—507.

A.D. 508. This year Cerdic and Cynric slew a British king, whose name was Natan-leod, and five thousand men with him. After him the country was named Natan-lea, as far as Cerdicsford [Charford].

A.D. 509. [3]This year St. Benedict the abbat, father of all monks, went to heaven.

A.D. 510—513.

A.D. 514. This year the West-Saxons came to Britain with three ships, at the place which is called Cerdic's-ore, and Stuf and Whitgar fought against the Britons, and put them to flight.

A.D. 515—518.

A.D. 519. This year Cerdic and Cynric obtained the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and the same year they fought against the Britons where it is now named Cerdicsford. [4]And from that time forth the royal offspring of the West-Saxons reigned.

A.D. 520—526.

A.D. 527. This year Cerdic and Cynric fought against the Britons at the place which is called Cerdic's-lea.

A.D. 528, 529.

A.D. 530. This year Cerdic and Cynric conquered the island of Wight, and slew many men at Wiht-garas-byrg [Carisbrooke, in Wight].

A.D. 531—533.

A.D. 534. This year Cerdic, the first king of the West-Saxons, died, and Cynric his son succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned from that time twenty-six[5] years; and they gave the whole island of Wight to their two nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar.

A.D. 535—537.

A.D. 538. [6]This year, fourteen days before the kalends of March [15th Feb.], the sun was eclipsed from early morning till nine in the forenoon.

A.D. 539.

A.D. 540. [7]This year the sun was eclipsed on the twelfth of the kalends of July [20th June], and the stars showed themselves full-nigh half an hour after nine in the forenoon.

A.D. 541—543.

A.D. 544. This year Wihtgar died, and they buried him in Wiht-gara-byrg [Carisbrooke].

[1] The genealogy of the West-Saxon kings, which Gibson here inserted in his edition of the Chronicle, will be given in its proper place.

[2] The remainder of this year is from E.

[3] From F. The true date of Benedict's death is A.D. 543.

[4] To the end of the year inserted in A. from E.

[5] B. C. F. xxvii. [6] See Beda's epitome. [7] See Beda's epitome.

A.D. 545, 546.

A.D. 547. [1]This year Ida began to reign, from whom arose the royal race of North-humbria; [2]and he reigned twelve years, and built Bambrough, which was at first enclosed by a hedge, and afterwards by a wall. [3]Ida was the son of Eoppa, Eoppa of Esa, Esa of Ingwi, Ingwi of Angenwit, Angenwit of Aloc, Aloc of Benoc, Benoc of Brand, Brand of Baldaeg, Baldaeg of Woden, Woden of Freotholaf, Freotholaf of Freothowulf, Freothowulf of Finn, Finn of Godulf, Godulf of Geat.

A.D. 548—551.

A.D. 552. This year Cynric fought against the Britons at the place which is called Searo-byrig [Old Sarum], and he put the Bretwalas to flight. Cerdic[4] was Cynric's father; Cerdic was the son of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawin, Freawin of Frithogar, Frithogar of Brand, Brand of Baeldaeg, Baeldaeg of Woden. [5]And Egelberht, the son of Eormenric, was born; and in the . . . tieth[6] year of his reign he received baptism, the first of the kings in Britain.

A.D. 553—555.

A.D. 556. [7]This year Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons at Beran-Byrig. [Banbury?]

A.D. 557—559.

A.D. 560. This year Ceawlin succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and Ida being dead, Aelle succeeded to the kingdom of North-humbria, [8]each of whom reigned thirty years. [9]Aella was the son of Yffa, Yffa of Uxfrea, Uxfrea of Wilgils, Wilgils of Westerfalcna, Westerfalcna of Saefugl, Saefugl of Saebald, Saebald of Sigegeat, Sigegeat of Swabdaeg, Swabdaeg of Sigegar, Sigegar of Waegdaeg, Waegdaeg of Woden, Woden of Frithowulf.

A.D. 561—564.

A.D. 565. [10]This year Aethelbriht[11] succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and held it fifty-three years. In his days the holy pope Gregory sent us baptism, that was in the two-and-thirtieth[12] year of his reign; and Columba, a mass-priest, came to the Picts, and converted them to the faith of Christ: they are dwellers by the northern mountains. And their king gave him the island which is called Ii [Iona]: therein are five hides of land, as men say. There Columba built a monastery; and he was abbat there thirty-two years; and there he died when he was seventy-seven years old. His successors still have the place. The

[1] See Beda's epitome.
[2] The remainder of the year is inserted in A. from E. F.
[3] B. C. G. to the end of the year.
[4] The following pedigree is not in E.
[5] From F.
[6] Imperfect in the MS.
[7] Not in F.
[8] The duration of these reigns is from E. F., and is inserted in A.
[9] The following pedigree is from B. C. and G., excepting the name of Frithowulf, which occurs only in G.
[10] E. F., and inserted in A.
[11] All the MSS. now remaining place Ethelbert's accession in 565, Whelock in 560, which seems right, though apparently without MS. authority, for Beda (II. v.) says he died 23d Feb. 616, after a reign of fifty-six years, and MS. E. under the year 616, (seemingly from Beda,) also assigns him a reign of fifty-six years. The thirty-second year of his reign, noticed in MS. F. (see note [12]) would of course be reckoned from 565. See Beda, III. iv.—*P.*
[12] This date is from F.

Southern Picts had been baptized long before: bishop Ninia, who had been instructed at Rome, had preached baptism to them, whose church and his monastery is at Witherne, hallowed in the name of St. Martin: there he resteth, with many holy men. Now in Ii there must ever be an abbat, and not a bishop; and all the Scottish bishops ought to be subject to him, because Columba was an abbat and not a bishop.

A.D. 565. [1]This year Columba the presbyter came from the Scots among the Britons, to instruct the Picts, and he built a monastery in the island of Hii.

A.D. 566, 567.

A.D. 568. This year Ceawlin, and Cutha, Ceawlin's brother, fought against Aethelbirht, and drove him into Kent, and they killed two "ealdormen" at Wibban-dune [Wimbledon], Oslaf and Cnebba.

A.D. 569, 570.

A.D. 571. This year Cuthwulf fought against the Bretwalas at Bedcanford [Bedford], and took four towns, Lygean-byrg [Leighton?] and Aegeles-birg [Aylesbury], and Baenesington [Benson], and Egonesham [Eynsham]; and the same year he died. [2]Cutha was Ceawlin's brother.

A.D. 572—576.

A.D. 577. This year Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons, and they slew three kings, Comail, and Condidan, and Farinmail, at the place which is called Deorham [Derham?], and took three cities from them, Gloucester, and Cirencester, and Bath-ceaster.

A.D. 578—582.

A.D. 583. [3]This year Mauricius succeeded to the empire of the Romans.

A.D. 584. This year Ceawlin and Cutha fought against the Britons at the place which is called Fethan-lea, [Frethern?] and there was Cutha slain; and Ceawlin took many towns, and spoils innumerable; and wrathful he thence returned to his own.

A.D. 585—587.

A.D. 588. This year king Aelle died, and Ethelric reigned after him five years.

A.D. 589.

A.D. [4]590. At this period Ceol[5] reigned five years.

A.D. [6]591. This year in Britain was a great slaughter in battle at Woddesbeorg [Wemborow?], and Ceawlin was expelled.

A.D. 592. [7]This year Gregory succeeded to the popedom in Rome.

A.D. 593. This year Ceawlin, and Cuichelm, and Crida[8] perished; and Aethelfrith succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians; [9]he was the son of Aethelric, Aethelric of Ida.

[1] From B. C. and G.
[2] From E. We should apparently read "Cuthwulf;" but both he and Cutha were the brothers of Ceawlin.—*P.*
[3] E. F. and inserted in A. From Beda, I. xxiii. [4] A.D. 591, B. C. E.
[5] So B. C. G. Ceol [ric], by interpolation, A. Ceolric, E. He was king of Wessex.
[6] A.D. 592, B. C. E. [7] E. and inserted A.D. 591, in A. [8] King of Mercia.
[9] To the end of the year from E.

A.D. 594, 595.

A.D. 596. [1]This year pope Gregory sent Augustine to Britain, with a great many monks, who preached the word of God to the nation of the Angles.

A.D. 597. This year Ceolwulf began to reign over the West-Saxons; and he fought and contended incessantly against either the Angles, or the Welsh, or the Picts, or the Scots. [2]He was the son of Cutha, Cutha of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic, Cerdic of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawine, Freawine of Frithugar, Frithugar of Brond, Brond of Baeldaeg, Baeldaeg of Woden. [3]This year Augustine and his companions came to the land of the Angles.

A.D. 598—600.

A.D. 601. This year pope Gregory sent a pall to archbishop Augustine in Britain, and also a great many religious teachers to assist him, and amongst them was Paulinus the bishop, who afterwards converted Eadwin, king of the North-humbrians, to baptism.

A.D. 602.

A.D. 603. This year there was a battle at Egesanstane.[4]

A.D. 603. [5]This year Aegthan, king of the Scots, fought against the Dalreods[6] and against Aethelferth, king of the North-humbrians, at Daegsanstane [Dawston ?], and they slew almost all his army. [7]There Theodbald, Aethelferth's brother, was slain with all his band. Since then no king of the Scots has dared to lead an army against this nation. Hering, the son of Hussa,[8] led the army thither.

A.D. 604. [9]This year the East-Saxons received the faith and baptism under king Saebriht and bishop Mellitus.

A.D. 604. [10]This year Augustine consecrated two bishops, Mellitus and Justus. He sent Mellitus to preach baptism to the East-Saxons, whose king was called Saeberht, son of Ricole, the sister of Aethelberht, and whom Aethelberht had there appointed king. And Aethelberht gave Mellitus a bishop's see in London, and to Justus he gave Rochester, [11]which is twenty-four miles from Canterbury.

A.D. 605.

A.D. [12]606. This year pope Gregory died, about [13] ten years after he had sent us baptism; [14]his father was called Gordian, and his mother Silvia.

A.D. 607. [15]This year Ceolwulf fought against the South-Saxons. [16]And this year Aethelfrith led his army to Legaceastre [Chester],

[1] B. C. E. F. G., and inserted in A. See Beda I. xxiii.
[2] This pedigree is not in E. [3] F.
[4] Read "Degsastan" on the authority of Beda, Eccl. Hist. I. xxxiv. This passage is in B. C. G., and originally was in A.
[5] E. and inserted in A.
[6] There is some confusion here; the Dalreods were Aedan's subjects.
[7] E.
[8] See the chronology appended to More's copy of Beda's Eccl. Hist. for this Hussa. [9] See Beda, II. iii. From B. C. G. and originally A.
[10] E. F., and inserted in A. [11] Not in F.
[12] A.D. 605, E. F. See Beda II. i. [13] The word "about" is not in F.
[14] B. C. G. [15] This clause does not occur in F.
[16] E. A.D. 605, and inserted in A. under this year, but on what authority a date is assigned to this event is uncertain. According to the Cambrian Annals and Tigernach it occurred in 613.

and there slew numberless Welshmen: and so was fulfilled the prophecy of Augustine, wherein he saith, "If the Welsh will not be at peace with us, they shall perish at the hands of the Saxons." There also were slain two hundred priests, who came to pray for the army of the Welsh: their "ealdor" was called Scromail [Brocmail], who with about fifty escaped thence.

A.D. 608—610.

A.D. 611. This year Cynegils succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it thirty-one years. [1]Cynegils was the son of Ceol, Ceol of Cutha, Cutha of Cynric.

A.D. 612, 613.

A.D. 614. This year Cynegils and Cuichelm fought at Beandun,[2] and slew two thousand and sixty-five [3] Welshmen.[4]

A.D. 615.

A.D. 616. [5]This year Aethelbyrht, king of the Kentish-men, died; [6]he was the first English king who received baptism, and he was the son of Eormenric; he reigned fifty-six years, and in this same year five thousand eight hundred years [7] were gone by, from the beginning of the world; and after him, Eadbald his son succeeded to the kingdom; [8]he forsook his baptismal vow, and lived after the manner of the heathens, so that he had his father's widow to wife. [9]Then Laurentius, who was archbishop of Kent, was minded that he would go southwards over the sea, and leave it entirely. But the apostle Peter came to him by night and scourged him sorely, because he wished thus to forsake the flock of God, and commanded him to go to the king and preach the true faith to him; and he did so, and the king was converted and was baptized. In this king's days [10]Laurentius, who was archbishop of Kent after Augustine, died, and was buried beside Augustine, [11]on the 4th of the nones of February [2d Feb.]. After him Mellitus, who formerly had been bishop of London, succeeded to the archbishopric: then the men of London, where Mellitus had been formerly, became heathens (again). And in about five years, during the reign of Eadbald, Mellitus departed to Christ. Then after him, [12]Justus succeeded to the archbishopric; and he consecrated Romanus to Rochester, where formerly himself had been bishop.

[1] B. C. and G.

[2] Beamdun, B. C. G. Probably Bampton, near Oxford.

[3] 45, B. C.; 46, E. G., and so perhaps A. originally.

[4] In F. there is a Latin insertion here, of which the following is a translation:—"In this year, on the 7th of the kalends of June [26th May], the blessed Augustine, who was the apostle of the English, having finished the labour of this miserable life, obtained the society of the angels; to whom in the year of our Lord's incarnation 614 succeeded Laurence, whom, while he was yet young, Augustine himself had consecrated with this purpose, that he might succeed himself in the archbishopric." The Saxon narrative has here been mostly cut off or obliterated.

[5] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. II. v.

[6] From F. as far as "Eormenric;" the duration of his reign is from E. and F.

[7] 5616 G.

[8] To the end of the year from E. F., and an insertion in A.

[9] Beda, II. vi.

[10] See Beda, II. vii.

[11] This date is not in A.

[12] See Beda, II. viii.

A.D. 616. [1]In that time Laurentius was archbishop, and for the sorrowfulness which he had on account of the king's unbelief, he was minded to forsake this country entirely, and go over sea; but St. Peter the apostle scourged him sorely one night, because he wished thus to forsake the flock of God, and commanded him to teach boldly the true faith to the king; and he did so, and the king turned to the right (faith). In the days of this same king Eadbald, this Laurentius died. The holy Augustine, while yet in sound health, ordained him bishop, in order that the church of Christ, which was yet new in England, should not after his decease be at any time without an archbishop. After him Mellitus, who had been previously bishop of London, succeeded to the archbishopric. And within five years of the decease of Laurentius, while Eadbald still reigned, Mellitus departed to Christ.

A.D. 617. [2]This year Aethelfrith, king of the North-humbrians was slain by Reodwald, king of the East-Angles, and Eadwin the son of Aella succeeded to the kingdom, and subdued all Britain, the Kentish-men alone excepted. And he drove out the "ethelings," sons of Aethelfrith; that is to say, first Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswiu, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf, and Offa.

A.D. 618.

A.D. 619. [3]This year archbishop Laurentius died.

A.D. 620—623.

A.D. 624. [4]This year archbishop Mellitus died.

A.D. 625. This year Paulinus was ordained bishop of the North-humbrians by archbishop Justus, on the [5]12th of the kalends of August [21 July].

A.D. 625. [6]This year archbishop Justus consecrated Paulinus bishop of the North-humbrians.

A.D. 626. This year Eanfled, daughter of king Eadwin, was baptized on the holy eve of Pentecost [8th June], and (now) Penda held the kingdom thirty years, and he was fifty years (old) when he succeeded to the kingdom. [7]Penda was the son of Pybba, Pybba of Creoda, Creoda of Cynewald, Cynewald of Cnebba, Cnebba of Icel, Icel of Eomaer, Eomaer of Angeltheow, Angeltheow of Offa, Offa of Waermund, Waermund of Wihtlaeg, Wihtlaeg of Woden.

A.D. 626. [8]This year Eomer came from Cwichelm king of the West-Saxons, thinking to stab king Eadwin. But he stabbed Lilla his thane, and Forthhere, and wounded the king. And on the same night a daughter was born to Eadwin: she was called Eanfled. Then the king promised Paulinus that he would give his daughter to God, if he would obtain of God that he might kill his foe who had before sent the assassin thither. And he then went with an army against the West-Saxons, and there killed five kings, and slew a great number of the people. And at Pentecost Paulinus baptized his daughter, [9]she being one of twelve. [10]And within a twelvemonth the king, and all his nobility, were baptized at Easter; that year Easter fell on the 2d of the ides of April [12th April, A.D. 627]. This was done at York, where he first ordered a church to be built of wood, which was consecrated in the name of St. Peter. There the king gave Paulinus

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[1] From F. instead of the passage indicated in the text at note [9].
[2] See Beda, II. xii. and II. v. The whole of this year is from E.
[3] From F. See Beda, II. vii.
[4] E. F. Beda, ibid.
[5] The date is from E. F. See Beda, II. xiv.
[6] E. F.
[7] This pedigree is from B. C. and G.
[8] E.
[9] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. § 114, note [2].
[10] Ibid. II. xiv.

a bishop's see, and there he afterwards commanded a larger church to be built of stone. And this year Penda succeeded to the kingdom [of Mercia], and reigned thirty years.

A.D. 627. [1]This year king Eadwin was baptized with his people by Paulinus at Easter [12th April]. And this Paulinus also preached baptism in Lindsey, where the first who believed was a certain great man called Blecca, with all his followers. [2]And in this time Honorius, who sent Paulinus his pall, succeeded to the popedom after Boniface. And archbishop Justus died on the 4th of the ides of November [10 Nov.], and Honorius was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by Paulinus at Lincoln. And to this Honorius the pope also sent a pall: and he sent a letter to the Scots, desiring that they should turn to the right Easter.

A.D. 627. [3]This year, at Easter [12th April], Paulinus baptized Eadwin, king of the North-humbrians, with his people: and earlier within the same year, at Pentecost, he had baptized Eanflaed, daughter of the same king.[4]

A.D. 628. This year Cynegils and Cuichelm fought against Penda at Cirencestèr; and then made a treaty.

A.D. 629—631.

A.D. 632. [5]This year Eorpwald[6] was baptized.

A.D. 633. [7]This year Eadwin was slain, and Paulinus returned to the Kentish-men, and occupied the bishop's see at Rochester.

A.D. 633. [8]This year king Eadwin was slain by Cadwalla and Penda at Heathfield [Hatfield Chase ?] on the 2d of the ides of October [14th Oct.], and he reigned seventeen years; and his son Osfrith was also slain with him. And after that went Ceadwalla and Penda, and laid waste the whole country of the North-humbrians. When Paulinus saw that, he took Aethelburge, Eadwin's widow, and departed by ship to Kent. And [9]Eadbold and Honorius received him very honourably, and gave him a bishop's see in Rochester; and he dwelt there till his end.

A.D. 633. [10]This year king Eadwin was slain, and Paulinus returned again with Aethelburge, Eadwin's widow, to Canterbury, and Honorius the archbishop received them with great worship, and gave Paulinus a bishop's see in Rochester, and there he dwelt until his death.

A.D. 634. [11]This year Osric, whom Paulinus had formerly baptized, succeeded to the kingdom of Deira; he was the son of Aelfric, Aedwin's uncle. And Eanfrith the son of Aethelfrith succeeded to Bernicia. And this year also bishop Birinus first preached baptism to the West-Saxons, [12]under king Cynegils. Birinus came thither by command of Honorius the pope, and he was bishop there until his life's end. [13]And this year also Oswold succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians, and he reigned nine years; the ninth being numbered to him because of the heathenism which they practised who reigned over them the one year between him and Eadwin.

[1] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. II. xiv.—xix.
[2] E. F.
[3] F.
[4] Continued at [2].
[5] This entry does not occur in F.
[6] King of East Anglia. See Eccl. Hist. II. xv.
[7] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. II. xx.
[8] From E
[9] Eadbold was king of Kent at this time.
[10] F.
[11] This first sentence is from E.
[12] The remainder of the year is from E.
[13] See Eccl. Hist. III. i.—ix.

A.D. 635. [1]This year king Cynegils was baptized by Birinus the bishop, at Dorchester, and Oswold king of the North-humbrians was his godfather.

A.D. 636. This year king Cuichelm was baptized at Dorchester, and the same year he died. [2]And bishop Felix preached the faith of Christ to the East-Angles.

A.D. 637, 638.

A.D. 639. This year Birinus baptized king Cuthred at Dorchester, and received him as his (god)son.

A.D. 640. [3]This year Eadbald,[4] king of the Kentish-men, died, and he reigned twenty-five years.[5] [6]He had two sons, Ermenred and Ercenberht, and Ercenberht reigned there after his father. He overthrew all idolatry in his kingdom, and was the first of the English kings who established the Easter-fast. His daughter was called Ercongota, a holy woman and a wondrous person, whose mother was Sexburh, daughter of Anna, king of the East-Angles. And Ermenred begot two sons, who afterwards were martyred by Thunor.

A.D. 641.

A.D. 642. [7]This year Oswold, king of the North-humbrians, was slain [8]by Penda [and] the South-humbrians at Maser-feld on the nones of August [5th Aug.], and his body was buried at Bardney. His sanctity and his miracles were afterwards manifested in various ways beyond this island, and his hands are at Bambrough, uncorrupted. And the same year that Oswold was slain, Oswiu his brother succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians, and he reigned two less (than) thirty years.

A.D. 643. [9]This year Cenwalh succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it thirty-one[10] years; and Cenwalh commanded the old[11] church at Winchester to be built in the name of St. Peter; and he was the son of Cynegils.

A.D. 644. [12]This year Paulinus died, on the [13]6th of the ides of October [10th Oct.]; he was archbishop first of York, and afterwards at Rochester. [14]He was bishop one less (than) twenty years, and two months and twenty-one days. [15]And this year Oswin's uncle's son,[16] the son of Osric, succeeded to the kingdom of Deira, and reigned seven years.

[1] See Eccl. Hist. III. vii. [2] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. II. xv.
[3] A.D. 639, E. by repetition. See Eccl. Hist. III. viii.
[4] Redbald, G., and so apparently A. originally.
[5] Twenty-four, E. F.
[6] From here to the end of the year is an insertion in A., and occurs in E. and F.
[7] See Eccl. Hist. III. ix. x. In B. C. ascribed to 641.
[8] To the end of the year from E. [9] A.D. 642, E.
[10] Twenty-one, E.
[11] The epithet "old" occurs only in B. C., the dedication of Winchester is from F., and the conclusion of the year from E., where by a clerical error the reading is Cynegilw instead of Cynegils.
[12] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. III. xiv. A.D. 643, B. C. E.
[13] This date is from E.
[14] This clause is from E. and F.
[15] The conclusion of the year from E.
[16] This is apparently corrupt, and should be read "Oswin, the son of Osric, Edwin's uncle's son." See Beda, III. i. and above, An. 634.—*P.*

A.D. 645. [1]This year king Cenwalh was driven out of his kingdom by king Penda.

A.D. 646. [2]This year king Cenwalh was baptized.

A.D. 647.

A.D. 648. [3]This year Cenwalh gave Cuthred, his kinsman, three thousand hides of land by Ashdown [Aston?]. Cuthred was the son of Cwichelm, Cwichelm of Cynegils. [4]This year the minster was built at Winchester, which king Cynwalh caused to be made, and hallowed in the name of St. Peter.

A.D. 649.

A.D. 650. [5]This year Aegelbyrht, a native of Gaul, obtained the bishopric of the West-Saxons after Birinus the Romish bishop.

A.D. 650. [6]This year Birinus the bishop died, and Aegebertus the Frenchman was ordained.

A.D. 650. [7]This year king Oswiu ordered king Oswin to be slain, on the 13th of the kalends of September [20th Aug.]; and about twelve days after this bishop Aidan died, on the 2d of the kalends of September [31st Aug.].

A.D. 651. [8]This year king Oswin was slain, and bishop Aidan died.

A.D. 652. This year Cenwalh fought at Bradford by the Avon.

A.D. [9]653. This year the Middle-Saxons, under Peada the "ealdorman," received the true faith.

A.D. 654. This year king Onna[10] was slain, and Botulf began to build a minster at Ycean-ho[11] [Boston?]. [12]And this year archbishop Honorius died, [13]on the second of the kalends of October [30th Sept.].

A.D. 654. [14]This year king Osuiu slew king Penda at Winwedfield, and thirty men of the royal race with him, and some of them were kings, among whom was Aethelhere, brother of Anna, king of the East-Angles.

A.D. 655. [15]This year Penda perished, and the Mercians became Christians. From the beginning of the world to this time, five thousand eight hundred and [16]fifty years were agone; and Peada,[17] the son of Penda,[18] succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.

[19]In his time he and Oswiu, the brother of king Oswald, came together, and agreed that they would rear a monastery to the glory of Christ and the honour of St. Peter. And they did so, and named it "Medeshamstede" [Peterborough], because there is a

[1] A.D. 644, B. C. E. See Beda, Eccl. Hist. III. vii.
[2] A.D. 645, B. E. [3] A.D. 647, B. C. [4] From F.
[5] A.D. 649, B. C. E. See Eccl. Hist. III. vii. [6] F. [7] E.
[8] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. III. xiv.
[9] A.D. 652, E. See Eccl. Hist. III. xxi.
[10] Namely, Anna, king of East Anglia. See Eccl. Hist. III. xviii.
[11] The name of Ycean-ho is from B. C. E. F.
[12] See Eccl. Hist. III. xx. F. ascribes this event to 653.
[13] This date is from E.
[14] E. F. as far as "with him," afterwards from F. only, which continues as at [15] above, which it ascribes to the year 654.
[15] See Eccl. Hist. III. xxiv.
[16] E. F. omit "fifty." [17] So B. C. E. Penda, A. G.
[18] "The son of Penda," not in G.
[19] This is the first of many late additions to the Chronicle concerning the monastery of Peterborough. They occur only in MS. G. It is here ascribed to A.D. 654.

whirlpool, which is called Medeswæl. And they began the foundations and wrought thereon, and then committed it to a monk who was called Saxulf. He was greatly God's friend, and all the people loved him, and he was very nobly born, in a worldly sense, and rich; but he is now much richer, being with Christ. And king Peada reigned no long time, for he was betrayed by his own wife at Easter.

[1]This year Ithamar, bishop of Rochester, consecrated Deus-dedit to [the see of] Canterbury, on the seventh of the kalends of April [26th March].

A.D. 656.

A.D. 657. This year Peada died, and Wulfhere, the son of Penda, succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.

[2]In his time the abbacy of Medeshamstede, which his brother had begun, waxed very rich. The king loved it much for the love of his brother Peada, and for the love of Oswi his "wed-brother" [brother by baptism], and for the love of abbat Saxulf. And he said that he would dignify and honour it, and this by the counsel of Aethelred and Merwala, his brothers, and Kyneburg and Kyneswith, his sisters, and by the counsel of the archbishop, who was called Deus-dedit, and by the counsel of all his "witan," both clergy and laity, who were in his kingdom; and he did so.

Then the king sent after the abbat, that he should come to him with all speed, and he did so. Then the king said to the abbat, "Lo! I have sent for thee, beloved Saxulf, for the behoof of my soul, and I will plainly tell thee for why. My brother Peada and my dear friend Oswi began a monastery to the glory of Christ and St. Peter. But my brother, as it has pleased Christ, is departed this life, and my prayer to thee, O beloved friend, is, that they work diligently on the work, and I will provide thee thereto gold and silver, land and possessions, and all that behoveth thereto." Then the abbat went home, and began to build; and he so sped, by the grace of Christ, that in a few years the monastery was ready. When the king heard that said, he was very glad: he bade send throughout the nation after all his thanes, after the archbishop, and after the bishops, and after his earls, and after all who loved God, that they should come to him; and he set a day on which the monastery should be hallowed.

At the hallowing of the monastery, king Wulfere was present, and his brother Aethelred, and his sisters Kyneburg and Kyneswith. And Deus-dedit, archbishop of Canterbury, hallowed the monastery, and Ithamar, bishop of Rochester, and the bishop of London, who was called Wina, and the bishop of the Mercians, who was called Jeruman, and bishop Tuda. And there was Wilfrid the priest, who was afterwards a bishop; and were there all his thanes who were within his kingdom.

When the monastery had been hallowed in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, then the king stood up before all his thanes, and said, with a clear voice, "Thanked be the high Almighty

[1] From E. Ascribed in F. to 655. See Beda, Eccl. Hist. III. xx.
[2] E. See the Anglo-Saxon Charters, No. 984.

God for the worthy deed which here is done, and I will this day do honour to Christ and St. Peter; and I desire that ye all assent to my words: I, Wulfere, do this day give to St. Peter and abbat Saxulf, and the monks of the monastery, the lands, and the waters, and meres, and fens, and wears, and all the lands which lie thereabout, which are of my kingdom, freely, so that none but the abbat and the monks shall have any claim upon them. This is the grant. From Medeshamstede to North-borough, and thence to the place which is called Folies, and thence all the fen straight to Esendic, and from Esendic to the place which is called Fethermouth, and thence along the straight way ten miles to Cuggedike, and thence to Raggewilh, and from Raggewilh five miles to the main stream which goeth to Aelm and to Wisbeach, and thence about three miles to Throkonholt, and from Throkonholt straight through all the fen to Derevord, which is twenty miles long. and thence to Grætecross, and from Grætecross through a clear water called Bradanæ, and thence six miles to Paccelade, and thence onward through all the meres and fens which lie toward Huntendune-port, and these meres and lakes, Scælfremere and Witlesmere, and all the others which lie thereabout, with the land and the houses which are on the east half of Scælfremere, and from thence all the fens to Medeshamstede, and from Medeshamstede to Welmesford, and from Welmesford to Clive, and thence to Aestun, and from Aestun to Stamford, and from Stamford even as the water runneth to the aforesaid North-borough." These are the lands and the fens which the king gave to St. Peter's monastery.

Then said the king, "This gift is little; but it is my will that they shall hold it so royally and so freely that neither geld nor tribute be taken from it, except for the monks alone. And thus free I will make this minster, that it be subject to Rome alone; and here it is my will that all of us who are unable to go to Rome shall visit St. Peter."

While he was saying these words, the abbat desired of him that he would grant him what he should desire of him: and the king granted it. "I have here God-fearing monks, who wish to spend their lives in an anchorite's abode, if they knew where. And there is an island here, which is called Ancarig, and my desire is that we might build a minster there to the glory of St. Mary, so that those may dwell therein who wish to lead a life of peace and rest."

Then the king answered, and said thus: "Beloved Saxulf, lo! not only that one thing which thou hast desired, but all things which I know that thou desirest on our Lord's behalf, I thus approve and grant. And I beg of thee, my brother Aethelred, and my sisters Cyneburg and Cyneswith, that ye be witnesses, for your souls' redemption, and that ye write it with your fingers. And I beg all those who come after me, be they my sons, be they my brothers, or kings that come after me, that our gift may stand, even as they would be partakers of the life eternal, and as they would escape everlasting torment. Whosoever shall take from this our gift, or the gifts of other good men, may the heavenly gate-ward take from him in the kingdom of heaven; and whosoever will increase it, may

the heavenly gate-ward increase (his state) in the kingdom of heaven."

These are the witnesses who were there, who subscribed it with their fingers on the cross of Christ, and assented to it with their tongues. King Wulfhere was the first who confirmed it, first by his word, and afterwards with his fingers wrote on it the cross of Christ; and said thus: "I, king Wulfhere, with the kings, and earls, and dukes, and thanes, the witnesses of my gift, do confirm it before the archbishop Deus-dedit with the cross of Christ. ✠" "And I, Oswi, king of the North-humbrians, the friend of this monastery and of abbat Saxulf, approve of it with the cross of Christ. ✠" "And I, king Sighere, grant it with the cross of Christ. ✠" "And I, king Sibbi, subscribe it with the cross of Christ. ✠" "And I, Aethelred, the king's brother, grant that same with the cross of Christ. ✠" "And we, the king's sisters, Cyneburh and Cyneswith, we approve it. ✠" "And I, Deus-dedit, archbishop of Canterbury, grant it. ✠" After that, all the others who were there assented to it with the cross of Christ. ✠ They were by name Ithamar, bishop of Rochester, and Wine, bishop of London, and Jeruman, who was bishop of the Mercians, and bishop Tuda, and Wilfrid the priest, who was afterwards bishop, and Eoppa the priest, whom king Wulfhere sent to preach Christianity in Wight, and abbat Saxulf, and Immine the "ealdorman," and Eadberht the "ealdorman," and Herefrid the "ealdorman," and Wilberht the "ealdorman," and Abo the "ealdorman," Aethelbold, Brorda, Wilberht, Elhmund, Frethegis. These and many others who were there, servants of the king, all assented to it. This writing was written six hundred and sixty-four years after the birth of our Lord, (in) the seventh year of king Wulfhere; the ninth year of archbishop Deus-dedit. They then laid the curse of God, and the curse of all saints, and of all Christian people (upon him) who should undo any thing which there was done. "So be it," say all, "Amen."

When these things were done, the king sent to Rome to Vitalian,[1] who then was pope, and desired that he should grant by his writing, and with his blessing, all the before-mentioned things. And the pope sent then this writing, thus saying,—"I, pope Vitalian, concede to thee, king Wulfhere, and archbishop Deus-dedit, and abbat Saxulf, all the things which ye desire; and I forbid that any king or any man have any claim thereon, except the abbat alone; nor let him obey any man except the pope of Rome, and the archbishop of Canterbury. If any one break this in any thing, may St. Peter exterminate him with his sword: if any one observe it, may St. Peter, with the keys of heaven, undo for him the kingdom of heaven." Thus the monastery at Medeshamstede was begun, which since has been called Burh [Peterborough].

After that, another archbishop came to Canterbury, who was called Theodorus, a very good and a wise man, and he held his synod with his bishops and with the clergy. There was Winfrid, bishop of the Mercians, deposed from his bishopric, and abbat Saxulf was

[1] There is no other trace of this bull of Vitalian than the notice here preserved.

there chosen to be bishop, and Cuthbald, a monk of the same monastery, was chosen abbat. This synod was held six hundred and seventy-three years after the birth of our Lord.[1]

A.D. 658.[2] This year Cenwalh fought against the Welsh at Peonna [Pen]; and he drove them as far as Pedrida [Petherton?]. This was fought after he came from East-Anglia; he was there three years in exile. Thither had Penda driven him, and deprived him of his kingdom, because he had forsaken his sister.

A.D. 659.

A.D. 660.[3] This year bishop Aegelbryht departed from Cenwalh, and Wine held the bishopric[4] three years, and Aegelbryht obtained the bishopric of Paris in France, by the Seine.

A.D. 661. This year, during Easter, Cenwalh fought at Posentesbyrg, and Wulfhere, the son of Penda, laid the country waste as far as Ashdown. And Cuthred, the son of Cuichelm, and king Coenbyrht,[5] died in one year. And[6] Wulfhere, the son of Penda, laid waste Wight, and gave the people of Wight to Aethelwald king of the South-Saxons, because Wulfhere had been his sponsor at baptism. And Eoppa, the mass-priest, by the command of Wilferth and king Wulfhere,[7] was the first of men who brought baptism to the people of the Isle of Wight.

A.D. 662, 663.

A.D. 664. This year the sun was eclipsed on the 5th of the nones of May;[8] and Arcenbryht, king of the Kentish-men died, and Ecgbriht,[9] his son, succeeded to the kingdom; and Colman,[10] with his companions, went to his country. The same year there was a great pestilence[11] in the island of Britain, and bishop Tuda died of the pestilence, and was buried at Wagele. And[12] Ceadda and Wilferth were ordained; and the same year archbishop Deus-dedit died.

A.D. 665, 666.

A.D. 667[13]. This year Oswiu and Ecgbriht sent Wighard, the priest, to Rome, that he might there be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; but he died soon after he came thither.

A.D. 667.[14] This year Wighard went to Rome, even as king Oswi and Egbyrht had sent him.[15]

A.D. 668.[16] This year Theodore was ordained an archbishop,[17] and sent to Britain.

[1] Here ends the extract from E.
[2] This year is not recorded in F.
[3] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. III. vii.
[4] Namely, at Wessex. See Beda, as above.
[5] He was the father of Caedualla, of Wessex.
[6] Beda, Eccl. Hist. IV. xiii.
[7] Ibid. IV. xvi.
[8] The date is from E. F., it is incorrect, though borrowed from Beda, for the eclipse occurred on May 1st. See Eccl. Hist. III. xxvii.
[9] The succession of Ecgbriht is from E.
[10] Bishop of Lindisfarne. See E. H. III. xxvi.
[11] The conclusion of the sentence is from E. Tuda was bishop of Lindisfarne; the place of his burial is unknown.
[12] E. H. III. xxviii.
[13] From E. and F. See E. H. III. xxix.
[14] From F.
[15] Continued as above, after the word "Rome," A.D. 667, in the text.
[16] See Eccl. Hist. IV. i.
[17] E. F. add that this was done by pope Vitalianus, and from them we have the concluding clause of the year.

A.D. 669. This year king Ecgbyrht gave Reculver to Bass, the mass-priest, that he might build a minster thereon.

A.D. 670. This year Osweo, king of the North-humbrians, died,[1] on the 15th of the kalends of March [15th Feb.]; and Ecferth, his son, reigned after him; and Hlothere,[2] the nephew of bishop Aethelbyrht, obtained the bishopric over the West-Saxons, and held it seven years. Bishop Theodore consecrated him. [3]And Oswio was the son of Aethelferth, Aethelferth of Aethelric, Aethelric of Ida, Ida of Eoppa.

A.D. 671. This year was the great destruction among the birds.

A.D. 672. This year king Cenwalh died, and Seaxburg, his queen, reigned one year after him.

A.D. 673. This year[4] Ecgbyrht, king of the Kentish-men, died; and the same year there was a synod at Hertford, and St. Aethelryht began the minster at Ely.

A.D. 674.[5] This year Aescwin succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons; he was the son of Cenfus, Cenfus of Cenferth, Cenferth of Cuthgils, Cuthgils of Ceolwulf, Ceolwulf of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic.

A.D. 675. This year Wulfhere, the son of Penda, and Aescwin, the son of Cenfus, fought at Beadan-head; and the same year Wulfhere died, and [6] Aethelred succeeded to the kingdom.

[7]Now, in his time, he sent bishop Wilfrid to Rome to the pope that then was; he was called Agatho, and showed him by letter and by message how his brothers Peada and Wulfhere, and Saxulf the abbat, had built a minster, which was called Medeshamstede, and that they had freed it, against king and against bishop, of all services; and he besought him that he would assent to it with his writing and with his blessing. And then the pope sent his writing to England, thus saying:—

"I,[8] Agatho, pope of Rome, greet well the worshipful Aethelred, king of the Mercians, and the archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, and the bishop of the Mercians Saxulf, who was formerly abbat, and all the abbats who are in England, with the greeting of God and my blessing. I have heard the desire of king Aethelred, and of archbishop Theodore, and of bishop Saxulf, and of abbat Cuthbald; and it is my will that it be in all wise even as you have spoken. And I ordain, on behalf of God and St. Peter, and of all saints, and of every person in orders, that neither king, nor bishop, nor earl, nor any man have any claim, nor any tribute, geld, or military service; neither let any man exact any kind of service from the abbacy of Medeshamstede. I also ordain that the shire-bishop be not so bold that he perform any ordination or consecration within the abbacy unless the abbat beseech it of him, nor have any claim

[1] The date is from E., and does not occur in F. See Beda, Eccl. Hist. IV. v.
[2] Eleutherius, bishop of Winchester. E. H. III. vii.
[3] This pedigree does not occur in E. F
[4] See E. H. IV. v.
[5] This entry does not occur in F.
[6] This concluding clause not in F.
[7] The following interpolation is from E.
[8] See Cod. Diplomat. No. 990.

there for proxies, or synodals, or for any kind of thing. And it is my will that the abbat be holden as legate of Rome over all the island, and that whatsover abbat shall be there chosen by the monks, he be consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury. I will and concede that whatever man shall have made a vow to go to Rome, which he may be unable to fulfil, either from sickness or (his) lord's need (of him), or from poverty, or be unable to come there from any other kind of need, be he of England, or of whatever other island he be, let him come to the minster at Medeshamstede, and have the same forgiveness of Christ and St. Peter, and of the abbat and of the monks, that he should have if he went to Rome. Now I beseech thee, brother Theodore, that thou cause to be commanded throughout all England, that a synod be gathered, and this decree be read and observed. In like manner I command the bishop Saxulf, that even as thou didst desire that the minster be free, so I forbid thee and all the bishops that shall come after thee, from Christ and all his saints, that ye have any claim upon the minster, except so far as the abbat shall be willing. Now will I say in a word, that whoso observeth this writing and this decree, let him be ever dwelling with God Almighty in the kingdom of heaven; and whoso breaketh it let him be excommunicated, and thrust down with Judas and with all the devils in hell, unless he turn to repentance. Amen!"

This writ pope Agatho and one hundred and twenty-five bishops sent to England by Wilfrid archbishop of York. This was done six hundred and eighty years after the birth of our Lord, and in the sixth year of king Aethelred.

The king then commanded the archbishop Theodore that he should appoint a meeting of all the "witan" at the place which is called Heatfield. When they were there assembled, he caused the writ to be read, which the pope had sent thither, and they all assented to and fully confirmed it.

Then said the king: "All those things which my brother Peada, and my brother Wulfhere, and my sisters Kyneburh and Kyneswith, gave and granted to St. Peter and the abbat, it is my will shall stand; and I will in my day increase it for the good of their souls and of my own soul. Now, to-day I give St. Peter for his minster Medeshamstede, these lands and all that lieth there adjoining; that is to say, Bredune, Hrepingas, Cedenac, Swineshaefed, Heanbyrig, Lodeshac, Scuffanhalch, Costesford, Stretford, Waettelleburne, Lusgeard, Aethelhun-iglond, Barthanig. These lands I give St. Peter all as freely as I myself possessed them, and so that none of my successors take anything therefrom. If any one shall do so, let him have the curse of the pope of Rome, and the curse of all bishops, and of all those who are here witnesses, and this I confirm with Christ's token. ✠" "I, Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, am witness to this charter of Medeshamstede, and I confirm it with my signature, and I excommunicate all those who shall break any part thereof, and I bless all those who shall observe it. ✠" "I, Wilfrid, archbishop of York, I am witness to this charter, and I assent to the same curse. ✠" "I, Saxulf, who was first abbat and am now

bishop, I give those my curse, and that of all my successors, who shall break this." "I, Ostrithe, wife of Aethelred, grant it." "I, Adrianus, legate, assent to it." "I, Putta, bishop of Rochester, I subscribe it." "I, Waldhere, bishop of London, confirm it." "I, Cuthbald, abbat, assent to it, so that whoso shall break it, let him have the cursing of all bishops and of all Christian folk. Amen!"

A.D. 676.[1] This year Escwin died, and Hedda succeeded to the bishopric, and Centwin succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons: and [2]Centwin was the son of Cynegils, Cynegils of Ceolwulf. And Aethelred, king of the Mercians, laid waste Kent.

A.D. 677.

A.D. 678.[3] This year the star (called) a comet appeared,[4] in August, and shone like a sunbeam every morning for three months; and bishop Wilfrith was driven from his bishopric by king Egferth; [5]and two bishops were consecrated in his stead; Bosa to Deira, and Eata to Bernicia. And Eadhed was consecrated bishop over the men of Lindsey; he was the first of the bishops of Lindsey.

A.D. 679.[6] This year Aelfwin was slain near the Trent, where Egferth and Ethelred fought; and St. Aetheldryth died. [7]And Coldingham was burned by fire from heaven.

A.D. 680.[8] This year archbishop Theodorus appointed a synod at Haethfield, because he wished to set forth aright the Christian faith. And the same year Hild, abbess of Streonesheal [Whitby], died.

A.D. 681.[9] This year Trumbriht was consecrated bishop of Hexham, and Trumwine of the Picts,[10] for at that time they were subject to this country.

A.D. 682.[11] In this year Centwin drove the Britons to the sea.

A.D. 683.

A.D. 684.[12] Here in this year Ecgferth sent an army against the Scots, and Briht his "ealdorman" with it, and miserably they plundered and burned the churches of God.

A.D. 685.[13] This year king Ecgferth commanded that Cuthbert should be consecrated a bishop; and Theodore, the archbishop, consecrated him, at York, on the first day of Easter, as bishop of Hexham; because Trumbriht had been deposed from that bishopric. This year Ceadwalla began to contend for the kingdom. Ceadwalla was the son of Coenbert, Ceonbert of Cadda, Cadda of Cutha, Cutha of Ceawlin, Ceawlin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic. And Mul was the brother of Ceadwalla, and he was afterwards burned in Kent. And[14] the same year, king Egfrid was slain,[15] near the North Sea, and a great army with him, on the 13th of the kalends of June [20th May]. He was king fifteen years, and Aldfrid, his brother, suc-

[1] Beda, Eccl. Hist. IV. xii.
[2] This genealogical information respecting Centwin is not in E. or F.
[3] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. IV. xii. [4] These details are from E. F.
[5] From E. [6] See Eccl. Hist. IV. xix. xxi. xxv.
[7] E. F. [8] See Eccl. Hist. IV. xvii. xxiii. [9] From E. F.
[10] Namely, of Whitern, or Candida Casa.
[11] Ascribed by G. to 681.
[12] E. F. See Eccl. Hist. IV. xxvi.
[13] As far as "bishopric" from E. [14] Eccl. Hist. IV. xxvi.
[15] The passage as far as p. 24, note [1] is from E.

ceeded to the kingdom after him. [1]Ecgferth was the son of Osweo, Osweo of Aethelferth, Aethelferth of Aethelric, Aethelric of Ida, Ida of Eoppa. And Hlothere, king of the Kentish-men, died the same year. [2]And John was consecrated bishop of Hexham, and he was there until Wilfrid returned. Afterwards John succeeded to the bishopric of "Chester" [York], for bishop Bosa was dead. Then, after that, Wilfrid, his priest, was consecrated bishop of "Chester" [York], and John retired to his minster at Derewood. [3]This year it rained blood in Britain, and milk and butter were turned into blood.

A.D. 685.[4] And in this same year Cuthbert was consecrated bishop of Hexham, by archbishop Theodore, at York, because bishop Trumbert had been driven from the bishopric.

A.D. 686. This year Ceadwalla and Mul his brother laid waste Kent and Wight. This Ceadwalla[5] gave to St. Peter's minster at Medeshamstede, Hoge, which is in an island called Heabur-eagh; the then abbat of the monastery was called Egbalth. He was the third abbat after Saxwulf. At that time Theodore was archbishop in Kent.

A.D. 687. This year Mul was burned in Kent, and twelve other men with him; and the same year Ceadwalla again laid waste Kent.

A.D. 688.[6] This year Ine succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it thirty-seven years; and[7] he built the minster at Glastonbury;[8] and he afterwards went to Rome, and there dwelt to the end of his days: and the same year Ceadwalla went to Rome, and received baptism from the pope, and the pope named him Peter; and in about seven days he died. Now Ine was the son of Cenred, Cenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald was Cynegils's brother, and they were sons of Cuthwine the son of Ceaulin, Ceaulin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic.

A.D. 688.[9] This year king Ceadwalla went to Rome, and received baptism of pope Sergius, and he gave him the name of Peter; and in about seven days afterwards, on the 12th of the kalends of May[10] [20th April], while he was yet in Christ's [his baptismal] garments, he died; and he was buried in St. Peter's church. And Ine succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons after him, and he reigned twenty-seven years.[11]

A.D. 689.

A.D. 690.[12] This year archbishop Theodore died; he was bishop twenty-two years, and he was buried at Canterbury; and Beorhtwald succeeded to the bishopric. Before this the bishops had been Romans, but from this time they were English.

A.D. 691.

A.D. 692.[13] This year Brihtwold was chosen archbishop on the

[1] The pedigree which follows is not in G.
[2] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. V. ii. iii. vi. The passage as far as Derewood is from E.
[3] F. [4] F. at note [2] above.
[5] The conclusion of the year is from E.
[6] A.D. 689, G. See Eccl. Hist. V. vii.
[7] As far as "days" from G. and inserted in A.
[8] E. F. as far as "days." [9] E. F.
[10] This date is not in F. [11] As at note [8] above.
[12] Eccl. Hist. V. viii. The duration of the pontificate of Theodore, and the place of his burial are from E. F.
[13] E. F. See Beda, Eccl. Hist. V. viii.

kalends of July [1st July]; he was before that abbat of Reculver. There were then two kings in Kent, Withred and Webheard [Suaebhard].

A.D. 693.[1] This year Berthwald was consecrated[2] archbishop, by Guodun,[3] bishop of the Gauls, on the 5th of the nones of July [29th June]. At this time Gefmund, bishop of Rochester, died, and archbishop Bryhtwald consecrated Tobias in his place; and Dryhtelm[4] departed this life.

A.D. 694. This year the Kentish-men compounded with Ine, and gave him thirty thousand pounds[5] for his friendship, because they had formerly burned Mul. And Wihtred[6] succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and held it thirty-three years.[7] Wihtred was the son of Ecgbryht, Ecgbryht of Erconbryht, Erconbryht of Eadbald, Eadbald of Aethelbryht.

[8]As soon as he was king, he commanded a great council to be assembled at the place which is called Baccancelde, in which sat Wihtred, king of the Kentish-men, and Brihtwald, the archbishop of Canterbury, and Tobias, bishop of Rochester, and with them were assembled there abbats and abbesses, and many wise men, all to consult about the bettering of God's churches in Kent. Now began the king to speak, and said, "It is my will that all the minsters and the churches that were given and bequeathed to the glory of God in the days of faithful kings, my predecessors, and in the days of my kinsmen, of king Aethelbert and those who followed after him, do so remain, to the glory of God, and firmly continue so to all eternity for evermore. For I, Wihtred, an earthly king, instigated by the King of heaven, and burning with the zeal of righteousness, have learned this from the institutes of our forefathers, that no layman has a right to possess himself of a church, nor of any of the things which belong to the church. And hence strictly and faithfully do we appoint and decree, and in the name of the Almighty God and of all saints, we forbid to all kings our successors, and to 'ealdormen,' and all laymen, any lordship whatever over the churches, and over all their possessions, which I, or my elders, have formerly given as an everlasting inheritance, to the glory of Christ and of our lady St. Mary, and of the holy apostles. And observe, when it shall happen that a bishop, or an abbat, or an abbess, shall depart this life, let it be made known to the archbishop,

[1] With the exception of the notice of Dryhthelm, which is from D. E., this year is from D. E. F. See Eccl. Hist. V. viii.

[2] Here D. recommences.

[3] Godune, E. F.

[4] Eccl. Hist. V. xii.

[5] F. reads "thirty thousand pounds," both in its Saxon and Latin text; C. "thirty pounds;" "thirty men," A. G.; "thirty thousand," D. E. The reading of MSS. B. and F. however excessive the sum may appear, has been placed in the text, because, unlike the "thirty men" of A. G, or the "thirty thousand" of D. E. it is intelligible without having recourse to conjecture. The payment, whatever its amount may have been, was probably the legal compensation for the death of Mul... Of the early Latin writers, Ethelweard says, it was 30,000 solidi, "per singulos constanti numero sexdecim nummis;" Florence of Worcester, 3,750 pounds; and Malmesbury, 30,000 mancuses, which, at eight to the pound, would agree with Florence.—*P.*

[6] See Eccl. Hist. V. xxiii.

[7] "Three-and-twenty," E. The remainder of the year is not in this copy.

[8] From F. See Kemble's Saxon Charters, No. 996.

and by his counsel and advice, let such an one be chosen as shall be worthy. And let the archbishop inquire into the life and purity of him who is chosen to such a duty, and in nowise let any one be consecrated to such an office without the counsel of the archbishop. It is the duty of kings to appoint earls and 'ealdormen,' shire-reeves, and doomsmen, and the archbishop shall instruct and advise the church of God; and bishops, and abbats, and abbesses, priests and deacons, to choose, and place, and consecrate, and stablish them by good precepts and example, lest any of God's flock go astray and be lost."

A.D. 695, 696.

A.D. 697.[1] This year the South-humbrians slew Ostrythe, Aethelred's queen, Ecgferd's sister.

A.D. 698.

A.D. 699.[2] This year the Picts slew Beorht, the "ealdorman."

A.D. 700, 701.

A.D. 702.[3] This year[4] Cenred succeeded to the kingdom of the South-humbrians.

A.D. 703.[5] This year bishop Hedde died, and he held the bishopric at Winchester twenty-seven years.

A.D. 704.[6] This year Aethelred, the son of Penda, king of the Mercians, became a monk, and he had held the kingdom twenty-nine years; then Coenred succeeded to it.

A.D. 705. This year Aldferd, king of the North-humbrians, died,[7] at Driffield, on the 19th of the kalends of January [14th Dec.]: and bishop Seaxwulf. [8]Then Osred, his son, succeeded to the kingdom.

A.D. 706—708.

A.D. 709.[9] This year bishop Aldhelm[10] died; he was bishop on the west of Selwood; and in the early days of Daniel the land of the West-Saxons was divided into two bishop-shires, and before that it had been one; the one Daniel held, the other Aldhelm. After Aldhelm, Forthhere succeeded to it. And king Ceolred succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians; and Coenred went to Rome, and Offa[11] with him. [12]And Coenred was there till the end of his life. [13]And the same year bishop Wilferth[14] died at Oundle, and his body was carried to Ripon; he was bishop forty-five years; him king Egferth had formerly driven away to Rome.

A.D. 710.[15] This year Acca, Wilfrid's priest, succeeded to the

[1] D. E. F. See Beda's epitome. [2] D. E. See Ibid. [3] D. E. F.

[4] This is apparently a different and anticipated account of Coenred's succession, as related under the year 704; but as these copies there also notice the resignation of Ethelred, it is retained in the text.—*P.*

[5] See Eccl. Hist. V. xviii. As we know that Hedde died in 705, we hence learn that the Chronicle here antedates its entries by two years. B. and C. give him a pontificate of thirty-seven years. [6] See Beda's epitome.

[7] The place and date of his death are from D. E. See Eccl. Hist. V. xviii.

[8] From D. E. F.

[9] A.D. 708, C. erroneously for 709, and in consequence of this mistake each succeeding year to 721 has been made one short by erasure.

[10] Aldhelm was bishop of Sherburn, and Daniel, of Winchester.

[11] Offa was king of the East Saxons.

[12] The conclusion of the sentence is from D. E.

[13] To the end of the year from D. E. F.

[14] Wilfred, the celebrated bishop of Hexham.

[15] See Eccl. Hist. V. xx. The entry concerning Acca is from D. E. F.

bishopric which before he had held; and the same year Beorhtfrith the "ealdorman" fought against the Picts,[1] between Haefe and Caere. And Ine, and Nun his kinsman, fought against Gerent, king of the Welsh; [2]and the same year Sigbald[3] was slain.

A.D. 711—713.

A.D. 714. This year St. Guthlac died, and king Pepin.[4]

A.D. [5]715. This year Ine and Ceolred fought at Wodnesbeorg [Wanborough]. [6]This year died king Dagobert.

A.D. 716. [7]This year Osred, king of the North-humbrians, was slain on the southern border; he had the kingdom seven[8] years after Aldferth; then Coenred succeeded to the kingdom, and held it two years, then Osric, who held it eleven years; and the same year Ceolred, king of the Mercians, died, and his body lies at Lichfield, and Aethelred's, the son of Penda, at Bardney. Then Aethelbald succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians, and held it forty-one years. Aethelbald was the son of Alweo, Alweo of Eawa,[9] Eawa of Pybba, whose genealogy is written before. And that pious man, Ecgbryht, converted the monks in the island of Hii to the right faith, so that they observed Easter duly, and the ecclesiastical tonsure.

A.D. 717.

A.D. 718.[10] This year Ingild, the brother of Ine, died; and their sisters were Cwenburh and Cuthburh. And Cuthburh built the monastery at Winburn; and she was given in marriage to Aldferth, king of the North-humbrians; but they separated during his life-time.

A.D. 719, 720.

A.D. 721.[11] This year bishop Daniel went to Rome; and the same year Ine slew Cynewulf, the etheling. And[12] this year the holy bishop John[13] died; he was bishop thirty-three years, eight months, and thirteen days; and his body rests at Beverley.

A.D. 722.[14] This year queen Aethelburh razed Taunton, which Ine had previously built; and Aldbyrht, the exile, departed into Surrey and Sussex, and Ine fought against the South-Saxons.

A.D. 723, 724.

A.D. 725.[15] This year Withred, king of the Kentish-men, died, on[16] the 9th of the kalends of May [23d April]; he reigned thirty-four[17] years; his genealogy is above:[18] and[19] Eadberht succeeded to the kingdom of Kent; and Ine fought against the South-Saxons, and there slew Aldbryht,[20] the etheling, whom he before had driven into exile.

[1] The conclusion of the sentence is not in A. B. C. G.
[2] D. E. to the end of the sentence.
[3] Hygbald, E.
[4] These three words from F.
[5] A.D. 714, C.
[6] From F.
[7] See Eccl. Hist. V. xxii.
[8] 8, D.; 4, G.; more correctly eleven.
[9] Eapa. Eapa, G.
[10] A.D. 717, C.
[11] A.D. 720, C.
[12] D. E. F.
[13] John of Beverly, bishop of York. See Eccl. Hist. V. vi.
[14] Not in F.
[15] See Eccl. Hist. V. xiii.
[16] As far as "years," from D. E. F.
[17] Thirty-three years, F.
[18] See A.D. 694.
[19] The succession of Eadberht is inserted in A. from F.
[20] To the end of the year from D. E.

A.D. 726.

A.D. 727.[1] This year Tobias, bishop of Rochester, died, and in his place archbishop Brithwold consecrated Aldulf bishop.

A.D. 728.[2] This year Ine went to Rome, and there gave (up) his life, and Aethelheard, his kinsman, succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it fourteen years. And the same year Aethelheard and Oswald, the etheling, fought; and Oswald was the son of Aethelbald, Aethelbald of Cynebald, Cynebald of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Ceawlin.

A.D. 729. This year the star (called) a comet appeared, and St Ecgbyrht died[3] in Ii.

A.D. 729.[4] And the same year Osric died; he was king eleven years: then Ceolwulf succeeded to the kingdom, and held it eight years.

A.D. 730.[5] This year Oswald, the etheling, died.

A.D. 731.[6] This year Osric, king of the North-humbrians, was slain, and Ceolwulf succeeded to the kingdom, and held it eight years, and Ceolwulf was the son of Cutha, Cutha of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Leodwald, Leodwald of Ecgwald, Ecgwald of Aldhelm, Aldhelm of Ocga, Ocga of Ida, Ida of Eoppa. And archbishop Beorhtwald died on the ides of January [13th January]; he[7] was bishop thirty-seven years, six months, and fourteen days. And the same year Tatwine was consecrated archbishop; he had been before a priest at Breodun, among the Mercians. [8]Daniel, bishop of Winchester, and Ingwald, bishop of London, and Aldwin, bishop of Lichfield, and Aldwulf, bishop of Rochester, consecrated him on the 10th of June: he[9] had the archbishopric three years.

A.D. 732.

A.D. 733. This year Aethelbald conquered Somerton; and the sun was eclipsed,[10] and the whole disc of the sun was like a black shield. [11]And Acca was driven from his bishopric.

A.D. 734. This year the moon was as if it had been sprinkled with blood; and archbishop Tatwine and Beda died,[12] and Ecgberht was consecrated bishop.

A.D. 735.[13] This year bishop Ecgberht received his pall at Rome.

A.D. 736. This year archbishop Nothelm received his pall from the bishop of the Romans.[14]

A.D. 737. This year bishop Forthere,[15] and queen Frythogith went to Rome. [16]And king Ceolwulf received Peter's tonsure,[17] and gave his kingdom to Eagberht, his uncle's son; he reigned twenty-one years; and bishop Aethelwold and Acca died, and Conwulf was

[1] D. E. F. See Eccl. Hist. V. xiii.
[2] A.D. 726, C. D. E. F.
[3] D. E.
[4] D. E. F. after [3].
[5] Not in B. C.
[6] As far as Eoppa, not in E. F. See Eccl. Hist. V. xxiii.
[7] The date of his death and the duration of his episcopate are from D. E. F.
[8] As far as "June" from D. E. F.
[9] F.
[10] The remainder of the sentence from F.
[11] D. E. F.
[12] D. E. F.
[13] D. E. F.
[14] Namely, Gregory III. A Latin addition in F. states that he held his see for five years.
[15] Forthere was bishop of Winchester, and Frythogith was queen of Wessex.
[16] D. E. F.
[17] Not in F. as far as "twenty-one years."

consecrated bishop. [1]And the same year king Aethelbald laid waste the land of the North-humbrians.

A.D. 738. This year Eadbryht, the son of Eata, Eata being the son of Leodwald, succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians, and held it twenty-one years.[2] His brother was archbishop Egbert, the son of Eata; and they both rest in one porch, in the city of York.

A.D. 739, 740.

A.D. 741.[3] This year king Aethelheard died, and Cuthred, his kinsman,[4] succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and held it sixteen years;[5] and he contended strenuously against Ethelbald, king of the Mercians. And archbishop Nothelm died,[6] and Cuthbyrht was consecrated archbishop; and Dun bishop to Rochester. [7]This year York was burnt.

A.D. 742.[8] This year a great synod was held at Cloveshou; and there was Aethelbald, king of the Mercians, and archbishop Cuthbert, and many other wise men.

A.D. 743. This year Aethelbald, king of the Mercians, and Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, fought against the Welsh.

A.D. 744. This year Daniel gave up the see of Winchester, and Hunferth succeeded to the bishopric: and[9] stars were seen to shoot rapidly;[10] and Wilferth the younger, who was bishop of York, died on the 3d of the kalends of May [29th April]; he was bishop thirty years.

A.D. 745. This year Daniel died: then forty-three years[11] had elapsed since he obtained the bishopric.

A.D. 746. This year king Selred was slain.

A.D. 747.

A.D. 748. This year Cynric, the etheling of the West-Saxons, was slain: and Eadbyrht, king of the Kentish-men, died; [12]and Aethelbyrht, the son of king Wihtred, succeeded to the kingdom.

A.D. 749.

A.D. 750. This year Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, fought against Ethelhun, the proud ealdorman.

A.D. 751.

A.D. 752. This year Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, in the twelfth[13] year of his reign, fought at Burford against Aethelbald, king of the Mercians, and put him to flight.

A.D. 753. This year Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, fought against the Welsh.

[1] D. E.

[2] The descent of Eata from Leodwald and the duration of his reign are not in F.

[3] 740, C. D. E. F.

[4] "His kinsman," D. E.

[5] "Twenty-six years," B. C.

[6] The notice of the death of Nothelm is from F.

[7] D. E, 741.

[8] From F. The Saxon notices from this time to the year 754 have been erased from this MS. to make room for the Latin.

[9] To the end of the year from D. E.

[10] Wilfrid the second, archbishop of York, is apparently confounded with the bishop of Worcester of the same name. The former was succeeded by Egbert in 734. See A. 734 and 776, and Beda, Eccl. Hist. V. xxiii.

[11] 46, E. See A.D. 703.

[12] This is an insertion in A.

[13] 22, E.

A.D. 754.[1] This year Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, died; and Cynehard obtained the bishopric of Winchester, after Hunferth: and the same year Canterbury was burned: and Sigebert, his kinsman,[2] succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons, and held it one year.

A.D. 755. This year Cynewulf, and the West-Saxon "witan," deprived his kinsman, Sigebryht, of his kingdom, except Hampshire, for his unjust doings; and that he held until he slew the ealdorman who longest abode by him. And then Cynewulf drove him into Andred, and he abode there until a swineherd stabbed him, at Privet's-flood,[3] and avenged the ealdorman, Cumbra.

And Cynewulf fought very many battles against the Welsh; and after he had held the kingdom about one-and-thirty years,[4] he purposed to expel a certain etheling, who was named Cyneheard: and Cyneheard was Sigebryht's brother. And[5] he then learned that the king with a small band was gone to Merton to visit a woman; and he there beset him, and surrounded the chamber on every side, before the men who were with the king discovered him. And when the king perceived this, he went to the door, and there manfully defended himself, until he beheld the etheling, and then he rushed out upon him and sorely wounded him; and they all continued fighting against the king until they had slain him.

And upon this, the king's thanes having discovered the affray by the woman's cries, each as he was ready, and with his utmost speed, ran to the spot. And the etheling offered money and life to each of them, and not one of them would accept it; but they continued fighting till they all fell, except one, a British hostage, and he was sorely wounded.

Then upon the morrow, the king's thanes, whom he had left behind him, heard that the king was slain. Then rode they thither, and Osric, his ealdorman, and Wiferth, his thane, and the men whom he had previously left behind. And at the town wherein the king lay slain they found the etheling, and those within had closed the gates against them; but they then advanced. And he then offered them their own choice of land and money if they would grant him the kingdom, and showed them that their kinsmen were with him, men who would not desert him. And they then said, that no kinsman was dearer to them than their lord, and that they never would follow his murderer. And they then offered their kinsmen that they might go away from him in safety; but they said that the same had been offered to their companions who before that had been with the king; then they said, that they no more minded it "than your companions who were slain with the king." And then they continued fighting around the gates until they made their way in,

[1] A.D. 753, F.
[2] "His kinsman," D. E.
[3] See Camd. Brit. col. 195.
[4] 21, D; 16, E.
[5] This tragical story is evidently, from its position, a later insertion. See Florence of Worcester, A.D. 784. Most of the ancient authorities say that Cynewulf reigned thirty-one years, though they all assign 755 and 784 for the first and last years of his reign. Perhaps we should read twenty-nine; but it seldom happens that the number of years given in the Chronicle for the duration of a reign can be reconciled with those marked for its beginning and ending.—*P.*

and slew the etheling, and all the men who were with him, except one, who was the ealdorman's godson; and he saved his life, though he was wounded in several places.

And Cynewulf reigned thirty-one years, and his body lies at Winchester, and the etheling's at Axminster; and their right paternal kin extends to Cerdic.

And the same year Aethelbald, king of the Mercians, was slain at Secandun[1] [Seckington], and his body lies at Repton, and[2] he reigned forty-one years;[3] and Beornraed obtained the kingdom, and held it a little while, and unhappily. And the same year Offa drove out Beornraed and obtained the kingdom, and held it thirty-nine years; and his son, Egfert, held it one hundred and forty-one days. Offa was the son of Thingferth, Thingferth[4] of Eanwulf, Eanwulf of Osmod, Osmod of Eawa, Eawa of Pybba, Pybba of Creoda, Creoda of Cynewald, Cynewald of Cnebba, Cnebba of Icel, Icel of Eomaer, Eomaer of Angeltheow, Angeltheow of Offa, Offa of Waermund, Waermund of Wihtlaeg, Wihtlaeg of Woden.

A.D. 755.[5] This year Cynewulf deprived king Sigebert of his kingdom; and Sigebert's brother, Cynehard by name, slew Cynewulf at Merton; and he reigned thirty-one years. And in the same year Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, was slain at Repton. And Offa succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians, Bernred being driven out.

A.D. 756.

A.D. 757.[6] This year Eadberht, king of the North-humbrians, was shorn, and his son Oswulf succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned one year; and he was slain by his household, on the 8th of the kalends of August.[7]

A.D. 758. This year archbishop Cuthbryht died; and [8]he held the archbishopric eighteen years.

A.D. 759. This year Bregowine was ordained archbishop, at St. Michael's tide [29th Sept.], and held the see four years. [9]And Moll Aethelwald succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians, and reigned six years, and then resigned it.

A.D. 760. This year Aethelbert, king of the Kentish-men, died; he was the son of king Withred: and Ceolwulf[10] also died.

A.D. 761.[11] This year was the severe winter; and Moll, king of the North-humbrians, slew Oswin, at Eadwin's Cliff, on the 8th of the ides of August [6th Aug.][12]

A.D. 762.[13] This year archbishop Bregwine died.

A.D. 763.[14] This year Ianbryht was ordained archbishop, on the

[1] In Warwickshire. See Camd. Brit. col. 614, where, however, Gibson's suggestion as to the origin of the name is obviously incorrect.
[2] The duration of his reign is from D. E. [3] 40, G.
[4] The remainder of the pedigree does not occur in D.
[5] From F.
[6] This year is from D. E., and partially from F.
[7] 25th July, according to this statement, but a Latin entry in E. mentions that his death occurred on the eighth of the ides of August [6th Aug.].
[8] F. [9] D. E. F.
[10] Formerly king of Northumbria, but at the time of his death a monk at Lindisfarne. This notice of his death is from D. E.
[11] A.D. 762, C.
[12] With the exception of this date, which does not occur in F, this entry respecting Moll is from D. E. F. [13] From F.
[14] A.D. 762, D. E. F.

fortieth day after mid-winter,[1] and held the see twenty-six years. And Frithuwald,[2] bishop of Whitherne, died on the nones of May [7th May]. He was consecrated at York,[3] on the 18th of the kalends of September [15th Aug.], in the sixth year of Ceolwulf's reign, and he was bishop twenty-nine years. Then Pehtwine was consecrated bishop of Whitherne, at Aelfet-ee, on the 16th of the kalends of August [17th July].[4]

A.D. 764.[5] This year archbishop Ieanbryht received his pall.

A.D. 765.[6] This year Alchred succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians, and reigned nine years.[7]

A.D. 766.[8] This year died archbishop Ecgberht, at York, on the 13th of the kalends of December [19th Nov.]; he was bishop thirty-seven years;[9] and Frithbert, at Hexham; he[10] was bishop thirty-three years; and Aethelberht was consecrated to York, and Alchmund to Hexham.

A.D. 767.[11]

A.D. 768.[12] This year king Eadberht, the son of Eata, died, on the 13th[13] of the kalends of September [20th Aug.]

A.D. 769[14]—771.

A.D. 772. This year bishop Milred died.[15]

A.D. 773.[16] This year a red crucifix appeared in the heavens after sunset: and the same year the Mercians and the Kentish-men fought at Otford; and wondrous adders were seen in the land of the South-Saxons.

A.D. 774.[17] This year, at Easter-tide, the North-humbrians drove their king, Alchred, from York, and took Aethelred, the son of Moll, to be their lord; he reigned four years.

A.D. 775.

A.D. 776.[18] This year bishop Pehtwin died, on the 13th of the kalends of October [19th Sept.]; he was bishop fourteen years.

A.D. 777.[19] This year Cynewulf and Offa fought, about Bensington, and Offa took the town; [20]and the same year, on the 17th of the kalends of July,[21] Aethelbert was consecrated, at York, bishop of Whitherne.

In[22] the days of king Offa there was an abbat of Medeshamstede

[1] The 2d Feb., Candlemas Day. The duration of his episcopate is from F.
[2] To the end of the year from D. E. F.
[3] E. states that he was consecrated at Ælfet-ee.
[4] As Trinity Sunday fell this year on 17th July, it is probable that this date is correct.
[5] A.D. 763, F. This entry does not occur in D. E.
[6] From D. E. F., with the exception of the notice of the duration of his reign, which does not occur in F.
[7] "Eight," E.
[8] The whole year is from D. E. F.
[9] 36, E.
[10] The duration of his episcopate not in F.
[11] "Here Charles the Great died." E. Latin.
[12] The whole year inserted in A. from D. E. F.
[13] 14, E.
[14] "The beginning of the reign of King Charles." E. Latin.
[15] He was bishop of Worcester.
[16] A.D. 774, C. D. E. F. G.
[17] D. E. F. Easter-day was on April 3d.
[18] D E. F.
[19] A.D. 775, G.
[20] The conclusion of the paragraph from D. E. F.
[21] 15th June, being the third Sunday after Trinity.
[22] From E.

called Beonne. The same Beonne, by the consent of all the monks of the minster, let to Cuthbriht, the ealdorman, ten "bond-lands" at Swineshead, with pasture, and with meadow, and with all that lay thereto, and on this condition: that Cuthbriht should give the abbat therefore fifty pounds, and each year one day's entertainment, or thirty shillings in money; and furthermore, that after his decease the land should return to the minster. The witnesses of this were king Offa, and king Egferth, and archbishop Hygeberht,[1] and bishop Ceolwulf, and bishop Inwona, and abbat Beonna, and many other bishops and abbats, and many other great men. In the days of this same Offa[2] there was an ealdorman who was called Brorda. He desired of the king, that for love of him he would free a minster of his, called Wokingas,[3] because he wished to give it to Medeshamstede, and St. Peter, and the abbat that then was, who was called Pusa. Pusa succeeded Beonna, and the king loved him greatly. And the king then freed the minster Wokingas, against king, and against bishop, and against earl, and against all men, so that no one should have any claim there except St. Peter and the abbat. This was done in the king's town called Freo-ric-burna.

A.D. 778. [4]This year Aethelbald and Heardberht slew three high-reeves: Ealwulf, the son of Bosa, at King's-cliff, and Cynewulf and Ecga, at Helathirn, on the 11th of the kalends of April [22d March]: and then Alfwold obtained the kingdom,[5] and drove Aethelred out of the country; and he reigned ten years.

A.D. 779.

A.D.[6] 780. This year the Old-Saxons and the Franks fought; [7]and the high-reeves of the North-humbrians burned Beorn, the ealdorman, at Seletun, on the 8th of the kalends of January [25th December]; and archbishop Aethelbert died at York, in whose place Eanbald was consecrated; and bishop Cynewulf gave up the bishopric of Lindisfarne. This year Alchmund, bishop of Hexham, died, on the 7th of the ides of September [7th Sept.], and Tilberht was consecrated in his place, on the 6th of the nones of October [2d October]; and Higbald was consecrated, at Socca-byrig, bishop of Lindisfarne; and king Alfwold sent to Rome for a pall, and invested Eanbald as archbishop.

A.D. 781.

A.D. 782. [8]This year died Werburh, Ceolred's queen, and Cynewulf, bishop of Lindisfarne; and there was a synod at Aclea.

A.D. 783.

A.D. [9]784. This year Cyneheard slew king Cynewulf, and was himself there slain, and eighty-four men with him; and then Beorhtric obtained the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and he reigned sixteen years, and his body lies at Warcham; and his right paternal kin reaches to Cerdic. [10]At this time king Alhmund reigned in

[1] Apparently bishop of Lichfield.
[2] See the charter of donation in Kemble's Cod. Dept. No. 168.
[3] Woking, in Surrey. See Camd. Brit. col. 182.
[4] D. E. F.
[5] Of Northumbria.
[6] A.D. 779, D. E. F.
[7] From D. E. and (partly) F.
[8] D. E. F.
[9] A.D. 783, C.
[10] This sentence is inserted in A.

Kent. [1]This king Alhmund was the father of Egberht, and Egberht was father of Athulf.

A.D. 785. [2]This year abbat Botwine died at Ripon; and this year there was a contentious synod at Cealchythe, and archbishop Iaenbyrht gave up some portion of his bishopric,[3] and Higbert was elected by king Offa; and Ecgferth was consecrated king. [4]And at this time messengers were sent from Rome by pope Adrian, to England, to renew the faith and the peace which St. Gregory had sent us by Augustine, the bishop; and they were worshipfully received, and sent away in peace.

A.D. 786.

A.D. 787. This year king Beorhtric took to wife Eadburg, king Offa's daughter; and in his days first came three ships of North-men, out of Hæretha-land. And then the reve rode to the place, and would have driven them to the king's town, because he knew not who they were: and they there slew him. These were the first ships of Danish-men which sought the land of the English nation.

A.D. 788. [5]This year a synod was assembled in the land of the North-humbrians at Pincanheale, on the 4th of the nones of September [2d Sept.]; and abbat Aldberht died at Ripon.

A.D. 789. [6]This year Alfwald, king of the North-humbrians, was slain by Siga, on the 8th of the kalends of October [24th Sept.]; and a heavenly light was frequently seen at the place where he was slain; and he was buried at Hexham, within the church; and Osred, the son of Alcred, succeeded to the kingdom after him: he was his nephew. And a great synod was assembled at Aclea.

A.D. 790. This year archbishop Ieanbryht died, and the same year abbat Aethelheard was chosen bishop.[7] [8]And Osræd, king of the North-humbrians, was betrayed, and driven from the kingdom; and Aethelred, the son of Athelwald, again obtained the government.[9]

A.D. 791. [10]This year Baldwulf was consecrated bishop of Whitherne, on the 16th of the kalends of August[11] [17th July], by archbishop Eanbald, and by bishop Aethelberht.[12]

A.D. 792. This year Offa, king of the Mercians, commanded the head of king Ethelbryht[13] to be struck off. [14]And Osred, who had been king of the Northumbrians, having come home after his exile, was seized and slain, on the 18th of the kalends of October [14th Sept.]; and his body lies at Tinmouth. And king Aethelred took a new wife, who was called Aelfled, on the 3d of the kalends of October [29th Sept.]

A.D. 793. [15]This year dire forwarnings came over the land of the

[1] From the margin of F.
[2] The death of Botwin is from D. E.
[3] This relates to Offa's temporary division of the province of Canterbury into two archbishoprics; one of which he placed at Lichfield, in his own kingdom of Mercia, under bishop Higebryht.—*P.*
[4] D. E. F. [5] D. E. F. [6] D. E. F.
[7] Namely, of Canterbury. [8] D. E. F.
[9] See A.D. 778. [10] D. E. F.
[11] This was the eighth Sunday after Trinity.
[12] Namely, Eanbald, archbishop of York, and Æthelberht, bishop of Hexham.
[13] Of the East Anglians. [14] From D. E. [15] D. E. F

North-humbrians, and miserably terrified the people; these were excessive whirlwinds and lightnings, and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. A great famine soon followed these tokens; and a little after that, in the same year, on the 6th of the ides of January [8th Jan.], the ravaging of heathen men lamentably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne, through rapine and slaughter. [1]And Siga died, on the 8th of the kalends of March [22d Feb.].

A.D. 794. This year pope Adrian[2] and king Offa[3] died; and Aethelred, king of the North-humbrians, was slain by his own people, on the 13th of the kalends of May[4] [19th April]; and bishop Ceolwulf and bishop Eadbald[5] went away from the land. And Egferth succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians, and died the same year. And Eadbyrht, who by a second name was named Praen, obtained the kingdom of Kent. [6]And Aethelheard, the ealdorman, died on the kalends of August [1st Aug.]; and the heathens ravaged among the North-humbrians, and plundered Ecgferth's monastery, at Donemouth; and there one of their leaders was slain, and also some of their ships were wrecked by a tempest; and many of them were there drowned, and some came on shore alive, and they were soon slain at the river's mouth.

A.D. 795. [7]This year the moon was eclipsed, between cock-crowing and dawn, on the 5th of the kalends of April [28th March]; and Eardwulf succeeded to the kingdom of the North-humbrians, on the 2d of the ides of May [14th May]; and he was afterwards consecrated king, and raised to his throne on the 8th of the kalends of June [26th May],[8] at York, by archbishop Eanbald, and bishop Aethelberht, and Higbald, and Badwulf, bishops.

A.D. 796. This year Cynulf,[9] king of the Mercians, laid waste Kent, [10]as far as the marshes, and took Praen, their king, and led him bound into Mercia, [11]and let his eyes be picked out, and his hands be cut off. And Athelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, appointed a synod,[12] and confirmed and ratified, by the command of pope Leo, all the things respecting God's ministers which were appointed in Wihtgar's days, and in other kings' days, and thus sayeth:—

"I, Athelard, the humble archbishop of Canterbury, by the unanimous counsel of the whole synod, and with . . . of all . . . to the congregation of all the ministers to which in old days immunity was given by faithful men, in the name of God, and by his awful doom, I command, as I have the command of pope Leo, that henceforth none dare to choose for themselves lords over God's heritage

[1] Not in F. See A.D. 789.
[2] Pope Adrian I. died 25th Dec. 795. Jaffé, p. 215.
[3] See again under A.D. 796.
[4] This date is from D. E.
[5] Eadbald's see is unknown; Ceolwulf was bishop of Lindsey.
[6] D. E.
[7] D. E. F.
[8] This is the festival of St. Augustine of Canterbury. He was consecrated by the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Hexham, Lindisfarne, and Whithern.
[9] So B. C, but A. D. E. F. G. read "Ceolwulf."
[10] B. C. D. E. read, "and the inhabitants of the marsh." The clause is not in F.
[11] F. supplies the passage as far as "rood-token."
[12] The council of Cloveshoe, held A.D. 803.

from amongst laymen. But even as it stands in the writ which the pope has given, or those holy men have appointed, who are our fathers and instructors concerning holy minsters, thus let them continue inviolate, without any kind of gainsaying. If there be any man who will not observe this ordinance of God, and of our pope, and ours, and who despiseth and holdeth it for nought, let him know that he shall give account before the judgment-seat of God. And I, Athelhard, archbishop, with twelve bishops, and three-and-twenty abbats, do confirm and ratify this same with Christ's rood-token."

[1]And archbishop Eanbald died, on the 4th of the ides of August [10th Aug.] of the same year, and his body lies at York; and the same year died bishop Ceolwulf;[2] and a second Eanbald was consecrated in the place of the other, on the 19th of the kalends of September [14th Augt.][3]

A.D. 796. [4]This year Offa, king of the Mercians, died, on the 4th of the kalends of August [29th July]: he reigned forty years.[5]

A.D. [6]797. This year the Romans cut out the tongue of pope Leo,[7] and put out his eyes, and drove him from his see; and soon afterwards, God helping, he was able to see and speak, and again was pope as he before was. [8]And Eanbald received his pall on the 6th of the ides of September [8th Sept.]; and bishop Aethelberht[9] died, on the 17th of the kalends of November [16th Oct.]; and Heardred was consecrated bishop in his place on the 3d[10] of the kalends of November [30th Oct.]; [11]and bishop Alfhun died at Sudbury, and he was buried in Dunwich, and Tidfrith was chosen after him; and Siric,[12] king of the East-Saxons, went to Rome. In this same year the body of Wihtburg[13] was found at Deorham, all whole and uncorrupted, five-and-fifty years after she had departed from this life.

A.D. 798. [14]This year there was a great fight at Hwealleage [Whalley], in the land of the North-humbrians, during Lent, on the 4th of the nones of April [2d April], and there Alric, the son of Heardbearht, was slain, and many others with him.

A.D. [15]799. This year archbishop Aethelheard, and Cynebryht, bishop of the West-Saxons, went to Rome.

A.D. [16]800. This year, on the 17th of the kalends of February [16th Jan.], the moon was eclipsed, at the second hour of the night. And king Beorhtric, and Worr the ealdorman, died, and Ecgbryht succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons. And the same day Aethelmund, ealdorman, rode over from the Wiccians, at Cynemaeresford.[17] Then Weoxtan, the ealdorman, with the men of

[1] D. E. after note[5].
[2] Of Lindsey.
[3] The eleventh Sunday after Trinity.
[4] D. E. erased in F. Offa's death is here described a second time.
[5] See note [1] on this page.
[6] A.D. 799. F.
[7] Pope Leo the Third.
[8] D. E. F.
[9] He was bishop of Hexham.
[10] We should probably read "the fourth," *i.e.* the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity.
[11] F.
[12] Sigeric. F. Lat.
[13] She was daughter of Anna, king of East Anglia.
[14] D. E.
[15] A.D. 800, F.
[16] A.D. 801, F.
[17] Kempsford, in Gloucestershire, or Commerford, in Wiltshire, concerning the claims of which latter place see Camd. Brit. col. 106.

Wiltshire, met him. There was a great fight, and both the ealdormen were slain, and the men of Wiltshire got the victory.

A.D. 801.

A.D. 801. [1]This year Beornmod was ordained bishop of Rochester.

A.D. [2]802. This year, on the 13th of the kalends of January[3] [20th Dec.] the moon was eclipsed at dawn; and Beornmod was ordained bishop of Rochester.

A.D. [4]803. This year died Higbald bishop of Lindisfarne on the 8th of the kalends of July [24th June], and Egbert was consecrated in his stead on the 3d of the ides of June [11th June]; and this year archbishop Aethelheard died in Kent, and Wulfred was ordained archbishop; [5]and abbat Forthred died.

A.D. [6]804. This year archbishop Wulfred received his pall.

A.D. [7]805. This year king Cuthred died among the Kentishmen, and Ceolburg, [8]abbess, and Heabryht the ealdorman.

A.D. 806. [9]This year the moon was eclipsed on the kalends of September [7th Sept.]: and Eardwulf king of the Northumbrians was driven from his kingdom; and Eanberht bishop of Hexham died. Also in the same year, on the 2d of the nones of June [4th June], a cross appeared in the moon on a Wednesday [10] at dawn; and afterwards in this year, on the 3d of the kalends of September,[11] a wonderful circle was seen about the sun.

A.D. 807, 808.

A.D. 809. [12]This year the sun was eclipsed at the beginning of the fifth hour of the day on the 17th of the kalends of August [16th July], the 2d day of the week, the 29th of the moon.

A.D. 810, 811.

A.D. 812. This year king Carl [13] died, and he reigned five-and-forty years; and archbishop Wulfred and Wigbryht [14] bishop of the West-Saxons both went to Rome.

A.D. [15]813. This year archbishop Wulfred, with the blessing of pope Leo, returned to his own bishopric; and the same year king Ecgbryht laid waste West-Wales from eastward to westward.

[1] Here again in MS. D. the same event is twice described, under the years 801 and 802.—*P.*

[2] A.D. 801, C. The numerals in this manuscript originally agreed with the text; but the rubricator having omitted 801, a later hand has altered the whole series down to 824, under the erroneous impression, as it would seem, that the defect should be thus supplied.—*P.*

[3] The date does not occur in F; it is erroneous, the eclipse really occurred on the twelfth of the kalends of June [21st May].—*P.*

[4] A.D. 802, C. The entry respecting Higbald is from D. E. His death should apparently be referred to the previous year, unless we read "June" instead of "July." The 11th June, 803, being Sunday, would suit for his consecration.

[5] Not in D. E.

[6] A.D. 803, C.

[7] A.D. 804, C.

[8] Of Berkley.

[9] D. E. F. as far as "died;" the rest of the year from F.

[10] This entry apparently belongs to the preceding year, in which the 4th June fell on a Wednesday.

[11] F. Lat. here adds that this was on a Sunday, which is correct.

[12] F.

[13] Charles the Great died 28th January, 814.

[14] Bishop of Sherburn.

[15] A.D. 812, C.; 815, F.

A.D. [1]814. This year the noble and holy pope Leo[2] died, and after him Stephen succeeded to the popedom.

A.D. 815.

A.D. [3]816. This year pope Stephen died, and [4]after him Paschal was ordained pope; [5]and the same year the English school [at Rome] was burned.

A.D. 817, 818.

A.D. [6]819. This year Cenwulf king of the Mercians died, and Ceolwulf succeeded to the kingdom; and Eadbryht the ealdorman died.

A.D. 820.

A.D. [7]821. This year Ceolwulf was deprived of his kingdom.

A.D. [8]822. This year two ealdormen, Burghelm and Muca, were slain; and there was a synod at Cloveshoo.

A.D. [9]823. This year there was a battle between the Welsh and the men of Devon at Gafulford: and the same year Ecgbryht king of the West-Saxons and Beornwulf king of the Mercians fought at Ellendune, and Ecgbryht got the victory, and there was great slaughter made. He then sent from the army his son Æthelwulf, and Ealhstan his bishop,[10] and Wulfheard his ealdorman, into Kent with a large force, and they drove Baldred the king northwards over the Thames. And the men of Kent, and the men of Surrey, and the South-Saxons, and the East-Saxons, submitted to him; for formerly they had been unjustly forced from his kin. And the same year the king of the East-Angles and the people sought the alliance and protection of king Ecbryht for dread of the Mercians; and the same year the East-Angles slew Beornwulf king of Mercia.

A.D. 824.

A.D. 825. This year Ludeca king of the Mercians was slain, and his five ealdormen with him; and Wiglaf succeeded to the kingdom.

A.D. 826.

A.D. 827. This year the moon was eclipsed[11] on the mass-night of midwinter [25th Dec.] And the same year king Ecgbryht conquered the kingdom of the Mercians, and all that was south of the Humber; and he was the eighth king who was Bretwalda. Aelle king of the South-Saxons was the first who had thus much dominion; the second was Ceawlin king of the West-Saxons; the third was Aethelbryht king of the Kentish-men; the fourth was Raedwald king of the East-Angles; the fifth was Edwin king of the North-humbrians; the sixth was Oswald who reigned after him; the seventh was Oswio, Oswald's brother; the eighth was Ecgbryht

[1] A.D. 813, C.; 816, F.; but referring to 814.
[2] Leo the Third was buried 12th June, 816. Jaffé, p. 220.
[3] A.D. 815, E.; 817, F.; mutilated in C.
[4] Namely, in 817.
[5] This clause does not occur in F. The Angle-School was a quarter near St. Peter's, where the English pilgrims at Rome resided. According to Anastasius, they called it their "Borough," (burgus). *V. Anastas. Bibliothecar. de Vita Stephani IV.—P.*
[6] A.D. 822, F.; mutilated in C.
[7] A.D. 820, C.
[8] A.D. 821, C.
[9] A.D. 822, C.
[10] Namely, of Sherburn.
[11] The eclipse happened on the 25th of December, 828.—*P.*

king of the West-Saxons. And Ecgbryht led an army to Dore against the North-humbrians, and they there offered him obedience and allegiance, and with that they separated.

A.D. 828. This year Wiglaf again obtained the kingdom of the Mercians, and bishop Aethelwald[1] died; and the same year king Ecgbryht led an army against the North-Welsh, and he forced them to obedient subjection.

A.D. 829. This year archbishop Wulfred[2] died, [3]and after him abbat Felogild was chosen to the archbishopric, on the 7th[4] of the kalends of May; and he was consecrated upon a Sunday, the 5th of the ides of June: and he died on the 3d of the kalends of September [30 Aug.].

A.D. 830. This year Ceolnoth was chosen bishop,[5] and ordained; and abbat Feologild died.

A.D. 831. This year archbishop Ceolnoth received his pall.

A.D 832. This year the heathen men ravaged Sheppey.

A.D. [6]833. This year king Ecgbryht fought against the men of thirty-five[7] ships at Carrum, and there was great slaughter made, and the Danish men maintained possession of the field of battle. And Hereferth[8] and Wigthen, two bishops, died; and Dudda and Osmod, two ealdormen, died.

A.D. 834.

A.D. 835. This year a great hostile fleet came to the West-Welsh, and they united together, and made war upon Ecgbryht king of the West-Saxons. As soon as he heard of it he went thither with an army, and fought against them at Hengest-down, [Hengeston], and there he put to flight both the Welsh and the Danish-men.

A.D. 836. This year king Ecgbryht[9] died; before he was king, Offa king of the Mercians, and Beorhtric king of the West-Saxons, drove him out of England into France for three years; and Beorhtric assisted Offa, because he had his daughter for his queen. And Ecgbryht reigned thirty-seven years and seven months; and Aethelwulf the son of Ecgbryht succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons;[10] and he gave his son Æthelstan the kingdoms of the Kentish-men, and of the East-Saxons, and of the men of Surrey, and of the South-Saxons.

A.D. 836. [11]And Æthelstan his other son succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and to Surrey, and to the kingdom of the South-Saxons.

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[1] Bishop of Lichfield.
[2] Of Canterbury.
[3] To the end of the year from F.
[4] The date of his election, Sunday, 25th April, is correct; but not so that of his consecration, the 5th of the ides of June falling on a Wednesday. We should probably read "the 8th of the ides of June," *i.e.* Sunday, June 6th.
[5] Of Canterbury.
[6] A.D. 834, F.
[7] Twenty-five, D. E. F.
[8] Wigthen and Hereferth were successively bishops of Winchester; but as they both made profession of canonical obedience to archbishop Wulfred between the years 803 and 829, this was probably a different person.—*P.*
[9] Egberht's accession is invariably placed in the year 800; if, therefore, the length of his reign be rightly stated, his death could not have happened before 837.—*P.*
[10] See note [11].
[11] D. E. F. after [10] above.

A.D. 837. [1]This year Wulfheard the ealdorman fought at Hamtun [Southampton], against the forces of [2]thirty-three ships, and there made great slaughter, and got the victory; and the same year[3] Wulfheard died. And the same year Aethelhelm the ealdorman fought against the Danish army at Port with the men of Dorset, and for a good while he put the enemy to flight; but the Danish-men had possession of the field of battle, and slew the ealdorman.

A.D. 838. [4]This year Herebryht the ealdorman was slain by the heathen men, and many with him among the Marsh-men;[5] and afterwards, the same year, in Lindsey, and in East-Anglia, and in Kent, many men were slain by the enemy.

A.D. 839. [6]This year there was great slaughter at London, and at Canterbury,[7] and at Rochester.

A.D. [8]840. This year king Aethelwulf fought at Carrum against the crews of thirty-five ships, and the Danish-men maintained possession of the field of battle. [9]And Louis the emperor died.

A.D. 841—844.

A.D. 845. This year Eanulf the ealdorman, with the men of Somerset, and bishop Ealchstan, and Osric the ealdorman, with the men of Dorset, fought at the mouth of the Parret against the Danish army, and there made great slaughter, and got the victory.

A.D. 846—850.

A.D. [10]851. [11]This year Ceorl the earldorman, with the men of Devonshire, fought against the heathen men at Wicganbeorg, and there made great slaughter and got the victory. [12]And the same year king Aethelstan and Ealchere the ealdormen fought on shipboard, and slew a great number of the enemy at Sandwich in Kent, and took nine[13] ships, and put the others to flight; and the heathen men, for the first time, remained over winter in Thanet. And the same year came three hundred and fifty ships to the mouth of the Thames, and the crews landed and took Canterbury and London by storm, and put to flight Beorhtwulf, king of the Mercians, with his army, and then went south over the Thames into Surrey; and there king Aethelwulf and his son Aethelbald, with the army of the West-Saxons, fought against them at Aclea [Ockley], and there made the greatest slaughter among the heathen army that we have heard reported to the present day, and there got the victory.

A.D. 852. [14]At this time Ceolred, abbat of Medeshamstede, and

[1] This whole year is omitted in F.
[2] Thirty-four, C.D.
[3] Here begins the fragment of MS. G.
[4] E. F. omit the whole of this year.
[5] Mercians, D.
[6] This year is not in F.
[7] This is the reading of MS. C. The other reading gives Cwantavic, or S. Josse-sur-mer.
[8] A.D. 841, C.
[9] From F. This was Louis le Debonnaire.
[10] A.D. 853, C. The first sentence of the events of this year is not in F.
[11] From this period until 887, compare Asser, who has translated and incorporated the Chronicle in his life of Alfred.—*P.*
[12] Transposed to the end of the year in B. C. D. E. F., and partly repeated by insertion in A. at the end of 845.
[13] Eight, B. C.
[14] The whole of this year from E. The lease here recited may be seen in Kemble's Anglo-Saxon Charters, No. 267.

the monks let to Wulfred the land of Sempigaham, on this condition, that after his decease the land should return to the minster, and that Wulfred should give the land of Sliowaforda to Medeshamstede, and each year should deliver into the minster sixty fother of wood, and twelve fother of coal,[1] and six fother of faggots, and two tuns full of pure ale, and two beasts fit for slaughter, and six hundred loaves, and ten measures of Welsh ale, and each year a horse, and thirty shillings, and one day's entertainment. At this agreement were present king Burhred, and archbishop Ceolred, and bishop Tunberht, and bishop Cenred, and bishop Alhhun, and abbat Wihtred, and abbat Werhtherd, and Aethelheard, the ealdorman, and Huuberht, the ealdorman, and many others.

A.D. [2]853. This year Burhred, king of the Mercians, and his "witan," begged of king Aethelwulf that he would assist him so that he might make the North-Welsh obedient to him. He then did so; and went with an army across Mercia among the North-Welsh, and made them all obedient to him. And the same year king Aethelwulf sent his son Alfred to Rome. Leo[3] [IV.] was then pope of Rome; and he consecrated him king, and took him for his son at confirmation. Then, in the same year, Ealhere, with the men of Kent, and Huda, with the men of Surrey, fought in Thanet, against the heathen army; and at first they were victorious; and many there were slain, and drowned on either hand, and both the ealdormen were killed. And upon this, after Easter, Aethelwulf, king of the West-Saxons, gave his daughter to Burgred, king of the Mercians.

A.D. 854.

A.D. [4]855. This year the heathen men, for the first time, remained over winter in Shepey; and the same year king Aethelwulf gave by charter[5] the tenth part of his land throughout his realm for the glory of God and his own eternal salvation. And the same year he went to Rome in great state, and dwelt there twelve months,[6] and then returned homewards. And then Charles, king of the Franks, gave him his daughter to wife;[7] and after that he came to his people, and they were glad of it. And about two years after he came from France he died, and his body lies at Winchester. And he reigned eighteen years and a half. And Aethelwulf was the son of Ecgbryht,[8] Ecgbryht of Ealhmund,

[1] Petrie leaves this word in its original form, "græfan," uncertain as to its meaning; but it doubtless is a weak noun (græfa-an), from the verb grafan, to dig.

[2] A.D. 754, C. This year is not noticed in F.

[3] Here in MS. A. is painted on each side-margin a red cross. Similar crosses are added on the death of king Ethelbryht, A.D. 860, and bishop Asser, A.D. 910. A few others in ink have been added by a later hand.—*P.*

[4] A.D. 856, C. F.; 854 G.

[5] For Aethelwulf's grant, which has given rise to much controversy, see Asser, A.D. 855; Kemble's Saxon Charters, Nos. 270, 271, 275, 276; and Monast. Anglic. i. 100: and for an examination into the authenticity of the charter, Collier's Eccl. Hist. i. 156, 157, may be consulted.

[6] See next page, note [4].

[7] Aethelwulf married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, on 1st Oct. 856, and died in January (or, as one MS. of Florence of Worcester reads, June), 858. See Asser, A.D. 855.—*P.*

[8] To the end of the genealogy is omitted in E. F.

Ealhmund of Eafa, Eafa of Eoppa, Eoppa of Ingild; Ingild was Ine's brother, king of the West-Saxons, he who held the kingdom [1]thirty-seven years, and afterwards went to St. Peter, and there resigned his life; and they were the sons of Cenred, Cenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald of Cutha, Cutha of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Ceaulin, Ceaulin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic, Cerdic of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawine, Freawine of Frithogar, Frithogar of Brond, Brond of Baeldaeg, Baeldaeg of Woden, Woden of Frithowald, Frithowald of Frealaf, Frealaf of Frithuwulf, Frithuwulf of Finn, Finn of Godwulf, Godwulf of Geat, Geat of Taetwa, Taetwa of Beaw, Beaw of Sceldwa, Sceldwa of Heremod, Heremod of Itermon, Itermon of Hathra, Hathra of Hwala, Hwala of Bedwig, Bedwig of Sceaf, that is, the son of Noah, he was born in Noah's ark; Lamech, Matusalem, Enoh, Jaered, Malalahel, Camon, Enos, Seth, Adam the first man, and our Father, that is, Christ. Amen. And then Aethelwulf's two sons succeeded to the kingdom; Aethelbald succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and Aethelbryht to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and to the kingdom of the East-Saxons, and to Surrey, and to the kingdom of the South-Saxons; and then Aethelbald reigned five years. [2]Aelfred his third[3] son he had sent to Rome: and when pope Leo [IV.] heard say that he [Aethelwulf] was dead, he consecrated Alfred king, and held him as his spiritual son at confirmation, even as his father Athewulf had requested on sending him thither.

A.D. 855. [4]And on his return homewards he took to (wife) the daughter of Charles, king of the French, whose name was Judith, and he came home safe. And then in about two years he died, and his body lies at Winchester; and he reigned [5]eighteen years and a half, and he was the son of Ecgbryht. And then his two sons succeeded to the kingdom; Aethelbald to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and Aethelbryht to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and of the East-Saxons, and of Surrey, and of the South-Saxons. And he reigned five years.[6]

A.D. 856—859.

A.D. [7]860. [8]This year died king Aethelbald, and his body lies at Sherborne; and Aethelbryht succeeded to all the realm of his brother, and he held it in goodly concord and in great tranquillity. And in his days a large ship-army came to land, and stormed Winchester. And Osric the ealdorman, with the men of Hampshire, Aethelwulf the ealdorman, with the men of Berkshire, fought against the army, and put the army to flight, and had possession of the place of carnage. And Aethelbryht reigned five years, and his body lies at Sherborne.

A.D. 861. [9]This year died St. Swithun the bishop.

A.D. 862—864.

A.D. [10]865. This year the heathen army sat down in Thanet, and

[1] The duration of his reign is from B. C. D.
[2] To the end of the year from F.
[3] Read, "his fourth son."—*P.*
[4] D. E. F., after p. 41, note [6].
[5] Nine years, E; twenty years, F.
[6] As at the beginning of the pedigree in the text given above.
[7] A.D. 861, C. F.
[8] F. in continuation of A.D. 861.
[9] F.
[10] A.D 866, C.

made peace with the men of Kent, and the men of Kent promised them money for the peace; and during the peace and the promise of money the army stole away by night, and ravaged all Kent to the eastward.

A.D. [1]866. This year Aethered, Aethelbyrht's brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons: [2]and the same year a great heathen army came to the land of the English nation, and took up their winter quarters among the East-Angles, and there they were horsed; and the East-Angles made peace with them.

A.D. [3]867. This year the army went from East-Anglia over the mouth of the Humber to the city of York in North-humbria. And there was much dissension among that people, and they had cast out their king Osbryht, and had taken to themselves a king, Aella, not of royal blood; but late in the year they resolved that they would fight against the army; and therefore they gathered a large force, and sought the army at the city of York, and stormed the town, and some of them got within, and there was an excessive slaughter made on the North-humbrians, some within, some without, and the kings were both slain; and the remainder made peace with the army. And the same year bishop Ealchstan died; and he had the bishopric of Sherborne fifty years, and his body lies in the town.

A.D. [4]868. This year the same army went into Mercia to Nottingham, and there took up their winter quarters. And Burgraed, king of the Mercians, and his "witan," begged of Ethered, king of the West-Saxons, and of Aelfred his brother, that they would help them, that they might fight against the army. And then they went with the West-Saxon power into Mercia as far as Nottingham, and there met with the army within the fortress; and besieged them therein: but there was no great battle; and the Mercians made peace with the army.

A.D. [5]869. This year the army again went to York, and sat there one year.

A.D. [6]870. This year the army rode across Mercia into East-Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford; and the same winter king Eadmund fought against them, and the Danes got the victory, and slew the king, and subdued all the land, [7]and destroyed all the minsters which they came to. [8]The names of their chiefs who slew the king were Ingwair and Ubba. At that same time they came to Medeshamstede, and burned and beat it down, slew abbat and monks, and all that they found there. And that place, which before was full rich, they reduced to nothing. And the same year died archbishop Ceolnoth. [9]Then went Aethered and Aelfred his brother, and took Aethelred bishop of Wiltshire,[10] and appointed him archbishop of Canterbury, because formerly he had

[1] A.D. 867, C.
[2] The conclusion of the year not in F.
[3] A.D. 868, C.
[4] A.D. 869, C.
[5] A.D. 870, C. This year is blank in F.
[6] A.D. 871, C.
[7] As far as "nothing" from E.
[8] This sentence occurs in F. also.
[9] F. in the margin.
[10] Of this Wiltshire see, nothing occurs elsewhere before the beginning of the following century.—*P.*

been a monk of the same minster of Canterbury. As soon as he came to Canterbury, and was established in his archbishopric, he then thought how he might expel the clerks who (were) there within, whom the archbishop Ceolnoth had (before) placed there for such need . . . as we shall relate. The first year that he was made archbishop there was so great a mortality, that of all the monks whom he found there within, no more than five monks survived. Then for the . . . . he (commanded) his chaplains, and also some priests of his vills, that they should help the few monks who there survived to do Christ's service, because he could not so readily find monks who might of themselves do the service; and for this reason he commanded that the priests, the while, until God should give peace in this land, should help the monks. In that same time was this land much distressed by frequent battles, and hence the archbishop could not there effect it, for there was warfare and sorrow all his time over England; and hence the clerks remained with the monks. Nor was there ever a time that monks were not there within, and they ever had lordship over the priests. Again the archbishop Ceolnoth thought, and also said to those who were with him, "As soon as ever God shall give peace in this land, either these priests shall be monks, or from elsewhere I will place within the minster as many monks as may do the service of themselves; for God knows that I . . . . . [1]

A.D. [2]871. This year the army came to Reading [3]in Wessex; and about three days after this, two of their earls rode forth. Then Aethelwulf the ealdorman met them at Englafield, and there fought against them, and got the victory: [4]and there one of them, whose name was Sidroc, was slain. About four[5] days after this, king Aethered and Aelfred his brother led a large force to Reading, and fought against the army, and there was great slaughter made on either hand. And Aethelwulf the ealdorman was slain, and the Danish-men had possession of the place of carnage. And about four days after this, king Aethered and Aelfred his brother fought against the whole army at Aescesdune; and [6]they were in two bodies: in the one were Bachsecg and Halfdene, the heathen kings, and in the other were the earls. And then king Aethered fought against the division of the kings, and there king Bagsecg was slain; and Aelfred his brother against the division of the earls, and there earl Sidroc the elder was slain, earl Sidroc the younger, and earl Osbearn, and earl Fraena, and earl Hareld; and both divisions of the army were put to flight, and many thousands slain: and they continued fighting until night. And [7]about fourteen days after this, king Aethered and Aelfred his brother fought against the army at Basing, and there the Danes obtained the victory. And about two months after this, king Aethered and Aelfred his brother fought

[1] The text of the MS. is here slightly imperfect, and the corresponding Latin text does not enable us satisfactorily to supply the defect.
[2] A.D. 872, C.
[3] As far as "victory" not in F.
[4] B. C. D. E. give the remainder of the sentence.
[5] Seven, G.; but this number is expuncted in the MS., and "four" placed over it.
[6] See at the end of the year, p. 45, note [4].
[7] See at the end of the year, p. 45, note [5].

against the army at Meretun; and they were in two bodies, and they put both to flight, and during a great part of the day were victorious; and there was great slaughter on either hand; but the Danes had possession of the place of carnage: and there bishop Heahmund[1] was slain, and many good men: and after this battle[2] there came a great army in the summer to Reading. And after this, over Easter [15th April], king Aethered died; and he reigned five years, and his body lies at Winburn-minster.

[3]Then Aelfred the son of Aethelwulf, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons. And about one month after this, king Aelfred with a small band fought against the whole army at Wilton, [4]and put them to flight for a good part of the day; but the Danes had possession of the place of carnage. And this year nine general battles were fought against the army in the kingdom south of the Thames, besides which, Aelfred the king's brother, and single ealdormen, and king's thanes, oftentimes made raids upon them, which were not counted; and within the year nine earls and one king were slain. And that year the West-Saxons made peace with the army.

A.D. 871. [5]And the Danish-men were overcome: and they had two heathen kings, Bægsæc and Healfdene, and many earls; and there was king Bagsec slain, and these earls; Sidroc the elder, and also Sidroc the younger, Osbern, Frena, and Harold; and the army was put to flight.[6]

A.D. [7]872. This year the army went to London from Reading, and there took up their winter-quarters: and then the Mercians made peace with the army.

A.D. 873. [8]This year the army went into North-humbria, and took up their winter-quarters at Torksey in Lindsey: and then the Mercians made peace with the army.

A.D. [9]874. This year the army went from Lindsey to Repton, and there took up their winter-quarters, and drove king Burgraed over sea, about twenty-two years after he had obtained the kingdom; and subdued the whole country: and [Burgraed] went to Rome, and there remained; and his body lies in St. Mary's church, at the English school. [10]And that same year they committed the kingdom of the Mercians to the keeping of Ceolwulf, an unwise thane of the king; and he swore oaths to them, and delivered hostages that it should be ready for them on whatever day they would have it, and that he would be ready both in his own person and with all who would follow him, for the behoof of the army.

A.D. [11]875. This year the army went from Repton: and Healfdene went with some of the army into North-humbria, and took up winter-quarters by the river Tyne. And the army subdued the land, and oft-times spoiled the Picts, and the Strathclyde Britons. And the three kings, Godrum, and Oscytel, and Anwynd,

[1] Of Sherborne.
[2] Here ends the fragment of MS. G.
[3] In MSS. A. B. C. D. a fresh section thus, with a large initial.
[4] To the end of the sentence does not occur in F.
[5] F. at p. 44, note [6].
[6] As at page 44, note [7].
[7] A.D. 873, C. This year does not occur in F.
[8] This year does not occur in F.
[9] A.D. 875, C.
[10] F. here ends the year.
[11] A.D. 876, C.

went with a large army from Repton to Grantabridge, and sat down there one year. And that summer king Aelfred went out to sea with a fleet, and fought against the forces of seven ships, and one of them he took, and put the rest to flight.

A.D. [1]876. This year the army stole away to Wareham, a fortress of the West-Saxons. And afterwards the king made peace with the army; and they delivered to the king hostages from among the most distinguished men of the army; and then they swore oaths to him on the holy ring,[2] which they never before would do to any nation, that they would speedily depart from his kingdom. And notwithstanding this, that part of the army which was horsed, stole away by night from the fortress to Exeter. And that year Healfdene apportioned the lands of North-humbria: and they thenceforth continued ploughing and tilling them. [3]This year Rolla overran Normandy with his army, and he reigned [4]fifty years.

A.D. 876. [5]And in this same year the army of the Danes in England swore oaths to king Aelfred upon the holy ring, which before they would not do to any nation; and they delivered to the king hostages from among the most distinguished men of the army, that they would speedily depart from his kingdom; and that by night they broke.

A.D. [6]877. This year the army came to Exeter from Wareham; [7]and the fleet sailed round westwards: and then a great storm overtook them at sea, and there one hundred and twenty ships were wrecked at Swanawic. And king Aelfred with his forces rode after the army which was mounted, as far as Exeter; and they were unable to overtake them[8] before they were within the fortress, where they could not be come at. And they there delivered to him hostages as many as he would have, and swore many oaths: and then they observed the peace well. And afterwards, during harvest, the army went into Mercia, and some part of it they apportioned, and some they delivered to Ceolwulf.

A.D. [9]878. This year, during midwinter, after twelfth night [6th Jan.] the army stole away to Chippenham, and overran the land of the West-Saxons, and sat down there; and many of the people they drove beyond sea, and of the remainder the greater part they subdued and forced to obey them, except king Aelfred: and he, with a small band, with difficulty retreated to the woods and to the fastnesses of the moors. And the same winter, the brother of Inwaer and of Healfdene came with[10] twenty-three ships to Devonshire in Wessex; and he was there slain, and with him eight hundred and forty[11] men of his army: [12]and there was taken the

[1] A.D. 877, C.

[2] In illustration of this passage, Petrie gives an extract from Arngrim Jonas, and a reference to Bartholinus *De Armillis*, by which it appears that it was customary among the early Scandinavian nations to give additional sanctity to an oath by taking it upon a ring, or bracelet, smeared with the blood of the sacrifice offered upon the occasion.

[3] To the end of the year from F.

[4] The Latin text of E. states that he reigned fifty-three years.

[5] F. in continuation after [3], above.

[6] A.D. 878, C.

[7] This clause is not in B.C.

[8] The conclusion of this sentence is not in B C.

[9] A.D. 879, C.

[10] The number of the ships is not given in D. E.

[11] Sixty, B. C.

[12] The remainder of the sentence is from B. C. D. E.

war-flag, which they called the Raven. After this, at Easter [23d March], king Aelfred, with a small band constructed a fortress at Athelney;[1] and from this fortress, with that part of the men of Somerset which was nearest to it, from time to time they fought against the army. Then in the seventh week after Easter he rode to Ecgbryhts-stane, on the east side of Selwood; and there came to meet him all the men of Somerset, and the men of Wiltshire, and that portion of the men of Hampshire which was on this side of the sea; and they were joyful [at his presence]. On the following day he went from that station to Iglea, and on the day after this to Ethandun,[2] and there fought against the whole army, put them to flight, and pursued them as far as their fortress: and there he sat down fourteen days. And then the army delivered to him hostages, with many oaths, that they would leave his kingdom, and also promised him that their king should receive baptism: and this they accordingly fulfilled. And about three weeks after this king Godrum came to him, with twenty-nine others, who were of the most distinguished in the army, at Alre, which is near Athelney: and the king was his godfather at baptism; and his chrism-loosing[3] was at Wedmore: and he was twelve days with the king; and he greatly honoured him and his companions with gifts.

A.D. [4]879. This year the army went to Cirencester from Chippenham, and sat there one year. And that year a body of pirates drew together, and sat down at Fulham on the Thames. And that same year the sun was eclipsed during one hour of the day.[5]

A.D. [6]880. This year the army went from Cirencester to East-Anglia, and settled in the land, and apportioned it. And that same year the army, which previously had sat down at Fulham, went over sea to Ghent in France, and sat there one year.

A.D. [7]881. This year the army went further into France, and the French fought against them: and then was the army there horsed after the battle.

A.D. [8]882. This year the army went up along [the banks of] the Maese far into France, and there sat one year. And that same year king Aelfred went out to sea with ships, and fought against the forces of four ships of Danish men, and took two of the ships, and the men were slain that were in them; and the forces of two ships surrendered to him, and they were sorely distressed and wounded before they surrendered to him.

A.D. [9]883. This year the army went up the Scheldt to

[1] See Camd. Brit. col. 74. Here it was that he lost that remarkable jewel, now in the Ashmole Museum at Oxford, figured in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 260, and in Hickes's Thesaur. p. 142.

[2] Edingdon, in Wiltshire, Camd. Brit. col. 108.

[3] Apparently the removal of the fillet which, covering the chrism on the forehead, was bound round the head at confirmation.—*P.* The passages collected by Martene, de Antiq. Ecclesiæ Ritibus, I. cap. ii. art. III. § xiv. ed. 1700, establish the accuracy of this conjecture.

[4] A.D. 880, C.

[5] The eclipse happened on the 14th March, 880.—*P.*

[6] A.D. 879, G.; 881, C.

[7] A.D. 882, C.

[8] A.D. 883, C.

[9] A.D. 884, C.

Condé, and sat there one year. [1]And Marinus the pope then sent "lignum Domini"[2] to king Aelfred; and that same year Sighelm and Aethelstan carried to Rome the alms which the king had vowed to send thither, and also to India, to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew, when they sat down against the army at London; and there, thanks be to God, they largely obtained the object of their prayer after the vow.

A.D. 884. This year the army went up the Somme to Amiens, and there sat one year. [3]This year [4]the benevolent bishop Aethelwold died.

A.D. 885. [5]This year the fore-mentioned army divided itself into two; the one part went eastward, the other part to Rochester, and besieged the city, and wrought another fortress about themselves. And, notwithstanding this, the townsmen defended the city till king Aelfred came out with his forces. Then went the army to their ships, and abandoned their fortress; and they were there deprived of their horses, and soon after, in that same manner, departed over sea. And that same year king Aelfred sent a fleet from Kent to East-Anglia. So soon as they came to the mouth of the Stour, there met them sixteen ships of pirates; and they fought against them, and captured all the ships and killed the men. As they afterwards returned homeward with the booty, a large fleet of pirates met them, and then fought against them that same day, and the Danish-men had the victory. That same year, before midwinter, Charles,[6] king of the French, died; he was killed by a wild boar; and one year before this, his brother[7] died: he too had the western kingdom: and they were both sons of Louis, who likewise had the western kingdom, and died that year when the sun was eclipsed: he was son of Charles,[8] whose daughter Aethelwulf, king of the West-Saxons, had for his queen. [9]And that same year a large fleet drew together against the Old Saxons; and there was a great battle twice in that year, and the Saxons had the victory, and the Frisians were there with them. That same year Charles[10] succeeded to the western kingdom, and to all the kingdom on this side the Wendel-sea [the Tuscan Sea], and beyond this sea, in like manner as his great-grandfather had it, with the exception of the Lid-wiccas [the Bretons]. Charles was Louis's son; Louis was Charles's brother, who was father of Judith, whom king Aethelwulf had; and they were sons of Louis, Louis was son of the elder Charles, Charles was Pepin's son. [11]And that same year died the

[1] The remainder of the year is from B.C.D.E.F.

[2] F. explains this as meaning a portion of our Lord's cross.

[3] The conclusion from MS. F., the Latin text of which reads thus, "Here died Adelwold bishop of Winchester, and in his place was chosen Alfee, who was called by another name Godwin."

[4] The account of the death of Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, here inserted in MS. F., is anticipated a century by the carelessness of the scribe: the name of his successor in the Latin puts this beyond all doubt. See A. 984.—*P.*

[5] Asser omits the events of A. 884 of the Chronicle, and places those of 885 under that year. At any rate the foreign transactions are rightly so placed.—*P.* The passage as far as "victory" is not in F.

[6] Carloman.

[7] Louis III.

[8] Charles the Bald.

[9] As far as "Pepin's son," not in E. F.

[10] Surnamed the Fat.

[11] This sentence is not in B. C. D. E.

good pope Marinus, who, at the prayer of Aelfred, king of the West-Saxons, freed the English school; and he sent him great gifts, and part of the rood on which Christ suffered. [1]And that same year the army in East-Anglia broke the peace with king Aelfred.

A.D. 886. [2]This year the army which before had drawn eastward, went westward again, and thence up the Seine, and there took up their winter quarters [3]near the town of Paris. That same year king Aelfred[4] repaired London; and all the English submitted to him, except those who were under the bondage of the Danishmen; and then he committed the town to the keeping of Aethered the ealdorman.

A.D. [5]887. This year the army went up through the bridge at Paris, and thence up along the Seine as far as the Marne, and thence up the Marne to Chezy, and then sat down there, and on the Yonne, two winters in the two places. And that same year Charles[6] king of the French died; and six weeks before he died, Earnulf his brother's son bereaved him of the kingdom. And then was that kingdom divided into five, and five kings were consecrated thereto. This, however, was done by permission of Earnulf: and they said that they would hold it from his hand, because none of them on the father's side was born thereto except him alone. Earnulf then dwelt in the land east of the Rhine: and Rodulf then succeeded to the [7]middle kingdom, and Oda to the western part, and Beorngar and Witha[8] to the land of the Lombards, and to the lands on that side of the mountain: and that they held in great discord, and fought two general battles, and oft and many times laid waste the land, and each repeatedly drove out the other. [9]And that same year that the army went up beyond the bridge at Paris, Aethelhelm the ealdorman[10] carried the alms of the West-Saxons and of king Aelfred to Rome.[11]

A.D. [12]888. This year Beocca the ealdorman carried the alms of the West-Saxons and of king Aelfred to Rome; and queen [13]Aethelswith, who was king Aelfred's sister, died on the way to Rome, and her body lies at Pavia. And that same year Aethelred archbishop of Canterbury, and Aethelwold the ealdorman, died in the same month.

A.D. [14]889. In this year there was no journey to Rome, except that king Aelfred sent two couriers with letters.

A.D. [15]890. [16]This year abbot Beornhelm carried the alms of the West-Saxons and of king Aelfred to Rome. And Godrum the

[1] F. does not contain this sentence.
[2] The whole of this year is omitted by F.
[3] The remainder of the sentence from B. C. D. E.
[4] The Latin text of F. here reads, "King Alfred resided in London."
[5] A.D. 888, C.
[6] This was Charles, surnamed the Fat.
[7] Of Burgundy.
[8] Guido.
[9] The conclusion of the year not in F.
[10] Of Wiltshire.
[1] Here Asser ceases to use the Chronicle.—*P.*
[12] A.D. 889, C. F.
[13] The relict of Burhred king of Mercia.
[14] A.D. 890, C.
[15] A.D. 891, C.
[16] This first sentence does not occur in F.

Northern king died, whose [1]baptismal name was Aethelstan; he was king Aelfred's godson, [2]and he abode in East-Anglia, and first[3] settled that country. And that same year the army went from the Seine to St. Lo, which is between Brittany and France; and the Bretons fought against them, and had the victory, and drove them out into a river and drowned many of them. [4]This year Plegmund was chosen of God and of[5] all the people to be archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. [6]891. This year the army went eastward; and king Earnulf, with the East-Franks and Saxons and Bavarians, fought against that part which was mounted, before the ships came up, and put them to flight. And three Scots came to king Aelfred in a boat without any rudder from Ireland, whence they had stolen away, because they desired for the love of God to be in a state of pilgrimage, they recked not where. The boat in which they came was made of two hides and a half; and they took with them provisions sufficient for seven days; and then about the seventh day they came on shore in Cornwall, and soon after went to king Aelfred. Thus they were named: Dubslane, and Macbeth, and Maclinmum. [7]And Swifneh, the best teacher among the Scots, died.[8]

A.D. 892. [9]And that same year after Easter, about Rogation week [29th May], or before, the star appeared which in Latin is called *Cometa;* some men say in English that it is a hairy star, because a long radiance streams from it, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on each side.

A.D. [10]893. In this year the great army, about which we formerly[11] spoke, came again from the eastern kingdom westward to Boulogne, and there was shipped; so that they came over in one passage, horses and all; and they came to land at Limene-mouth with two hundred and fifty ships. This port is in the eastern part of Kent, at the east end of the great wood which we call Andred; the wood is in length from east to west one hundred and twelve[12] miles, or longer, and thirty miles broad: the river of which we before spoke flows out of the weald. On this river they towed up their ships as far as the weald, four miles from the outward harbour, and there stormed a fortress: within the fortress a few ceorlish men were stationed, and it was in part only constructed. Then

[1] See A.D. 878.
[2] The conclusion of this sentence not in F.
[3] See A.D. 880.
[4] This concluding sentence from F. and inserted in A.
[5] A. reads, "and of all his saints."
[6] A.D. 892, C. D.
[7] "For their fourth companion named Swifneh, who was a most skilful doctor, died. And in the same year a comet, about the ascension of the Lord." F. Latin addition. See the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 891.
[8] Here ends the first, or original hand in MS. A. The date of A.D. D.CCC.XCII. is written beneath, and the commencement of the narrative of the year follows at the top of the next page, on the reverse of the leaf, in a fresh hand, which continues during a portion of 894, and is followed at intervals by various others.—*P.*
[9] In continuation of the preceding year, B. C. D. The whole year is omitted in E. F.
[10] In MS. A. this was originally A.D. 892, but it has been altered as the text now stands, and each successive year to A.D. 923 inclusively has been altered in like manner.—*P.*
[11] A.D. 891.
[12] One hundred and twenty, B. C. D.; one hundred and twenty-four, F. Lat.

soon after that Haesten, with eighty ships, landed at the mouth of the Thames, and wrought himself a fortress at Middetun; and the other army did the like at Apuldre.[1]

A.D. 894. [2]In this year, that was about a twelvemonth after these had wrought the fortress in the eastern district, the North-humbrians and the East-Angles had given oaths to king Aelfred, and the East-Angles six hostages; and nevertheless, contrary to their plighted troth, as oft as the other armies went out with all their force, they also went out, either with them or on their own part. On this king Aelfred gathered together his forces, and proceeded until he encamped between the two armies, as near as he could have space, for the wood fastnesses, and for the water fastnesses, so that he might be able to reach either of them in case they should seek any open country. From this time the enemy always went out along the weald in bands and troops, by whichever border was at the time without forces: and they also were sought out by other bands, almost every day, either by day or night, as well from the [king's] force as from the towns. The king had divided his forces into two, so that one half was constantly at home, the other half in the fields; besides those men whose duty it was to defend the towns. The army did not come out of their stations with their whole force oftener than twice: once when they first came to land, before the forces were assembled; a second time when they would go away from their stations. Then had they taken much booty, and would at that time go northward over the Thames into Essex towards their ships. Then the king's forces outrode and got before them, and fought against them at Farnham, and put the army to flight, and retook the booty; and they fled over the Thames, where there was no ford; then up along the Colne into an island. Then the forces there beset them about so long as they there had any provisions: but at length they had stayed their term of service, and had consumed their provisions; and the king was then on his way thitherwards with the division which warred along with him. While he was on his way thither, and the other force was gone homewards, and the Danish-men remained there behind, because their king had been wounded in the battle, so that they could not carry him away, then those who dwell among the North-humbrians and among the East-Anglians gathered some hundred ships and went about south, and some forty ships about to the north, and besieged a fortress in Devonshire by the north sea; and those who went about to the south besieged Exeter. When the king heard that, then turned he westward towards Exeter with all his force, except a very strong body of the people eastward. These went onwards until they came to London; and then with the townsmen, and the aid which came to them from the west, they went east to Beamfleet. Haesten was then come there with his band which before sat at Middletun; and the great army was also come thereto, which before sat at Apuldre near Limene-mouth. The fortress at Beamfleet had been before this

[1] "In this year also died Wlfer the archbishop of the Northumbrians." F. Lat.
[2] Nothing further occurs in MSS. E. and F. until the year 901.

constructed by Haesten, and he was at that time gone out to plunder; and the great army was at home [therein]. Then came they thereto, and put the army to flight, and stormed the fortress, and took all that was within it, as well the property, as the women, and the children also, and brought the whole to London; and all the ships they either broke in pieces or burned, or brought to London or to Rochester; and they brought the wife of Haesten and his two sons to the king: and he afterwards gave them up to him again, because one of them was his godson, and the other Aethered, the ealdorman's. They had become their godfathers before Haesten came to Beamfleet, and at that time Haesten had delivered to him hostages and taken oaths: and the king had also given him many gifts; and so likewise when he gave up the youth and the woman. But as soon as they came to Beamfleet, and the fortress was constructed, then plundered he that very part of the king's realm which was in the keeping of Aethered his compater;[1] and again, this second time, he had gone out to plunder that very same district when his fortress was stormed. Now the king with his force had turned westward towards Exeter, as I said before, and the army had beset the city; but when he arrived there, then went they to their ships. While the king was thus busied with the army there, in the west, and both the other armies had drawn together at Shoebury in Essex, and there had constructed a fortress, then both together went up along the Thames, and a great addition came to them, as well from the East-Anglians as from the North-humbrians. [2] They then went up along the Thames till they reached the Severn; then up along the Severn. Then Aethered the ealdorman, and Aethelm the ealdorman, and Aethelnoth the ealdorman, and the king's thanes who were then at home in the fortified places, gathered forces from every town east of the Parret, and as well west as east of Selwood, and also north of the Thames, and west of the Severn, and also some part of the North-Welsh people. When they had all drawn together, then they came up with the army at Buttington on the banks of the Severn, and there beset them about, on either side, in a fastness. When they had now sat there many weeks on both sides of the river, and the king was in the west in Devon, against the fleet, then were the enemy distressed for want of food; and having eaten a great part of their horses, the others being starved with hunger, then went they out against the men who were encamped on the east bank of the river, and fought against them: and the Christians had the victory. And Ordheh, a king's thane, was there slain, and also many other king's thanes were slain; [3]and of the Danish-men there was very great slaughter made: and that part which got away thence was saved by flight. When they had come into Essex to their fortress and to their ships, then the survivors again gathered a great army from among the East-Angles and the North-humbrians before winter, and committed their wives, and their ships, and their wealth, to the East-

[1] One who stands as sponsor at baptism along with another.
[2] This sentence does not occur in B. C.
[3] This clause, as far as "made," is from B. C. D.

Angles, and went at one stretch, day and night, until they arrived at a western city in Wirall, which is called Lega-ceaster [Chester]. Then were the forces unable to come up with them before they were within the fortress: nevertheless they beset the fortress about for some two days, and took all the cattle that was there without, and slew the men whom they were able to overtake without the fortress, and burned all the corn, and with their horses ate it in the surrounding neighbourhood. And this about a twelvemonth after they first came hither over sea.

A.D. 895. And then soon after that, in this year, the army from Wirall went among the North-Welsh, for they were unable to stay there: this was because they had been deprived both of the cattle and of the corn which they had plundered. [1]When they had turned again out of North-Wales, with the booty which they had there taken, then went they over North-humberland and East-Anglia, in such wise that the forces could not overtake them before they came to the eastern parts of the land of Essex, to an island that is out on the sea, which is called Mersey. And as the army which had beset Exeter again turned homewards, then spoiled they the South-Saxons near Chichester; and the townsmen put them to flight, and slew many hundreds of them, and took some of their ships. Then that same year, before winter, the Danish-men who had sat down in Mersey, towed their ships up the Thames, and thence up the Lea. This was about two years after they had come hither over sea.

A.D. 896. In that same year the fore-mentioned army constructed a fortress on the Lea, twenty miles above London. After this, in summer, a great body of the townsmen, and also of other people, went onwards until they arrived at the Danish fortress; and there they were put to flight, and some four king's thanes were slain. Then after this, during harvest, the king encamped very near to the town, while the people reaped their corn, so that the Danish-men might not deprive them of the crop. Then on a certain day the king rode up along the river, and observed where the river might be blockaded, so that they would be unable to bring out their ships. And they then did thus: they constructed two fortresses on the two sides of the river. When they had already begun the work, and had encamped before it, then perceived the army that they should not be able to bring out their ships. They then abandoned them, and went across the country till they arrived at Cwatbridge[2] [Bridgenorth], by the Severn; and there they constructed a fortress. Then the forces rode westwards after the army: and the men of London took possession of the ships; but all which they could not bring away, they broke up, and those which were worth taking they brought to London: moreover the Danish-men had committed their wives to the keeping of the East-Angles before they went out from their fortress. Then sat they down for the winter at Cwatbridge. This was about three years after they had come hither over sea to Limene-mouth.

[1] As far as the word "taken" is omitted in D.
[2] See Camd. Brit. col. 649.

A.D. 897. After this, in the summer of this year, the army broke up, some for East-Anglia, some for North-humbria; and they who were moneyless procured themselves ships there, and went southwards over sea to the Seine. Thanks be to God, the army had not utterly broken down the English nation; but during the three years it was much more broken down by the mortality among cattle and among men; and most of all by this, that many of the most eminent king's thanes in the land died during the three years; some of whom were Swithulf, bishop of Rochester, and Ceolmund, ealdorman of Kent, and Beorhtulf, ealdorman of Essex, and Wulfred,[1] ealdorman of Hampshire, and Ealheard, bishop of Dorchester, and Eadulf, the king's thane in Sussex, and Beornwulf, the "wic-reeve" at Winchester, and Ecgulf, the king's horse-thane, and many also besides these, though I have named the most distinguished.

That same year the armies from among the East-Anglians and from among the North-humbrians harassed the land of the West-Saxons, chiefly on the south coast, by predatory bands; most of all by their "esks,"[2] which they had built many years before. Then king Alfred commanded long ships to be built to oppose the "esks;" they were full-nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, and some had more; they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher than the others. They were shapen neither like the Frisian nor the Danish, but so as it seemed to him they would be most efficient. Then some time in the same year, there came six ships to the Isle of Wight, and there did much harm, as well as in Devon, and elsewhere on the sea-coast. Then the king commanded nine of the new ships to go thither, and they obstructed their passage from the port towards the outer sea. Then went they with three of their ships out against them; and three lay in the upper part of the port on dry ground; for the men were gone ashore. Then took they two of the three ships at the outer part of the port, and killed the men, and the other ship escaped; in that also the men were killed except five: they got away because the other ships were aground. [3]They also were aground very disadvantageously: three lay aground on that side of the deep on which the Danish ships were aground, and all the rest upon the other side, so that no one of them could get to the others. But when the water had ebbed many furlongs from the ships, then the Danish-men went from their three ships to the other three which were left by the tide on their side, and then they there fought against them. There was slain Lucumon, the king's reeve, and Wulfheard, the Frisian, and Aebbe, the Frisian, and Aethelhere, the Frisian, and Aethelferth, the king's "geneat,"[4] and of all the men, Frisians and English, sixty-two;[5] and of the Danish-

[1] This notice of Wulfred does not occur in B. C. D.

[2] A peculiar kind of narrow and long vessel.

[3] This clause of the sentence not in B.

[4] Lye understands this as meaning "the king's neat-herd;" but "geneat" signifies a companion, and is probably the Saxon representative of the Latin "comes."

[5] In Petrie's translation (by a rare error) seventy-two.

men, one hundred and twenty. Then, however, the flood-tide came to the Danish ships before the Christians could shove theirs off, and they therefore rowed them out: nevertheless, they were damaged to such a degree that they could not row round the Sussex land; and there the sea cast two of them on shore, and the men were led to the king at Winchester; and he commanded them to be there hanged: and the men who were in the single ship came to East-Anglia, sorely wounded. That same summer no less than twenty ships, with their crews, wholly perished upon the south coast. That same year died Wulfric, the king's horse-thane; he was also "Wealh-reeve."

A.D. 898. In this year died Aethelm, ealdorman of Wiltshire, nine days before Midsummer [15th June]; and this year died Heahstan, who was bishop of London.

A.D. 899, 900.

A.D. 901. This year died Aelfred, the son of Aethulf, six days before [1]All-Hallow-mass [26th Oct.]. He was king over the whole English nation, except that part which was under the dominion of the Danes; and he held the kingdom[2] one year and a half less than thirty years. And then Eadward his son succeeded to the kingdom. [3]Then Aethelwald, the etheling, his uncle's son, seized the vill at Winburne, and that at Tweoxneam, without leave of the king and of his "witan." Then rode the king with his forces until he encamped at Badbury, near Winburne; and Aethelwald sat within the vill, with the men who had submitted to him; and he had obstructed all the approaches towards him, and said that he would do one of two things—or there live, or there lie. But notwithstanding that, he stole away by night, and sought the army in North-humbria; [4]and they received him for their king, and became obedient to him. [5]And the king commanded that he should be ridden after; but they were unable to overtake him. They then beset the woman whom he had before taken, without the king's leave, and against the bishop's command; for she had previously been consecrated a nun. And in this same year Aethered, who was ealdorman of Devonshire, died, four weeks before king Alfred.

A.D. 902. [6]And that[7] same year was the battle at the Holme, between the Kentish-men and the Danish-men.

[1] D. E. mention in a Latin note, that he died on the seventh of the kalends of November, which leads us to the same date as is given in the text.

[2] "Twenty-eight years and a half," D. E. F.

[3] The remainder of the year not in E. F.

[4] The conclusion of the sentence from B. C. D.

[5] This sentence not in B. C. D.

[6] B. C. in continuation after.

[7] The account of the exploits of Æthelfled, lady of the Mercians, which is only to be found in MSS. B. C. and partly in D., seems once to have existed in a separate form. The MSS. B. and C. after carrying on the general narrative to the end of 915, or 918 of the text, return to 896, (B. by a mistake has 816,) and mark blank dates in succession to 901. This is followed by 902, the death of Ealhswith, &c., and from this point they exhibit the Mercian transactions connectedly to the year 921, and at 924 again fall in with the general annals. In MS. D. some of these notices, mostly abbreviated, are intermixed with the text during the period above mentioned; but with some variation of chronology, and,

A.D. 902. This year Ealhswyth[1] died.

A.D. 903. [2]This year died Athulf, the ealdorman, brother of Ealhswith, king Edward's mother; and Virgilius, abbat of the Scots; and Grimbald, the mass-priest, on the [3]8th of the ides of July [8th July]. [4]And this same year was the consecration of the new minster at Winchester, and [5]St. Judoc's advent.

A.D. 904. [6]This year Aethelwald came hither over sea with the ships that he was able to get, and he was submitted to in Essex. [7]This year the moon was eclipsed.

A.D. 905. This year Aethelwald enticed the army in East-Anglia to break the peace, so that they ravaged over all the land of Mercia until they came to Cricklade, and there they went over the Thames, and took, as well in Braeden as thereabout, all that they could lay hands on, and then turned homewards again. Then king Edward went after them, as speedily as he could gather his forces, and overran all their land between the dikes and the Ouse, all as far north as the fens. When, after this, he would return thence, then commanded he it to be proclaimed through his whole force, that they should return again. Then the Kentish-men remained there behind, notwithstanding his orders, and seven messengers whom he had sent to them. Then the army there came up to them, and there fought them; and there Sigulf the ealdorman, and Sigelm the ealdorman, and Eadwold the king's thane, and Cenulf the abbot, and Sigebreht son of Sigulf, and Eadwald son of Acca, were slain, and likewise many with them, though I have named the most distinguished. And on the Danish side were slain Eohric their king, and Aethelwald the etheling, who had enticed him to break the peace, and Byrhtsige son of Beornoth the etheling, and Ysopa the "hold," and Oskytel the "hold," and very many with them, whom we are now unable to name. And there was great slaughter made on either hand; and of the Danish-men there were more slain, though they had possession of the place of carnage. And Ealhswith died that same year. This year a comet appeared on the thirteenth of the kalends of November. [20th Oct.][8]

A.D. [9]906. [10]In this year died Aelfred, who was reeve at Bath. And in the same year peace was concluded at Yttingaford, even as king Edward ordained, as well with the East-Angles as with the North-humbrians.

A.D. 906. [11]This year king Edward, from necessity, concluded a peace both with the army of East-Anglia and of North-humbria.

A.D. 907. [12]This year Lig-ceaster [Chester] was repaired.

as well as in the other MSS., with some repetitions, arising apparently from the use of two independent narrations. These have been distributed according to the chronology of MS. C.—*P.*

[1] Apparently king Alfred's queen, whose death is again noticed in B. C. (whence this passage) in common with the text, under the year 905.—*P.*

[2] As far as "mass-priest" not in E.

[3] This date is an insertion in A.

[4] To the end of the year in F.

[5] Concerning the translation of the relics of St. Judoc, see Alford's Annals, A.D. 903, § 6.

[6] Not in E. F.

[7] B. C.

[8] The date is from D.

[9] A.D. 907, G.

[10] This year is not in F.

[11] From E.

[12] B. C.

A.D. [1]908. This year died Denewulf, who was bishop at Winchester.

A.D. [2]909. This year St. Oswald's body was removed from Bardney [3]into Mercia.

A.D. 910. [4]This year Frithstan succeeded to the bishopric at Winchester: and, after that, bishop Asser died; he was bishop at Sherborne. [5]And that same year king Edward sent out a force both of West-Saxons and of Mercians, and they greatly spoiled the army of the north, as well of men as of every kind of cattle, and slew many of the Danish-men: and they were therein five weeks. [6]In this year the Angles and the Danes fought at Teotanheal on the [7]eighth of the ides of August [6th Aug.], and the Angles obtained the victory. And that same year Aethelflaed built the fortress at Bremesbyrig.

A.D. [8]910. [9]This year the army of the Angles and of the Danes fought at Totanhale. And Aethered "ealdor" of the Mercians died [10] [A.D. 912]. And king Edward took possession of London, and of Oxford, and of all the lands which owed obedience thereto. [A.D. 918.] [11]And a great fleet came hither from the south, from the Lidwiccas, [Brittany,] and greatly ravaged by the Severn; but they there, afterwards, almost all perished.

A.D. 911. This year the army among the North-humbrians broke the peace, and despised whatever peace king Edward and his "witan" offered them, and overran the land of Mercia. And the king had gathered together some hundred ships, and was then in Kent, and the ships went south-east along the sea-coast towards him. Then thought the army that the greatest part of his force was in the ships, and that they should be able to go, unfought, wheresoever they chose. When the king learned that, that they were gone out to plunder, then sent he his forces after them, both of the West-Saxons and of the Mercians; and they overtook the army as they were on their way homewards, and then fought against them, and put them to flight, and slew many thousands of them; and there were slain king [12]Ecwils, and king Healfdene and Ohter the earl, and Scurfa the earl, and Othulf the "hold," and Benesing the "hold," and Anlaf the black, and Thurferth the "hold," and Osferth the collector, and Guthferth the "hold," and Agmund the "hold," and Guthferth.

A.D. [13]911. Then the next year after this died Aethered, lord of the Mercians.

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[1] A.D. 909, C. D. F. G. In MS. E. the year is blank. [2] B. C. 906, D.

[3] These two concluding words are not in D.

[4] The entry respecting Frithstan and Asser do not occur in F. in its Saxon portion, but there is a statement in Latin, that "Fridestan received the bishoprick of Winchester." [5] This sentence is not in F.

[6] B. C. 909, D., which latter MS. reads, "Here the Mercians and West-Saxons fought," &c. [7] The date is from G.

[8] The brief notices which occur in MS. E. between the years 906 and 918 belong to the years 910, 912, and 918 of the text; but they are here thus run together. They are found in like manner in MS. D., where they are repetitions. MS. F. has only the notice which belongs to the year 912, between 909 and 921.—*P.*

[9] The first and second sentences are from D. E.

[10] The remainder of the sentence from D. E. F.

[11] This sentence from D. E. [12] Eowils, B. C. Eowilisc, D.

[13] B. C., and repeated under A. 912 of the text.

A.D. [1]912. This year died [2]Aethered ealdorman of the Mercians; and king Edward took possession of London and of Oxford, and of all the lands which owed obedience thereto. [3]This year Aethelfled lady of the Mercians came to Scaergate on the holy eve, "Invention of the Holy Cross," and there built the fortress; and the same year, that at Bridgenorth.

A.D. 913. In this year, about[4] Martinmas, king Edward commanded the northern fortress to be built at Hertford, between the Memera, the Benefica, and the Lea. And then after that, during the summer, between Rogation-days [3d May], and midsummer, king Edward went with some of his auxiliaries to Maldon in Essex, and there encamped, whilst the fortress at Witham was wrought and built; and a good part of the people who were before under the dominion of the Danish-men submitted to him: and in the meanwhile some part of his assistants constructed the fortress at Hertford, on the south side of the Lea. [5]This year, by the help of God, Aethelfled, lady of the Mercians, went with all the Mercians to Tamworth, and there built the fortress early in the summer; and after this, before Lammas [1st Aug.], that at Stafford.

A.D. 914. [6]Then after this, in the next year, that at Eadesbyrig, early in the summer; and afterwards, in the same year, late in harvest, that at Warwick.

A.D. 915. [7]Then after this, in the next year, after midwinter, that at Cyric-byrig, and that at Weard-byrig: and that same year, before Midwinter, that at Rumcofa.

A.D. 951. [8]This year was Warwick built.[9]

A.D. 916. [10]This year abbat Ecgbriht was guiltlessly slain, before Midsummer, on the sixteenth of the kalends of July: the same day was the feast of the martyr St. Ciricius and his fellows [16th June]. And about three days after this, Aethelfled sent her forces among the Welsh, and stormed Brecenan-mere, and there [11]took the king's wife, and some four-and-thirty persons.

A.D. [12]917. In this year, after Easter [13th April], the army rode forth from Northampton and Leicester, and broke the peace, and slew many men at Hocneratun, and there about. And then very speedily after that, when the one came home, then they got ready another troop which rode out against Lygton: and then the inhabitants were aware of them, and fought against them, and put them to full flight, and retook all which they had seized, and also a great portion of their horses and of their weapons. [13]This year, before Lammas, Aethelflaed, lady of the Mercians, God helping her, got possession of the fortress which is called Derby, with all that

[1] C. D. G. 911, A. by repetition. [2] Æthelred, D.
[3] B. C. to the end of the year.
[4] Florence of Worcester seems to understand this as relating to the festival of St. Martin of Tours, 11th Nov., and places Maldon, &c. as well as the events of 917 of the text, under the year 914.—*P.*
[5] B. C. D.
[6] B. C. for the whole of the year. [7] B. C. as above. [8] D.
[9] Continued at the passage A.D. 918, "In this year a great fleet came over hither."
[10] B. C. for the whole year.
[11] The text is here incorrect, and has been amended in accordance with the readings of Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon.
[12] A.D. 914, C. D. [13] B. C. D. 917.

owed obedience thereto; and there also were slain, within the gates, four of her thanes, which to her was a cause of sorrow.

A.D. 918. [1]This year, in the early part of the year, by God's help, she peacefully got into her power the fortress at Leicester, and the greater part of the army which owed obedience thereto became subject to her; and the people of York had also covenanted with her, some having given a pledge, and some having bound themselves by oath, that they would be at her command. [2]In this year a great fleet came over hither from the south, from the Lidwiccas [Brittany], and with it two earls, Ohtor and Hroald: and they went west about till they arrived within the mouth of the Severn, and they spoiled the North-Welsh everywhere by the sea-coast where they then pleased. And in Ircingfield they took bishop Cameleac,[3] and led him with them to their ships; and then king Edward ransomed him afterwards with forty pounds. Then after that, the whole army landed, and would have gone once more to plunder about Ircingfield. Then met them the men of Hereford and of Gloucester, and of the nearest towns, and fought against them and put them to flight, and slew the earl Hroald, and a brother of Ohter the other earl, and many of the army, and drove them into an inclosure, and there beset them about, until they delivered hostages to them that they would depart from king Edward's dominion. And the king had so ordered it that his forces sat down against them on the south side of Severn-mouth, from the Welsh coast westward, to the mouth of the Avon eastward; so that on that side they durst not anywhere attempt the land. Then, nevertheless, they stole away by night on some two occasions; once, to the east of Watchet, and another time to Portlock. But they were beaten on every turn, so that few of them got away, except those alone who there swam out to the ships. And then they sat down, out on the island of Bradanrelice, [Flat-holme], until such time as they were quite destitute of food; and many men died of hunger, because they could not obtain any food. Then they went thence to Deomod [S. Wales], and then out to Ireland: and this was during harvest. And then after that, in the same year, before Martinmas, king Edward went with his forces to Buckingham, and there sat down four weeks; and, ere he went thence, he erected both the forts on either side of the river. And Thurkytel the earl sought to him to be his lord, and all the "holds," and almost all the chief men who owed obedience to Bedford, and also many of those who owed obedience to Northampton.

A.D. [4]918. But very shortly after they had become so, she died at Tamworth, twelve days before Midsummer [12th June], the eighth year of her

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[1] As far as "command" is from B. C. D.

[2] A.D. 915, C. D. The arrival of the fleet from Brittany is placed under the year 915 by Florence of Worcester, in common with the MSS. C. and D. The dates which occasionally occur in B. seem to agree with C., but as they are ambiguously placed, it has not been deemed necessary further to notice them.—*P*

[3] He was bishop of Llandaff; see Godwyn, p. 598.

[4] B. C. D. in continuation after the word "command," A.D. 918, in the text, p. 59, l. 8. The death of Æthelflæd, but connected with different circumstances, is

having rule and right lordship over the Mercians; and her body lies at Gloucester, within the east porch of St.Peter's church. [See end of A.D. 922.]

A.D. 918. [1]This year died Ethelfled the lady of the Mercians.

A.D. 919. [2]In this year, before Martinmas, king Edward went with his forces to Bedford, and gained the town; and almost all the townsmen who formerly dwelt there submitted to him: and he sat down there four weeks, and commanded the town to be built on the south side of the river before he went thence.

A.D. 919. [3]This year also the daughter of Aethered, lord of the Mercians, was deprived of all dominion over the Mercians, and carried into Wessex, three weeks before mid-winter: she was called Aelfwyn.

A.D. 920. [4]In this year, before Midsummer, king Edward went to Maldon, and built the town, and fortified it before he departed thence. And that same year Thurkytel the earl went over sea into France, together with such men as would follow him, with the peace and aid of king Edward.

A.D. 921. [5]In this year, before Easter [1st April], king Edward gave orders to take possession of the town at Towcester, and to fortify it. And again, after that, in the same year, during Rogation days [7th May], he commanded the town at Wigmore to be built. That same summer, between Lammas [1st Aug.] and Midsummer, the army from Northampton and from Leicester, and thence north, broke the peace, and went to Towcester, and fought against the town the whole day; and they thought that they should be able to take it by storm. But, nevertheless, the people who were within defended it until a larger force came to them: and then they departed from the town and went away, Then, again very soon after that, they went out once more by night with a predatory band, and came upon men who were unprepared, and took no small number as well of men as of cattle, between Burnewood and Aylesbury. At that same time went out the army from Huntingdon and from the East-Angles, and constructed the fortress at Temesford, and abode and built there; and forsook the other at Huntingdon, and thought that from thence they could, by warfare and hostility, get more of the land again. And they went forth until they arrived at Bedford: and then the men who were there within went out against them, and fought with them and put them to flight, and slew a good part of them. Then again, after that, a large army once more drew together from East-Anglia and from Mercia, and went to the town at Wigingamere, and beset it round about, and

described under the year 922 of the text; it is, therefore, here necessarily separated from the other Mercian notices of the MSS. B. C. and D., although it is by no means certain that the date of 922 is right. For it is to be observed that these MSS. place the death of Ethelred her husband under the year 911 or 912; that Florence of Worcester and the text also place it under 912, that these MSS. as well as Florence say she died in the eighth year of her government, and that Henry of Huntingdon has the like interval between these events. To this may be added, that Ethelweard, the Cambrian Annals, and the Annals of Ulster, assign her death to the year 917 or 918.—*P.*

[1] From E. [2] Not in B. C. D. E.

[3] B. C. D. The occupation of Mercia by Edward is placed under the year 922 in the text.—*P.* [4] Not in B. C. D. E.

[5] Excepting the two concluding sentences the subject-matter of this year is not found in B. C. D. E. F.

fought against it the greater part of the day, and took the cattle thereabout. And nevertheless, the men who were within the town defended it; and then the army left the town and went away. Then, after that, in the same summer, much people, within king Edward's dominion, drew together out of the nearest towns, who could go thither, and went to Temesford, and beset the town, and fought against it till they took it by storm, and slew the king, and Toglos the earl, and Manna the earl, his son, and his brother, and all those who were there within and would defend themselves; and took the others, and all that was therein. Then, very soon after this, much people drew together during harvest, as well from Kent as from Surrey and from Essex, and from each of the nearest towns, and went to Colchester, and beset the town, and fought against it until they mastered it, and slew all the people there within, and took all that was there, except the men who fled away over the wall. Then after that, once again during the same harvest, a large army drew together out of East-Anglia, as well of the land-force as of the pirates whom they had enticed to their aid; and they thought that they should be able to avenge their wrongs. And they went to Maldon, and beset the town, and fought against it till more aid came to the help of the townsmen from without; and then the army left the town and went away. And then the men from the town went out after them, and those also who came from without to their aid; and they put the army to flight, and slew many hundreds of them, as well of the pirates as of the others. Then, very shortly after, during the same harvest, king Edward went with the forces of the West-Saxons to Passaham, and sat down there while they encompassed the town at Towcester with a stone wall. And Thurferth the earl, and the captains, and all the army which owed obedience to Northampton, as far north as the Welland, submitted to him, and sought to him to be their lord and protector. And when one division of the forces went home, then another went out, and took possession of the town of Huntingdon, and repaired and rebuilt it, by command of king Edward, where it had been previously demolished; and all who were left of the inhabitants of that country submitted to king Edward, and sought his peace and his protection. And after this, still in the same year, before Martinmas, king Edward went with the forces of the West-Saxons to Colchester, and repaired the town, and rebuilt it where it had been before broken down; and much people submitted to him, as well among the East-Anglians as among the East-Saxons, who before were under the dominion of the Danes. And all the army among the East-Anglians swore union with him, that they would all that he would, and would observe peace towards all to which the king should grant his peace, both by sea and by land. And the army which owed obedience to Cambridge chose him specially to be their lord and protector; and confirmed it with oaths, even as he then decreed it. [1]This year king Edward built the town at Cledemouth. [2]This year king Sihtric slew Niel his brother.

[1] This sentence from C. D.

[2] This sentence from E. F.

A.D. [1]922. In this year, between Rogation days [27th May] and Midsummer, king Edward went with his forces to Stamford, and commanded the town to be built upon the south side of the river: and all the people which owed obedience to the northern town submitted to him, and sought to him to be their lord. And then, during the sojourn which he there made, Aethelflaed his sister died there, at Tamworth, twelve days before Midsummer [12th June]. And then he took possession of the town at Tamworth; and all the people of the land of Mercia, who before were subject to Aethelflaed, submitted to him; and the kings of the North-Welsh, Howel, and Cledauc, and Jeothwel, and all the North-Welsh race, sought to him to be their lord. Then went he thence to Nottingham and took possession of the town, and commanded it to be repaired and occupied as well by English as by Danes. And all the people who were settled in Mercia, as well Danish as English, submitted to him.

A.D. 923. [2]In this year, after harvest, king Edward went with his forces to Thelwall, and commanded the town to be built, and occupied, and manned; and commanded another force also of Mercians, the while that he sat there, to take possession of Manchester in North-humbria, and repair and man it. [3]This year died archbishop Plegmund. [4]This year king Regnold won York.

A.D. 924. [5]In this year, before Midsummer, king Edward went with his forces to Nottingham, and commanded the town to be built on the south side of the river, over against the other, and the bridge over the Trent, between the two towns: and then he went thence into Peakland, to Bakecanwell, and commanded a town to be built nigh thereunto, and manned. And then chose him for father and for lord, the king of the Scots and the whole nation of the Scots, and Regnald, and the son of Eadulf, and all those who dwell in North-humbria, as well English as Danes, and North-men and others, and also the king of the Strath-clyde Britons, and all the Strath-clyde Britons.

A.D. 924. [6]This year Edward was chosen for father and for lord by the king of the Scots, and by the Scots, and king Regnold, and by all the North-humbrians, and also the king of the Strath-clyde Britons, and by all the Strath-clyde Britons.

A.D. 924. [7]This year king Edward died among the Mercians at Fearndun; and very shortly, about sixteen days after this, Aelfweard his son died at Oxford; and their bodies lie at Winchester. And Aethelstan was chosen king by the Mercians, and consecrated at Kingston. And he gave his sister to Ofsae [Otho], son of the king of the Old-Saxons.

A.D. [8]925. This year king Edward died, and Aethelstan his son succeeded to the kingdom. [9]And St. Dunstan was born: and Wulfhelm succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury. [10]This year king Aethelstan and Sihtric king of the North-humbrians came

[1] B. C. D. E. F. do not give the contents of this year.
[2] The whole sentence absent from B. C. D. E. F.
[3] To the end of the year inserted in A.
[4] D. E. F.
[5] Not in B. C. D. E. to the end of the year.
[6] From F.
[7] B. C. D.
[8] A.D. 924, E.
[9] This sentence is from F. and inserted in A.
[10] From D.

together at Tamworth, on the third of the kalends of February [30th Jan.]; and Aethelstan gave him his sister.

A.D. 925. [1]This year bishop Wulfhelm was consecrated. And that same year king Edward died.

A.D. 926. [2]This year fiery lights appeared in the north part of the heavens. And Sihtric perished: and king Aethelstan obtained the kingdom of the North-humbrians. And he ruled all the kings who were in this island: first, Huwal king of the West-Welsh; and Constantine king of the Scots; and Uwen king of the people of Guent; and Ealdred, son of Ealdulf, of Bambrough: and they confirmed the peace by pledge, and by oaths, at the place which is called Eamot, on the 4th of the ides of July [12th July]; and they renounced all idolatry, and after that submitted to him in peace.

A.D. 927. [3]This year king Aethelstan expelled king Guthfrith. And this year archbishop Wulfhelm went to Rome.

A.D. 928. [4]William succeeded to Normandy, and held it fifteen years.

A.D. 929, 930.

A.D. 931. [5]This year Byrnstan was ordained bishop of Winchester on the 4th of the kalends of June;[6] and he held the bishopric two years and a half.

A.D. 931. [7]This year died Frithestan bishop of Winchester, and Byrnstan was blessed in his place.

A.D. 932. [8]This year died bishop Frythestan.

A.D. 933. [9]This year Aedwine the etheling was drowned at sea. This year king Aethelstan went into Scotland, as well with a land army as with a fleet, and ravaged a great part of it. And bishop Byrnstan died at Winchester on the feast of All-Hallows [1st Nov.]

A.D. [10]934. [11]This year bishop Aelfheah succeeded to the bishopric of Winchester.

A.D. 935, 936.

A.D. 937.

Here king Aethelstan,
of earls the lord,
of heroes the bracelet-giver,
and his brother also,
Eadmund etheling,
very illustrious chieftain
in battle fought
with the edges of swords
near Brunanburh.
The board-walls they clove,
they hewed the high lindens,
with the relics of hammers[12]
the children of Eadward,
such was their noble nature
from their ancestors,
that they in battle oft
'gainst every foe
the land defended,
hoard and homes.
The foe they crushed,
the Scottish people
and the shipmen
fated fell.
The field became slippery

[1] From C. D.
[2] The whole of the year is from D.
[3] From E. F.
[4] F
[5] Not in B. C. D. E.
[6] As this date [29th May] fell this year upon the festival of Whit-Sunday, it is probably corrrect.
[7] F.
[8] Not in B. C. D. E.
[9] A.D. 934, B. C. D. E. F. excepting the last sentence in the year.
[10] A.D. 935, F.
[11] Not in B. C. D. E.
[12] A poetical circumlocution for swords.

with warriors' blood,
since the sun up
at morning-tide,
mighty planet,
glided over the deeps,
God's bright candle,
the eternal Lord's,
till the noble creature
sank to her rest.
There lay many a warrior
pierced with javelins;
northern men
over shield shot;
so the Scots eke,
weary, satiated with war.
The West-Saxons onwards
throughout the day,
in chosen bands,
pursued the footsteps
to the loathed nations.
They hewed the fugitives
from behind, exceedingly,
with swords mill-sharp.
The Mercians refused not
the hard hand-play
to any of the heroes
who with Anlaf,
over the ocean,
in the ship's bosom,
this land sought
fated to the fight.
Five lay
on the battle-stead,
youthful kings,
put to sleep by swords:
so seven also
of Anlaf's eorls;
of the army countless,
shipmen and Scots.
There was made to flee
the North-men's chieftain,
by need constrained,
to the ship's prow
with a little band.
The bark drove afloat:
the king departed
on the fallow flood,
his life he preserved.
So there also the sage
came by flight
to his country north,
Constantine.
The hoary warrior
had no cause to exult
in the communion of swords.
Here was his kindred band
of friends o'erthrown
on the meeting of the people,
in battle slain;
and his son he left
on the slaughter-place,
mangled with wounds,
the young man in the fight:
he had no cause to boast,
that hero grizzly-haired,
of the bill-clashing,
the old deceiver;
nor Anlaf the more,
with the remnant of their armies;
they had no cause to laugh
that they in war's works
the better men were
in the battle-stead,
at the conflict of banners,
meeting of spears,
concourse of men,
traffic of weapons;
that they on the slaughter-field
with Edward's
offspring played.
The North-men departed
in their nailed barks;
bloody relic of darts,
on Dinnes-mere (?)
o'er the deep water
Dublin to seek,
again Ireland,
shamed in mind.
So too the brothers,
both together,
king and etheling,
their country sought,
the West-Saxons' land,
in the war exulting.
They left behind them,
the corse to devour,
the dun kite
and the swarthy raven
with horned nib,
and the dusky "pada,"
erne white-tailed,
the corse to enjoy,

the greedy war-hawk,
and the grey beast,
wolf of the wood.
Carnage greater has not been
in this island
ever yet
of people slain,
before this,
by edges of the sword,
as books us say,
old writers,
since from the east hither,
Angles and Saxons
came to land,
o'er the broad seas
Britain sought,
proud war-smiths,
the Welsh o'ercame,
earls most bold,
this earth obtained.

A.D. 937. [1]This year king Aethelstan and Eadmund his brother led a force to Brunan-byri, and there fought against Anelaf; and, Christ helping, had the victory: and they there slew five kings and seven earls.

A.D. 938, 939.

A.D. [2]940. This year king Aethelstan died, at Gloucester,[3] on the 6th of the kalends of November [27th Oct.], about forty-one[4] years, except one day, after king Aelfred died. And Eadmund the etheling, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom, and he was then eighteen years of age: and king Aethelstan reigned fourteen years and ten weeks. [5]Then was Wulfelm archbishop in Kent.

A.D. [6]941. [7]This year the North-humbrians were false to their plighted troth, and chose Anlaf of Ireland to be their king.

[8]Here Edmund king,
ruler of Angles,
protector of his kindred,
Mercia obtained,
dear deed-doer,
as the Dor flows,
course of the White-well,
and Humber's river,
broad sea-stream.
Five towns,
Leicester,
and Lincoln,
and Nottingham
so Stamford eke,
and Derby,
to Danes were erewhile,
under North-men,
by need constrained,
of heathen men
in captive chains,
a long time;
until he again redeemed them,
for his worthiness,
the bulwark of warriors,
offspring of Edward,
Edmund king.

A.D. [9]941. This year king Eadmund received king Anlaf at baptism; and that same year, a good long space after, he received king Regnold at the bishop's hands.

A.D. 942. [10]This year king Anlaf[11] died.

[1] From E. and F., the latter of which ascribes this entry to A.D. 938.
[2] A.D. 941, G.; and so originally A.
[3] The place of his death is not specified in E. F.
[4] Forty, B. C. D.
[5] This last sentence is inserted in A.
[6] A.D. 942, G.; and so originally A.
[7] The first sentence is from D.
[8] A.D. 942, C. D.
[9] A. G. 943, B. C. In MSS. A. and G. this follows the verses uninterruptedly, so as to make the last line, "Edmund king," a part of the narrative, and thus apparently confounding the transactions of different years. The events here noticed are placed under the year 943 in the other MSS. as well as in Florence of Worcester; and the narrative in D. being much fuller than the others, it has been placed in the text.—*P.*
[10] E. F.
[11] See Hen. Huntingdon and Simeon of Durham, A.D. 941. There were several chiefs of that name at this period: Anlaf the son of Guthferth, Anlaf the son of Sihtric, and Anlaf Cuaran, mentioned A.D. 949.—*P.*

A.D. 943. [1]This year Anlaf stormed Tamworth, and great carnage was made on either hand; and the Danes had the victory, and much booty they led away with them: there, during the pillage, was Wulfrun taken. This year king Eadmund besieged king Anlaf and archbishop Wulfstan in Leicester; and he would have taken them, were it not that they broke out by night from the town. And, after that, Anlaf acquired king Eadmund's friendship; and king Eadmund then received king Anlaf at baptism, and he royally gifted him. [2]And that same year, after a good long time, he received king Regnald at the bishop's hands. This year king Eadmund delivered Glastonbury to St. Dunstan, where he afterwards became the first abbat.

A.D. 944. This year king Eadmund subdued all Northumberland under his power, and expelled two kings, Anlaf, son of Syhtric, and Raegenald, son of Guthferth.

A.D. 945. This year king Eadmund ravaged all Cumberland, and granted it all to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on the condition, that he should be his fellow-worker, as well by sea as by land.

A.D. [3]946. This year king Eadmund died, on St. Augustine's mass-day [26th May]. [4]That was widely known how he ended his days: that Liofa stabbed him at Puckle-church. And Aethelflaed at Domerham, Aelfgar's daughter, the ealdorman, was then his queen: and he had the kingdom six years and a half. And then after him his brother Eadred the etheling succeeded to the kingdom, and subdued all Northumberland under his power: and the Scots gave him oaths, that they would all that he would.

A.D. 947. [5]This year king Eadred came to Taddene's-scylf, and there Wulstan the archbishop[6] and all the North-humbrian witan plighted their troth to the king: and within a little while they belied it all, both pledge and also oaths.

A.D. 948. [7]This year king Eadred ravaged all Northumberland, because they had taken Yric to be their king: and then, during the pillage, was the great minster burned at Ripon that St. Wilferth built. And as the king went homewards, then the army of York overtook him: the rear of the king's forces was at Chesterford; and there they made great slaughter. Then was the king so wroth that he would have marched his forces in again and wholly destroyed the land. When the North-humbrian witan understood that, then forsook they Hyryc, and made compensation for the deed with king Eadred.

A.D. 949. [8]This year [9]Anlaf Cwiran came to Northumberland.

A.D. 950.

[1] As far as note [2] is taken from D.

[2] To the end from F. and partly from A. In the former of these MSS. the date of this notice has been seemingly cut off by the binder; but it is here placed on the authority of the fragment in A. Florence of Worcester has A.D. 942.

[3] A.D. 948, E. F.

[4] As far as "queen" from D., the remainder from D. E. F.

[5] D.

[6] Archbishop of York.

[7] The whole of this year from D.

[8] E. F.

[9] Anlaf Cuaran is noticed in the Annals of Ulster, under the years 944 and 946.—*P.*

A.D. 951. [1]This year died Aelfheah, bishop of Winchester, on St. Gregory's mass-day. [2]This same blessed St. Dunstan. . . .

A.D. 952. [3]In this year king Eadred commanded archbishop Wulstan to be brought into the fastness at Judanbyrig, because he had been oft accused to the king: and in this year also the king commanded great slaughter to be made in the burgh of Thetford, in revenge of the abbat Eadelm, whom they had before slain. This year the North-humbrians expelled king Anlaf, and received Yric,[4] Harold's son.

A.D. 953.

A.D. 954. [5]This year the North-humbrians expelled Yric, and Eadred obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians. [6]This year archbishop Wulfstan again obtained a bishopric at Dorchester.

A.D. [7]955. This year died king Eadred,[8] on St. Clement's mass-day [23d Nov.], at Frome, and he rests in the Old-Minster [Winchester]; and he reigned nine years and a half. And then Eadwy succeeded to the kingdom, king Eadmund's and St. Aelfgive's son. [9]And he banished St. Dunstan out of the land.

A.D. 955. [10]And Eadwy succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons, and Eadgar, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians: and they were the sons of king Eadmund and of S. Aelfgyfe.

A.D. 956.

A.D. 957. [11]This year died Wulfstan, archbishop of York, [12]on the 17th of the kalends of January [16th Dec.], and he was buried at Oundle. [13]And in the same year abbat Dunstan was driven away over the sea. [14]This year Eadgar the etheling succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.

A.D. 958. [15]In this year archbishop Oda[16] separated king Eadwy and Aelfgyfe, because they were too nearly related. [17]This year died king Eadwy, on the kalends of October [1st Oct.]; and Eadgar, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom, [18]as well of the West Saxons as of the Mercians, and of the Northumbrians; and he was then sixteen years of age.

[19]In his days
it prospered well,
and God him granted
that he dwelt in peace
the while that he lived;
and he did as behoved him,
diligently he earned it.
He upreared God's glory wide,
and loved God's law,
and bettered the public peace,
most of the kings
who were before him
in man's memory.
and God him eke so helped,

[1] This first sentence not in B. C. D. E. F.
[2] F., the Latin portion of which, likewise imperfect, states that "He blessed St. Dunstan as mon[k]."
[3] This first sentence from D., the remainder from E. F.
[4] F. designates him as king. [5] D. E. F.
[6] D. [7] A.D. 956, B. C.
[8] The date and place of his death are not in B. C. D. E.
[9] F., and inserted in A.
[10] D. after the word "Old-Minster" in the text, A.D. 955.
[11] D. A.D. 956, E. F. [12] The rest of the sentence from D.
[13] This sentence from D. and added in F. [14] B. C.
[15] This first sentence from D. [16] Of Canterbury.
[17] A.D. 959, C. D. [18] The rest of the year not in A. D. E.
[19] This poetical character of Eadwy is from D. E. F.

that kings and eorls
gladly to him bowed,
and were submissive
to that that he willed;
and without war
he ruled all
that himself would.
He was wide
throughout nations
greatly honoured,
because he honoured
God's name earnestly,
and God's law pondered
oft and frequently,
and God's glory reared
wide and far,
and wisely counselled,
most oft, and ever,
for God and for the world,
of all his people.
One misdeed he did
all too much
that he foreign
vices loved,
and heathen customs
within this land
brought too oft,
and outlandish men
hither enticed,
and harmful people
allured to this land.
But may God grant him
that his good deeds
be more availing
than his misdeeds,
for his soul's protection
on the longsome course.

A.D. 959. [1]This year Eadgar sent after St. Dunstan, and gave him the bishopric at Worcester; and afterwards the bishopric at London.

A.D. 960.

A.D. 961. [2]This year departed Odo the Good, archbishop; and St. Dunstan succeeded to the archbishopric.

A.D. [3]962. [4]This year died Aelfgar, the king's kinsman, in Devonshire, and his body rests at Wilton. And king Sigferth killed himself, and his body lies at Wimborne. And then, within the year, there was a great mortality, and the great fever was in London; and Paul's minster was burnt, and that same year was again built up. In this same year Athelmod the mass-priest went to Rome, and there died, on the 18th of the kalends of September [15th Augt.].

A.D. 963. [5]This year died Wulfstan, the deacon, on Childermass-day [28th Dec.], and after that died Gyric, the mass-priest. [6]In this same year abbat Athelwold succeeded to the bishopric at Winchester, and he was consecrated on the vigil of St. Andrew [29th Nov.]: it was Sunday that day. [7]In the year after he was consecrated, then made he many minsters, and drove the clerks out of the bishopric, because they would not observe any rule, and he set monks there. He made there two abbacies; one of monks, one of nuns; all which was within Winchester. Afterwards then came he to the king, Eadgar, and begged of him that he would give him all the minsters which heathen men had formerly broken down, because he would restore them: and the king cheerfully granted it. And then the bishop came first to Ely, where St. Aetheldrith lies, and

[1] F. and inserted in A. in continuation after A.D. 958.
[2] F. and inserted in A.
[3] A.D. 961, G.
[4] This year does not occur in B. C. D. E. F.
[5] This first sentence not in E. F. [6] B. C. D. have not this sentence.
[6] The remainder of the year from G.

caused the minster to be made: then he gave it to one of his monks, who was named Brihtnoth. He then consecrated him abbat, and there set monks to serve God where previously had been nuns: he bought then many villages of the king, and made it very rich. After that came bishop Athelwold to the minster which was called Medeshamstede, which formerly had been destroyed by heathen men: he found nothing there but old walls and wild woods. There found he, hidden in the old walls, writings that abbat Headda had erewhile written, how king Wulfhere and Aethelred his brother had built it, and how they had freed it against king and against bishop, and against all secular services, and how the pope Agatho had confirmed the same by his rescript, and the archbishop Deusdedit. Then caused he the minster to be built; and set there an abbat, who was called Aldulf, and caused monks to be there where before was nothing. Then came he to the king, and caused him to look at the writings which before were found; and the king answered then and said:—

"I, Aedgar, grant and give to-day, before God and before the archbishop Dunstan, freedom to St. Peter's minster, Medeshamstede, from king and from bishop; and all the villages which lie thereto; that is to say, Aestfeld, and Dodesthorp, and Ege, and Pastun. And thus I free it, that no bishop have there any command, without the abbat of the minster. And I give the vill which is called Oundle, with all which thereto lieth; that is to say, that which is called the Eight-hundreds, and market and toll, so freely that neither king, nor bishop, nor earl, nor sheriff, have there any command, nor any man except the abbat alone, and him whom he thereto appointeth. And I give to Christ and St. Peter, and through the prayer of bishop Athelwold, these lands; that is to say, Barwe, Wermingtun, Aesctun, Ketering, Castre, Egleswurth, Waltun, Witheringtun, Ege, Thorp; and one moneyer in Stamford. These lands, and all the others that belong to the minster, them declare I free: that is, saca and socne, toll and team, and infangthief; these rights, and all others, them declare I free to Christ and St. Peter. And I give the two parts of Whittlesey-mere, with the waters and with the wears and fens, and so through Merelade straight to the water which is called Nen, and so eastward to King's-delf. And I will that a market be in the same town, and that no other be between Stamford and Huntingdon. And I will that the toll be thus given: first, from Whittlesey-mere all as far as the king's toll of Norman-cross-hundred, and then back again from Whittlesey-mere, through Merelade, straight to the Nen, and so as the water runneth to Crowland, and from Crowland to Must, and from Must to King's-delf, and to Whittlesey-mere. And I will that all liberties, and all the remissions that my predecessors have given, that they stand; and I sign and confirm it with Christ's rood-token." ✠

Then Dunstan, the archbishop of Canterbury, answered and said: "I grant that all the things which here are given and spoken of, and all the things which thy predecessors and mine have conceded, those will I that they stand; and whosoever this breaketh, then give I him the curse of God, and of all saints, and of all ordained heads,

and of myself, unless he come to repentance. And I give, in acknowledgment, to St. Peter, my mass-hackel, and my stole, and my 'reef,' for the service of Christ." "I, Oswald, archbishop of York, assent to all these words, by the holy rood which Christ suffered on." ✠ "I, Athelwold, bishop, bless all who shall observe this; and I excommunicate all who shall break this, unless he come to repentance." Here was Aelfstan bishop, Athulf bishop, and Escwi abbat, and Osgar abbat, and Aethelgar abbat, and Aelfere the ealdorman, Aethelwin the ealdorman, Brithnoth; Oslac the ealdorman, and many other great men: and all assented to it, and all signed it with Christ's cross. ✠ This was done after the birth of our Lord nine hundred and seventy-two years, of the king's reign the sixteenth year.

Then the abbat Aldulf bought lands, numerous and many, and then greatly enriched the minster withal; and then was he there so long as until the archbishop Oswald of York was dead,[1] and then he was chosen archbishop. And then, soon, another abbat was chosen of the self-same minster, who was called Kenulf: he was afterwards bishop at Winchester. And he first made the wall about the minster: then gave he that to name "Burch," which before was called Medeshamstede: he was there until he was appointed bishop at Winchester.[2] Then another abbat was chosen of the self-same minster, who was called Aelfsi: Aelfsi was then abbat, from that time, fifty years. He took up St. Kyneburh and St. Kyneswith, who lay at Castre, and St. Tibba, who lay at Rihall, and brought them to Burch, and made an offering of them all to St. Peter in one day; and preserved them all the while he was there.

A.D. 963. [3]This year, by king Eadgar, St. Aethelwold was chosen to the bishopric at Winchester. And the archbishop of Canterbury, St. Dunstan, consecrated him bishop, on the first Sunday of Advent; that was on the 3d of the kalends of December [29th Nov.].

A.D. [4]964. This year king Edgar expelled the priests at Winchester from the Old-Minster and from the New-Minster, and from Chertsey, and from Middleton, and filled them with monks; and he appointed abbat Aethelgar abbat to the New-Minster, and Ordbriht to Chertsey, and Cyneward to Middleton.

A.D. 964. [5]This year were the canons driven out of the Old-Minster by king Eadgar, and also from the New-Minster, and from Chertsey, and from Middleton; and he appointed thereto monks and abbats: to the New-Minster Aegelgar, to Chertsey Ordberht, to Milton Cyneward.

A.D. 965. [6]In this year king Eadgar took Aelfythe [Aelfthrythe?] for his queen; she was the daughter of Ordgar the ealdorman.

A.D. 966. [7]This year Thored, Gunner's son, ravaged Westmoreland. And that same year Oslac obtained an ealdordom.

A.D. 967.

A.D. 968. [8]In this year king Eadgar ordered all Thanet-land to be ravaged.

A.D. 969, 970.

A.D. 971. [9]This year died archbishop Oskytel: he was first

[1] Namely, in A.D. 992.
[2] In A.D. 1006.
[3] From E.
[4] This year is blank in B. C. D. E.
[5] From F.
[6] From D.
[7] From D. F.
[8] From D.
[9] From B. C.

consecrated bishop of Dorchester, and afterwards of York; by favour of king Eadred, and of all his witan, he was consecrated archbishop; and he was a bishop twenty-two years; and he died on the mass-night of All-Hallows [1st Nov.], ten days before Martinmass, at Thame. And abbat Thurkytel, his kinsman, carried the bishop's body to Bedford, because he was then, at that time, abbat there.

A.D. 972. [1]This year died Edmund the etheling, [2]and his body lies at Rumsey.

A.D. [3]972. [4]This year Eadgar the etheling was consecrated king at the Hot-baths, on Pentecost's mass-day, on the 5th of the ides of May [11th May], the thirteenth year since he had obtained the kingdom; and he was then one less than thirty years of age. And soon after that, the king led all his ship-forces to Chester; and there came to meet him six kings, and they all plighted their troth to him, that they would be his fellow-workers by sea and by land.

A.D. [5]973.
Here was Eadgar,
the ruler of the Angles,
in full assembly,
hallowed king,
at the old city
Akemanscester;
but it the islanders,
by another word,
the men name Bath.
There was much bliss
on that blessed day
to all occasioned,
which the children of men
name and call
Pentecost's day.
There was a heap of priests;
of monks a large band,
as I have heard,
of sage ones, gathered:
and then gone were
ten hundred years,
by calculation,
from the birth-tide
of the glorious King,
Pastor of light.
But that there remaining
then still was,
of yearly-tale,
as writings say,
seven and twenty:
so nigh had to the Victor-lord
a thousand run out
when this befel.
And to himself, Eadmund's
offspring, had
nine and twenty,
(guardian 'gainst evil works,)
years in the world
when this was done,
and then in the thirtieth, was
hallowed as ruler.

A.D. 974.

A.D. 975.
Here, ended
the joys of earth,
Eadgar, of Angles the king,
chose him another light,
beauteous and pleasant
and left this frail,
this wretched life.
Children of men name,
men on the earth,
every where, that month,
in this land,
those who erewhile were
in the art of numbers
rightly taught,
July month,
when the youth departed,
on the eighth day,
Eadgar, from life,
bracelet-giver to heroes.
And then his son succeeded

[1] As far as "etheling" from B. C. 970, D. E. 971, G. Erased from A.
[2] From G. [3] Read 973. [4] From D. E. F. [5] A.D. 974, C.

to the kingdom,
a child unwaxen,
of earls the prince.
whose name was Eadweard.
And him, a glorious chief,
ten days before,
departed from Britain,
the good bishop,
through nature's course,
to whom was Cyneweard name.
Then was in Mercia,
as I have heard,
widely and every where,
the glory of the Lord
laid low on earth:
many were expelled,
sage servants of God;
that was much grief
to him who in his breast bore
a burning love
of the Creator, in his mind.
Then was the Source of wonders
too oft contemned;
the Victor-lord,
heaven's Ruler.
The men his law broke through
and then was eke driven out,
the beloved hero,
Oslac from this land,
o'er rolling waters,
o'er the gannet's-bath;
the hoary-haired hero,
wise and word-skilled,
o'er the waters' throng,
o'er the whale's domain,
of home bereaved.
And then was seen,
high in the heavens,
a star in the firmament,
which lofty-souled
men, sage-minded,
call widely,
cometa by name;
men skilled in arts,
wise truth-bearers.
Throughout mankind was
the Lord's vengeance
widely known,
famine o'er the earth.
That again heaven's Guardian,
bettered, Lord of angels,
gave again bliss
to each isle-dweller,
through earth's fruits.

A.D. 975. The [1]8th of the ides of July [8th July].

Here Eadgar died,
ruler of the Angles,
West Saxons' joy,
and Mercians' protector.
Known was, widely
throughout many nations,
this offspring of Eadmund,
o'er the gannet's bath.
Kings him widely
honoured far,
bowed to the king,
as was his due by kind.
No fleet was so daring,
nor army so strong,
that 'mid the English nation
took from him aught,
the while that the noble king
ruled his throne.

And this year Eadward, Eadgar's son, succeeded to the kingdom; and then soon, in the same year, during harvest, appeared "cometa," the star; and then came in the following year a very great famine, and very manifold commotions among the English people.

In his days,
for his youth,
God's gainsayers
God's law broke;
Aelfere, ealdorman,
and others many;
and rule monastic quashed,
and minsters dissolved,
and monks drove out,
and God's servants put down,
whom Edgar, king, ordered erewhile
the holy bishop
Athelwold to stablish;
and widows they plundered,
many times and oft:
and many unrighteousnesses,
and evil unjust-deeds
arose up afterwards:
and ever after that
it greatly grew in evil.

And at that time also was Oslac, the great earl, banished from England.

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[1] The date is from D. E. F.

A.D. 976. [1]This year was the great famine among the English nation.

A.D. 977. [2]This year, after Easter [8th April], was the great council at Kirtlington; and there died bishop Sideman, by a sudden death, on the 2d of the kalends of May [30th April]. He was bishop in Devonshire, and he desired that the resting-place of his body should be at Crediton, at his episcopal seat. Then commanded king Eadward and archbishop Dunstan that he should be borne to St. Mary's minster, which is at Abingdon: and so too was it done; and he is moreover honourably buried on the north side, in St. Paul's chapel.[3]

A.D. 978. [4]In this year all the chief witan of the English nation fell at Calne from an upper chamber, except the holy archbishop Dunstan, who alone supported himself upon a beam; and there some were grievously maimed, and some did not escape with life. [5]In this year was king Eadward martyred; and Aethelred the etheling, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom, [6]and he was in the same year consecrated king. In that year died Alfwold; he was bishop of Dorset,[7] and his body lies in the minster at Sherburn.

A.D. 979. [8]In this year was Aethelred consecrated king at Kingston, on the Sunday, fourteen days after Easter; and there were at his consecration two archbishops and ten suffragan bishops. That same year was seen a bloody cloud, oftentimes, in the likeness of fire; and it was mostly apparent at midnight, and so in various beams was coloured; when it began to dawn then it glided away.

A.D. 979. [9]This year was king Edward slain at even-tide, at Corfes-gate, on the 15th of the kalends of April [18th Mar.], and then was he buried at Wareham, without any kind of kingly honours.

There has not been 'mid Angles
a worse deed done
than this was,
since they first
Britain-land sought.
Men murdered him,
but God glorified him.
He was in life
an earthly king;
he is now after death
a heavenly saint.
Him would not his earthly
kinsmen avenge,
but him hath his heavenly Father
greatly avenged.
The earthly murderers
would his memory
on earth blot out,
but the lofty Avenger
hath his memory
in the heavens
and on earth wide-spread.
They who would not erewhile
to his living
body bow down
they now humbly
on knees bend
to his dead bones.
Now we may understand
that men's wisdom
and their devices,
and their councils,
are like nought
'gainst God's resolves.

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[1] B. C. [2] B. C.

[3] Here ends MS. B., near the bottom of the (recto) page.—*P.*

[4] This first sentence is from D. E. F.

[5] From A. C. G. which, with Florence of Worcester, place the death of Edward and the coronation of Ethelred under the year 978; but in 979 C. repeats the account of his coronation, as though a year had intervened between the murder of Edward and that event; unless, on the latter occasion, the writer may be supposed to begin the year either at Lady-day or at Easter. Florence says he was crowned on Sunday, the 14th of April, indiction vi., which characters agree with 978.—*P.*

[6] To the end of the year from C.

[7] That is, of Sherburn.

[8] The whole of this year is from C.

[9] D. E. F.

[1]This year Aethelred succeeded to the kingdom; and he was very quickly after that, with much joy of the English witan, consecrated king at Kingston.

A.D. 980. [2]In this year abbat Aethelgar was consecrated bishop, on the 6th of the nones of May [2d May],[3] to the episcopal seat at Selsey. And in the same year was Southampton ravaged by a ship-force, and the most part of the townsmen slain, and led captive. And that same year was Thanet-land ravaged. And that same year was Legecester-shire [Chester] ravaged by a northern ship-force. [4]In this year St. Dunstan[5] and Aelfhere the ealdorman fetched the holy king's body, St. Edward's, from Wareham, and bore it with much solemnity to Shaftsbury.

A.D. 981. [6]In this year St. Petroc's-stowe [Padstow] was ravaged; and that same year was much harm done everywhere by the sea-coast, as well among the men of Devon as among the Welsh. And in the same year died Aelfstan, bishop of Wiltshire, and his body lies in the minster at Abingdon; and Wulfgar then succeeded to the bishopric. And in the same year died abbat Womaer at Ghent.

A.D. 981. [7]This year came first the seven ships, and ravaged Southampton.

A.D. 982. [8]In this year landed among the men of Dorset three ships of pirates; and they ravaged in Portland. That same year London was burnt; and in the same year died two ealdormen, Aethelmaer in Hampshire, and Eadwin in Sussex; and Aethelmaer's body lies at Winchester, in the New-Minster, and Eadwin's in the minster at Abingdon. This same year died two abbesses in Dorset, Herelufu at Shaftesbury, and Wulfwin at Wareham. And that same year went Odda,[9] the Roman emperor, to Greek-land [Calabria], and there met he a large force of Saracens, coming up from the sea, and they would then go plundering the Christian people. And then the emperor fought against them, and there was great slaughter made on either hand; and the emperor had possession of the place of carnage; and nevertheless he was there much harassed before he turned thence: and as he went homeward, then died his brother's son, who was named Odda [Otho], and he was Leodulf's son, the etheling's, and Leodulf was the elder Odda's [Otho's] son, and king Edward's daughter's son.[10]

A.D. 983. [11]This year died Aelfhere the ealdorman, [12]and Aelfric succeeded to the same ealdorman-ship.[13] [14]And pope Benedict [VII.] died.

A.D. 984. [15]This year died the benevolent bishop of Winchester, Athelwold, father of monks, on the kalends of August [1st Aug.]; and the consecration of the succeeding bishop, Aelfheah, who by another name was called Godwin, was on the 14th of the kalends of November [19th Oct.];[16] and he took the episcopal seat at

[1] A.D. 980, F.
[2] C. as far as "ship-force."
[3] Namely, the third Sunday after Easter.
[4] D. E. F. after the conclusion of A.D. 979, in the smaller type.
[5] Dunstan is not mentioned in D. E., nor do these copies speak of king Edward as a saint.
[6] C.
[7] From D. E.
[8] C.
[9] Otho the Third.
[10] See A.D. 925.
[11] A. C. D. E. F. G.
[12] The remainder of the year is not in A. G.
[13] That, namely, of Mercia.
[14] This clause not in D. E.
[15] A. C. D. E. F. G.
[16] This was the twenty-second Sunday after Trinity, in the year 984.

Winchester, on the day of the two apostles, Simon and Jude [28th Oct.].[1]

A.D. 985. [2]This year was Aelfric the ealdorman banished the land. [3]And in the same year was Eadwine consecrated abbat of the minster at Abingdon.

A.D. 986. [4]This year the king laid waste the bishopric of Rochester. This year first came the great murrain among cattle in the English nation.

A.D. 987.

A.D. [5]988. This year was Watchet ravaged, and Goda, the Devonshire thane,[6] slain, and with him much slaughter made. [7]And this year departed the holy archbishop Dunstan, and passed to the heavenly life: and bishop Ethelgar[8] succeeded, after him, to the archbishopric; and little while after that he lived, but one year and three[9] months.

A.D. 989.

A.D. [10]990. This year Sigeric was consecrated archbishop, [11]and afterwards went to Rome for his pall. [12]And abbat Eadwine[13] died; and abbat Wulfgar succeeded to the abbacy.

A.D. 991. [14]This year was Ipswich ravaged; and after that, very shortly, was Brithnoth the ealdorman slain at Maldon. And in that year it was decreed that tribute, for the first time, should be given to the Danish-men, on account of the great terror which they caused by the sea-coast; that was at first ten thousand pounds: this counsel was first given by archbishop Syric.

A.D. 992. [15]This year Oswald, the holy archbishop,[16] left this, and passed to the heavenly life: and Ethelwine[17] the ealdorman died in the same year. Then decreed the king and all his witan that all the ships which were worth anything should be gathered together at London. And the king then committed the forces to the leading of Aelfric the ealdorman, and of Thored the earl, and of bishop Aelfstan,[18] and of bishop Aescwig; and they were to try if they could any where betrap the army about. Then sent the ealdorman Aelfric, and directed the army to be warned; and then during the night of which they should have joined battle by day, then fled he by night from the forces, to his great disgrace: and the army then escaped, except one ship, whose crew was there slain. And then the ships from East-Anglia and from London met the army, and there they made great slaughter of them; and took the ship, all armed and equipped, in which the ealdorman was. [19]And then, after the decease of archbishop Oswald, abbat Ealdulf, [20]of Peterborough, succeeded to the

[1] Nothing further occurs in A. and G. until the year 993, or 991 of the text.—*P.*
[2] C. D. E. give the first sentence.
[3] A.D. 984, E. The remainder of the year does not occur in D.
[4] From C. D. E. F., excepting the latter sentence, which does not occur in F.
[5] C. D. A.D. 986, E. F.
[6] E. designates him as "the Danish thane."
[7] A.D. 988, E. F., in which two MSS. only is Dunstan described as the Holy.
[8] Of Selsey.
[9] According to F. "eight."
[10] C. D. A.D. 989, E. F.
[11] This clause is from F.
[12] Not in D. F.
[13] Of Abbingdon.
[14] C. D. E. F.
[15] C. D. E.
[16] Of York, on Feb. 29.
[17] Of East Anglia.
[18] The bishop here mentioned filled the sees of London and Dorchester.
[19] Not in D.
[20] These two words do not occur in C. D.

bishopric of York and of Worcester; and Kenulf to the abbacy of Peterborough.

A.D. 992. [1]This year Oswold the blessed archbishop died, and abbat Eadulf succeeded to York and to Worcester. And this year the king and all his witan decreed that all the ships which were worth anything should be gathered together at London, in order that they might try if they could any where betrap the army from without. But Aelfric the ealdorman, one of those in whom the king had most confidence, directed the army to be warned; and in the night, as they should on the morrow have joined [battle], the self-same Aelfric fled from the forces; and then the army escaped.

A.D. 993. [2]In this year was Bambrough entered by storm, and much booty there taken. And after that the army came to the mouth of the Humber, and there wrought much evil, [3]as well in Lindsey as in Northumbria. Then a very large force was gathered together; and as they should have joined [battle], then the leaders, first of all, began the flight: that was Fraena, and Godwine, and Frythegyst. [4]In this year the king ordered Aelfgar, son of Aelfric the ealdorman, to be blinded.

A.D. 993. [5]In this year came Unlaf with ninety-three ships to Staines, and ravaged there about, and then went thence to Sandwich, and so thence to Ipswich, and that all over-ran; and so to Maldon. And there Bryhtnoth the ealdorman came against them with his forces, and fought against them: and they there slew the ealdorman, and had possession of the place of carnage. And after that peace was made with them; and the king afterwards received him [Anlaf] at the bishop's hands, [6]through the instruction of Siric, bishop of the Kentish-men, and of Aelfheah of Winchester.

A.D. 994. [7]In this year came Anlaf and Swegen to London, on the nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], with ninety-four ships; and they then continued fighting stoutly against the city, and would also have set fire to it. But they there sustained more harm and evil than they ever supposed that any citizens would be able to do unto them. But the holy mother of God, on that day, shewed her mercy to the citizens and delivered them from their foes. And they then went thence, and wrought the utmost evil that ever any army could do, by burning, and plundering, and by man-slaying, both by the sea-coast and among the East Saxons, and in the land of Kent, and in Sussex, and in Hampshire. And at last they took to themselves horses, and rode as far as they would, and continued doing unspeakable evil. Then the king and his witan decreed that they should be sent to, and promised tribute and food, on condition that they should cease from their plundering: which terms they accepted. And then all the army came to Southampton, and there took up their winter-quarters: and there they were victualled from all the realm of the West Saxons, and they were paid sixteen thousand pounds of money. Then the king sent bishop Aelfeah and Aethelweard the ealdorman after king Anlaf; and the while, hostages were delivered to the ships; and they then led Anlaf, with much worship,

[1] From F. [2] C. D. E. F.
[3] F. omits the conclusion of the sentence.
[4] Not in F. to the end of the year.
[5] A. G. The events here noticed belong to the years 991 and 994 of the text.—*P.*
[6] Inserted in A. to the end of the year. [7] C. D. E. F.

to the king at Andover. And king Aethelred received him at the bishop's hands, and royally gifted him. And then Anlaf made a covenant with him, even as he also fulfilled, that he never again would come hostilely to the English nation.[1]

A.D. [2]995. In this year appeared "cometa," the star, and archbishop Sigeric died: and Aelfric, bishop of Wiltshire, was chosen,[3] on Easter-day, at Amesbury, by king Aegelred and by all his witan. [4]This Aelfric was a very wise man, so that there was no sager man in England. Then went Aelfric to his archiepiscopal seat; and when he came thither he was received by those men in orders who were most unacceptable to him, that was, by clerks. And soon [he sent for] all the wisest men he anywhere knew of, and also the old men who were able to say the soothest how each thing had been in this land in the days of their elders; in addition to what himself had learned from books and from wise men. Him told the very old men, as well clergy as laity, that their elders had told them how it had been established by law, soon after St. Augustine came to this land. When Augustine had obtained the bishopric in the city, then was he archbishop over all king Aegelbert's kingdom, as it is related in Historia Anglorum[5] . . . . make [a bishop's] see by the king's aid in . . . was begun by the old Romans . . . and to sprout forth. In that company the foremost were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufianus. By these sent the blessed pope the pall, and therewith a letter, and instruction how he should consecrate bishops, and in which place in Britain he should seat them. And to the king [also] he sent letters and many worldly gifts of divers things. And the churches which they had got ready he commanded to be consecrated in the name of our Lord and Saviour Christ and St. Mary; and for himself there fix a dwelling-place, and for all his after-followers; and that he [should] place therein men of the same order that he had sent thither, and of which he himself was, and also that each . . . monks who should fill the archiepiscopal seat at Canterbury, and that be ever observed by God's leave and blessing and by St. Peter's, and by all who came after him. When this embassy came again to king Aegelbert and to Augustine, they were very pleased with such instruction. And the archbishop then consecrated the minster in Christ's name and St. Mary's, [on] the day which is called the mass-day of the two martyrs, Primus et Felicianus, and there within placed monks all as St. Gregory commanded: and they God's service continently performed; and from the same monks bishops were taken for each . . . as thou mayst read in Historia Anglorum.[6] Then was archbishop Elfric very blithe, that he had so many witnesses [who] stood best at that time with the king.

[1] "Here the elder Richard died, and Richard his son succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned xxx years." E.

[2] C. D. E. F. A.D. 994, A. G. These two MSS. do not mention the appearance of the comet.

[3] Namely, to the see of Canterbury, on 21st April.

[4] The following passage respecting Aelfric is from F., in which it is an insertion, partly on the margin, partly on a small leaf introduced. The obscurity occasioned by its partial mutilation and illegibility has in the translation been removed by the employment of the corresponding Latin text.

[5] Beda, I. xxv. [6] Beda, I. xxxiii.

Still more, the same witan who were with the archbishop said :— Thus also we . . . monks have continued at Christ-Church during Augustine's days, and during Laurentius', Mellitus', Justus', Honorius', Deus-dedit, Theodore's, Brihtwold's, Tatwine's, Nothelm's, Cuthbert's, Bregwine's, Ianbert's, . . . Athelard's, Wulfred's, Feologild's. But the [first] year when Ceolnoth came to the archbishopric, there was such a mortality that there remained no more than five monks within Christ-Church. During all his time there was war and sorrow in this land, so that no man could think of anything else but . . . Now, God be thanked, it is in the king's power and thine, whether they may be longer there within, because they [might] never better be brought thereout than now may be done, if it is the king's will and thine. The archbishop then, without any staying, with all [these] men, went anon to the king and showed him all, so as we here before have related. Then was the king very glad [at these] tidings, and said to the archbishop and to the others, " It seemeth advisable to me that thou shouldst go first of all to Rome after thy [pall, and that] thou show to the pope all this, and, after that, act by his counsel." And they all answered, that that was the best counsel. When [the priests] heard this, then resolved they that they should take two from among themselves and send to the pope ; and they should offer him great gifts and silver, on condition that he should give them the arch[-pall]. But when they came to Rome, then would not the pope do that, because they brought him no letter, either from the king or from the people, and commanded them to go, lo ! where they would. [So soon as] the priests had gone thence, came archbishop Aelfric to Rome, and the pope received him with much worship, and commanded him on the morrow to perform mass at St. Peter's altar, and the pope himself put on him his own pall, and greatly honoured him. When this was done, the archbishop began telling the pope all about the clerks, how it had happened, and how they were within the minster at his archbishopric. And the pope related to him again how the priests had come to him, and offered great gifts, in order that he should give them the pall. And the pope said, " Go now to England again, with God's blessing, and St. Peter's, and mine ; and as thou comest home, place in thy minster men of that order which St. Gregorius commanded Augustine therein to place, by God's command, and St. Peter's, and mine." Then the archbishop with this returned to England. As soon as he came home, he entered his archiepiscopal seat, and after that went to the [king] ; and the king and all his people thanked God for his return, and that he so had succeeded as was pleasing to them all. He then went again to Canterbury, and drove the clerks out of the minster, and there within placed monks, all as the pope commanded him.

A.D. 996. [1]In this year was Aelfric consecrated archbishop to Christ-Church. [2]This year was Wulstan ordained bishop of London.

A.D. 997. [3]In this year the army went about Devonshire into Severn-mouth, and there ravaged, as well among the Cornish-men

[1] C. D. E. [2] F. [3] C. D. E.

as among the North Welsh, and among the men of Devon; and then landed at Watchet, and there wrought much evil by burning and by man-slaying. And after that they again went about Penwithstart, on the south side, and went then into the mouth of the Tamar, and then went up until they came to Lidford, and burned and destroyed everything which they met with; and they burned Ordulf's minster at Tavistock, and brought unspeakable booty with them to their ships. [1]This year archbishop Aelfric went to Rome after his arch-pall.

A.D. 998. [2]This year the army went again eastward into Fromemouth, and everywhere there they went up as far as they would into Dorset. And forces were often gathered against them; but, as soon as they should have joined battle, then was there ever, through some cause, flight begun; and in the end they ever had the victory. And then at another time they sat down in the Isle of Wight, and got their food the while from Hampshire and from Sussex.

A.D. 999. [3]This year the army again came about into Thames, and went then up along the Medway, and to Rochester. And then the Kentish forces came there to meet them, and they there stoutly joined battle: but alas! that they too quickly yielded and fled; for they had not the support which they should have had. And the Danish-men had possession of the place of carnage; and then they took horse and rode wheresoever they themselves would, and full nigh all the West Kentish men they ruined and plundered. Then the king, with his witan, decreed that, with a ship force and also with a land force, they should be attacked. [4]But when the ships were ready, then the miserable crew delayed from day to day, and distressed the poor people who lay in the ships: and ever as it should have been forwarder, so was it later from one time to another; and ever they let their enemies' forces increase, and ever the people retired from the sea, and they ever went forth after them. [5]And then 'in the end, these expeditions both by sea and land effected nothing, except the people's distress and waste of money, and the emboldening of their foes.

A.D. 1000. [6]In this year the king went into Cumberland, and ravaged it well nigh all. [7]And his ships went out about Chester, and should have come to meet him, but they were not able: then ravaged they Mon-ige [Anglesey]. And the hostile fleet went this summer to Richard's dominions.[8]

A.D. 1001. [9]This year the army came to Exmouth, and then went up to the town, and there continued fighting stoutly; but they were very strenuously resisted. Then went they through the land, and did all as was their wont; destroyed and burnt. [10]Then was collected a vast force of the people of Devon and of the people of Somerset, and they then came together at Peonn-ho. And so soon as they joined [battle], then the people[11] gave way; and there they

[1] F. [2] C. D. E. [3] C. D. E. F.
[4] This sentence is not in F.
[5] F. here reads, "But it effected nothing except," &c. [6] C. D. E. F.
[7] Not in F. [8] Namely, Normandy. [9] C. D. E. F.
[10] As far as "would" not in F.
[11] D. and E. explain this as meaning the English people.

made great slaughter, and then they rode over the land, and their last incursion was ever worse than the one before: and then they brought much booty with them to their ships. And thence they went into Wight-land, and there they roved about, even as they themselves would, and nothing withstood them: nor any fleet by sea durst meet them; nor land force either, went they ever so far up. Then was it in every wise a heavy time, because they never ceased from their evil doings.

A.D. 1001. [1]In this year was much hostility in the land of the English through the ship-force, and well nigh every where they ravaged and burned, so that they advanced in one course until they came to the town of Aetheling-dene; and then there came against them the men of Hampshire, and fought against them. And there was Aethelweard the king's high-reeve slain, and Leofric at Whitchurch, and Leofwine the king's high-reeve, and Wulfhere the bishop's thane, and Godwine at Weorthig, bishop Aelfsig's son, and of all men, one and eighty; and there were of the Danish-men many more slain, though they had possession of the place of carnage. And they went thence west until they came to Devon; and there Pallig came to meet them, with the ships which he could gather, because he had fled from king Aethelred, contrary to all the plighted troth that he had given him; and the king had also well gifted him with houses, and with gold and with silver. And they burned Teigntun, and also many other good towns which we are unable to name; and there, afterwards, peace was made with them. And they then went thence to Exmouth, so that they proceeded upwards in one course until they came to Peonn-ho: and there Kola, the king's high-reeve, and Eadsy the king's reeve, went against them with the forces which they were able to gather together; and they there were put to flight, and there were many slain: and the Danish-men had possession of the place of carnage. And the morning after, they burned the village of Peonn-ho and at Cliston, and also many goodly towns which we are unable to name, and then went again east until they came to [the Isle of] Wight; and on the morning after, they burned the town at Waltham, and many other "cotlifs;"[2] and soon after a treaty was entered into with them, and they made peace.

A.D. 1002. [3]In this year the king decreed, and his witan, that tribute should be paid to the fleet, and peace made with them, on condition that they should cease from their evil doings. [4]Then sent the king to the fleet Leofsige the ealdorman; and he then settled a truce with them by the king's word, and his witan's, and that they should receive food and tribute. And that they then accepted: and then were they paid twenty-four thousand pounds. [5]Then during this, Leofsige the ealdorman slew Aefic, the king's high-reeve; and the king then banished him the land. And then in the same Lent came the lady, Richard's[6] daughter, Ymma Aelfgiva,[7] hither to land: and in the same summer archbishop Ealdulf[8] died. And in that year the king ordered all the Danish-men who were in England to be slain. This was done on St. Brice's mass-day [13th Nov.]; because it was made known to the king that they would

[1] A. G.

[2] Here ends G. The few remaining notices in MS. A. are mostly very brief. The concluding words of the sentence are an insertion in this copy.

[3] C. D. E. F.

[4] As far as "accepted," not in F.

[5] This sentence does not occur in F.

[6] Duke of Normandy.

[7] These names are not specified in C. D. E.

[8] Of York.

treacherously bereave him of his life, and afterwards all his witan; and after that have his kingdom[1] without any gainsaying.

A.D. 1003. [2]This year was Exeter entered by storm, through the French churl Hugh, whom the lady [Emma] had appointed her reeve: and then the army entirely ruined the town, and there took much booty. [3]And in the same year the army went up into Wiltshire. Then was gathered a very large force from Wiltshire and from Hampshire, and very resolutely they came in presence of the army. Then should the ealdorman Aelfric have led the forces, but he then had recourse to his old devices: as soon as they were so near that either army could look on the other, then feigned he himself sick, and began by retching to spew, and said that he was grievously ill: and thus deceived the people whom he should have led; as it is said: When the leader groweth feeble, then is all the army greatly hindered. When Swegen saw that they were not unanimous, and that they all separated, then led he his army into Wilton; and they spoiled the town, and burned it; and he went then to Salisbury, and thence went to the sea again, where he knew that his sea-horses were.

A.D. 1004. [4]This year came Swegen with his fleet to Norwich, and entirely spoiled and burned the town. Then decreed Ulfcytel, with the witan of East Anglia, that it were better that they should purchase peace of the army before they did very much harm in the land; because they had come unawares, and he had not time that he might gather his forces. Then during the truce which ought to have been between them, then stole the army up from their ships, and went their way to Thetford. When Ulfcytel understood that, then sent he word that the ships should be hewed in pieces, but they in whom he trusted failed to do it, and he then gathered his forces secretly, as he best might. And the army then came to Thetford, within three weeks of their having before plundered Norwich, and were one day there within, and plundered and burned the town. And then on the morrow, as they would have gone to their ships, then came Ulfcytel with his band, in order that they might there join battle with them. And they there stoutly joined battle, and much slaughter was there made on either hand. There were the chief among the East-Anglian people slain; but if the full force had been there, they never again had gone to their ships; inasmuch as they themselves said, that they never had met a worse hand-play among the English nation than Ulfcytel had brought to them.

A.D. 1005. [5]In this year was the great famine throughout the English nation; such, that no man ever before recollected one so grim. And the fleet in this year went from this land to Denmark; and stayed but a little space ere it came again.

A.D. 1006. [6]This year died archbishop Aelfric, and after him bishop Aelfeah succeeded to the archbishopric[7]: [8]and bishop Brihtwold succeeded to the bishopric of Wiltshire. And in the

[1] Not in C. D. E.
[2] From C. D. E. F.
[3] This and the following sentence do not occur in F.
[4] C. D. E. F.
[5] C. D. E. F.
[6] C. D. E. F. A.D. 1005, A.
[7] Of Canterbury.
[8] This clause does not occur in C. D.

same year was [1]Wulfgeat deprived of all his possessions, and Wulfeah and Ufegeat were blinded, and Aelfelm the ealdorman was slain; and bishop Kenulf[2] died. And then, after midsummer, then came the great fleet to Sandwich, and did all as they had been before wont; they ravaged, and burned, and destroyed, wherever they went. Then the king commanded all the people of Wessex and of Mercia to be called out; and then they lay out all the harvest in the field against the army. But it availed nothing, [3]the more than it oft before had done: but for all this, the army went wheresoever itself would, and the forces did every kind of harm to the inhabitants; so that neither profited them, nor the home army nor the foreign army. When it became winter, then went the forces home; and the army then came, over St. Martin's-mass[4] [11th Nov.] to their place of security, the Isle of Wight, and procured themselves there from all parts that which they needed. And then, at mid-winter, they went to their ready storing of provisions, throughout Hampshire into Berkshire, to Reading: and they did their old wont; they lighted their war-beacons as they went. Then went they to Wallingford, and that all burned, and were then one day in Cholsey: and they went then along Aescesdun to Cwichelms-hlæw, and there abode, as a daring boast; for it had been often said, if they should reach Cwichelms-hlæw, that they would never again go to the sea; then they went homewards another way. Then were forces assembled at Kennet, and they there joined battle: and they soon brought that band to flight, and afterwards carried their booty to the sea. But there might the Winchester men see an army daring and fearless, as they went by their gates towards the sea, and fetched themselves food and treasures over fifty miles from the sea. Then had the king gone over Thames into Shropshire, and there took his provisions during the mid-winter's tide. Then became the dread of the army so great, that no man could think or discover how they could be driven out of the land, or this land maintained against them; for they had sadly marked every shire in Wessex, by burning and by plundering. Then the king began earnestly with his witan to consider what might seem most advisable to them all, so that this land might be saved before it was utterly destroyed. Then the king and his witan decreed, for the behoof of the whole nation, though it was hateful to them all, that they needs must pay tribute to the army. Then the king sent to the army, and directed it to be made known to them, that he would that there should be a truce between them, and that tribute should be paid, and food given them. And then all that they accepted: and then were they victualled from throughout the English nation.

A.D. 1006. [5]This year Elphege [II.] was consecrated archbishop.

A.D. 1007. [6]In this year was the tribute delivered to the army, that was [7]thirty-six thousand pounds. In this year also was Eadric

[1] The passage respecting Wulfgeat is not found in F., nor is that which mentions the death of Aelfelm.
[2] Of Winchester.
[3] The remainder of this sentence is omitted by F.
[4] F. does not specify this date.
[5] From A.
[6] C. D. E. F.
[7] According to E. F. 30,000.

appointed ealdorman over the kingdom of Mercia. [1]This year bishop Aelfeah went to Rome after his pall.

A.D. 1008. [2]This year the king commanded that ships should be speedily built throughout the English nation: that is then, from three hundred hides and from ten hides, one vessel; and from eight hides a helmet and a coat of mail.

A.D. 1009. [3]In this year were the ships ready about which we before spake; and there were so many of them as never before, [4]according as books say unto us, had been among the English nation in any king's days. And they were all brought together to Sandwich, and there they were to lie and defend this land against every foreign army. But still we had not the good fortune nor the worthiness, that the ship-force could be of any use to this land, any more than it oft before had been. Then befel it at this same time, or a little before, that Brihtric, Eadric the ealdorman's brother, accused to the king the child Wulfnoth, the South Saxon, [5]the father of Godwine, the earl. He then went out, and then enticed ships unto him until he had twenty; and he then ravaged everywhere by the south coast, and wrought every kind of evil. [6]Then it was told unto the ship-forces that they might be easily taken, if they would go about it. Then Brihtric took with him eighty ships, and thought that he should acquire great fame if he could seize Wulfnoth alive or dead. But as they were on their way thither, then came such a wind against them as no man before remembered, and it then utterly beat the ships, and dashed to pieces, and cast upon the land; and soon came Wulfnoth, and burned the ships. [7]When this was thus known in the other ships where the king was, how the others had fared, then was it as if it had been all hopeless; and the king went his way home, and the ealdormen and the high-witan, and thus lightly left the ships; and then afterwards, the people who were in the ships brought them to London: and they let the whole nation's toil thus lightly pass away; [8]and no better was that victory on which the whole English nation had fixed their hopes. When this ship expedition had thus ended, then came, soon after Lammas [1st Aug.], the vast hostile army, which we have called Thurkill's army, to Sandwich; and they soon went their way to Canterbury, and would soon have subdued the city, if the citizens had not first desired peace of them: and all the people of East Kent made peace with the army, and gave them three thousand pounds. [9]And then, soon after that, the army went forth till they came to the Isle of Wight; and thence everywhere in Sussex, and in Hampshire, and also in Berkshire, they ravaged and plundered as their wont [10]is. Then the king commanded the whole nation to be called out; so that they should be opposed on every side: but lo! nevertheless, they marched as they pleased. Then upon a certain occasion, the

[1] From D. [2] C. D. E. F. [3] C. D. E. F.
[4] F. does not acknowledge this clause of the sentence.
[5] The concluding words of this sentence are omitted in C.
[6] This sentence is omitted in F.
[7] As far as "London" does not occur in D. E.
[8] This concluding passage not in F.
[9] F. omits as far as the sentence ending, "towards their ships." [10] "Was," E.

king had got before them with all his forces, as they would go to their ships; and all the people were ready to attack them. But it was then prevented through Eadric, the ealdorman, as it ever yet has been. Then, after St. Martin's-mass [11th Nov.], they went once more into Kent, and took up their winter-quarters on the Thames, and obtained their food from Essex, and from the shires which were there nearest, on both sides of the Thames. And oft they fought against the city of London: but praise be to God that it yet stands sound, and they there ever met with ill-fare. And then, after mid-winter [A.D. 1010], took they their way upwards through Chiltern, and so to Oxford, and burned the city; and betook themselves then, [1]on both sides of the Thames, towards their ships. Then were they warned that there were forces gathered at London against them: then went they over at Staines. [2]And thus they went the whole winter; and during Lent they were in Kent, and repaired their ships.

A.D. 1010. [3]This year,[4] after Easter [9th April], came the fore-mentioned army into East-Anglia, and landed at Ipswich, and went forthwith where they understood Ulfcytel was with his forces. This was on the day called the first of the Ascension of our Lord [18th May]; and then the East Angles soon fled. Then stood Cambridge-shire firmly against them. There was slain Aethelstan, the king's son-in-law, and Oswig and his son, and Wulfric, Leofwine's son, and Eadwig, Aefic's brother, and many other good thanes, and numberless of the people: [5]Thurcytel Myranheafod first began the flight. And the Danes had possession of the place of [6]carnage: and there were they horsed; and afterwards had dominion over East-Anglia, and the land three months ravaged and burned; and they even went into the wild fens, and they destroyed men and [7]cattle, and burned throughout the fens: and Thetford they burned, and Grantabridge. And after that they went southward again to the Thames, and the men who were horsed rode towards the ships; and after that, very speedily, they went westward into Oxfordshire, and thence into Buckinghamshire, and so along the Ouse until they came to Bedford, and so onwards to Temesford; and ever burning as they went. Then went they again to their ships with their booty. And when they went to their ships, then ought the forces again to have gone out against them, until they should land; but then the forces went home: and when they were eastwards, then were the forces kept westwards; and when they were southwards, then were our forces northwards. Then were all the witan summoned to the king, and they were then to counsel how this land might be defended. But although something might be then counselled, it did not stand even one month: at last there was no chief who would assemble forces, but each fled as he best might; nor, at the last, would even one

[1] "On both sides of the Thames," not in F.
[2] This concluding sentence not in F. [3] C. D. E. F.
[4] F. does not specify the date of this inroad, neither in the first nor the third sentence.
[5] F. does not contain this paragraph.
[6] . . . . of the place of carnage and of the East Angles, F.; the passage is also abridged in C. [7] F. here concludes the year.

shire assist another. Then before St. Andrew's mass-day [30th Nov.], came the enemy to Northampton, and they soon burned the town and took there-about as much as they themselves would; and thence they went over Thames into Wessex, and so by Canegmarsh, burning all the way. When they had gone so far as they then would, then came they at mid-winter to their ships.

A.D. 1011. [1]In this year sent the king and his witan to the army, and desired peace, and promised them tribute and food on condition that they would cease from their plundering. They had then overrun, 1st, East Anglia, and 2d, Essex, and 3d, Middlesex, and 4th, Oxfordshire, and 5th, Cambridgeshire, and 6th, Hertfordshire, and 7th, Buckinghamshire, and 8th, Bedfordshire, and 9th, half of Huntingdonshire, and 10th, [2]much of Northamptonshire; and south of Thames, all Kent, and Sussex, and Hastings, and Surry, and Berkshire, and Hampshire, and much of Wiltshire. [3]All these misfortunes befel us through unwise counsel, that they were not in time offered tribute, or fought against; but when they had done the most evil, then peace and truce were made with them. And nevertheless, for all the truce and tribute, they went everywhere in bands, and plundered our miserable people, and robbed and slew them. And then in this year, between the Nativity of St. Mary and St. Michael's-mass,[4] they besieged Canterbury, and got into it through treachery, because Aelmaer [5] betrayed it, whose life the archbishop Aelfeah had before saved. And there they took the archbishop Aelfeah, and Aelfweard the king's steward, and the abbess Leofrune,[6] and bishop Godwin. And abbat [7]Aelfmar they let go away. And they took there within all the men in orders, and men and women: it is not to be told to any man how many of the people there were. [8]And they remained within the city afterwards as long as they would. And when they had thoroughly searched the city, then went they to their ships, and led the archbishop with them.

He was then captive erewhile had seen bliss,
who erewhile was in that hapless city,
the head of the English race whence to us came first
and of Christendom. Christendom and bliss,
There might then be seen for God, and for the world
misery, where men oft

And they kept the archbishop with them so long as until the time that they martyred him.

A.D. 1012. [9]In this year came Eadric the ealdorman, and all the chief witan, clergy and laity, of the English people to London, before Easter; Easter-day was then on the date, the ides of April [13th April]; and they were there then so long as until all the tribute was paid, after Easter; that was [10]eight and forty thousand

[1] C. D. E. F.
[2] "Much of Northamptonshire," not in E.
[3] From this point, as far as the words, "in this year," F. is silent.
[4] That is, between the 8th and the 29th September.
[5] Aelfmaer, D.
[6] Leofrune was abbess of St. Mildred's in the Isle of Thanet; Godwin was bishop of Rochester; and Aelfmaer was abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury.
[7] Aelmar, D. E.
[8] This sentence is not in F.
[9] C. D. E. F.
[10] In E. F. "VIII. thousand pounds."

pounds. Then on the Saturday [19th April] was the army greatly excited against the bishop, because he would not promise them any money: but he forbade that any thing should be given for him. They had also drunk deeply, for wine had been brought there from the south. Then took they the bishop, led him to their husting on the eve of Sunday, the octaves of Easter, which was on the [1]13th of the kalends of May [19th April]; and there they then shamefully slaughtered him: they cast upon him bones and the horns of oxen, and then one of them struck him with an axe-iron on the head, so that with the blow he sank down; and his holy blood fell on the earth, and his holy soul he sent forth to God's kingdom. [2]And on the morrow the body was carried to London, and the bishops Eadnoth and Aelfun,[3] and the townsmen, received it with all reverence, and buried it in St. Paul's minister; and there God now manifesteth the miraculous powers of the holy martyr. When the tribute was paid, and oaths of peace were sworn, then the army separated widely, in like manner as before it had been gathered together. Then became subject to the king five and forty ships of the army, and covenanted with him that they would defend this country, and that he should feed and clothe them.

A.D. 1013. [4]In the year after that in which the archbishop Aelfeg was martyred, the king appointed bishop Lyfing to be archbishop at Canterbury. And in this same year, before the month of August, came king Swegen with his fleet to Sandwich, and went then, very soon, about East-Anglia into the mouth of the Humber, and so upward along Trent, until he came to Gainsborough. And then, soon, Uhtred the earl and all the Northumbrians submitted to him, and all the people in Lindesey, and afterwards the people in the Five Boroughs,[5] and soon after, all the army north of Watling-street; and hostages were delivered to him from every shire. [6]After he had learned that all the people were obedient to him, then bade he that his army should be victualled and horsed; and he then afterwards went southward with all the forces, and committed the ships [7]and the hostages to his son Cnut. And after he came over Watling-street, they wrought the most evil that any army could do. Then went he to Oxford, and the townsmen soon submitted, and delivered hostages; and thence to Winchester, and they did the like. Then went he thence eastward to London, and much of his people was drowned in the Thames, because they kept not to any bridge. When he came to the city, then would not the townsmen submit, but held out against him with all their might, because king Aethelred was therein, and Thurcyl with him. Then went king Swegen thence to Wallingford, and so over the Thames westward to Bath, and sate down there with his forces. And Aethelmaer the ealdorman came thither, and the western thanes with him, and they all submitted to Swegen, and delivered hostages

[1] This date does not occur in E. F.
[2] The first clause in this sentence is omitted in E. F.
[3] Of Dorchester and London.
[4] C. D. E. F.
[5] Namely, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby.
[6] As far as "horsed" does not occur in F.
[7] These three words, "and the hostages," do not occur in D.

for themselves. [1]And when he had thus succeeded, then went he northward to his ships; and then all the people held him for full king. And after that the townsmen of London submitted, and delivered hostages, [2]because they dreaded lest he should utterly undo them. Then Swegen ordered a full-tribute and provisions for his army during the winter; and Thurkyl ordered the like for the army which lay at Greenwich: and for all that, they plundered as oft as they would. Then was this people nothing benefited either from the south or from the north. Then was king Aethelred some while with the fleet which lay in the Thames; [3]and the lady then departed over sea to her brother Richard,[4] and Aelfsige, abbat of Peterborough, with her. And the king sent bishop Aelfun with the ethelings Eadward and Aelfred, over sea, that he might have charge of them. And the king departed from the fleet at mid-winter into the Isle of Wight, and was there during that tide; and after that tide he went over the sea to Richard, and was there with him until such time as Swegen was dead.

[5]And the while that the lady was with her brother beyond sea, Aelfsige, abbat of Peterborough, who was there with her, went to the minster which is called Bonneval, where St. Florentine's body lay. There found he a poor place, a poor abbat, and poor monks; for they had been plundered. Then bought he there of the abbat and of the monks St. Florentine's body, all except the head, for five hundred pounds; and then when he came home again, then made he an offering of it to Christ and St. Peter.

A.D. 1014. [6]In this year [7]king Swegen ended his days, [8]at Candlemas, on the third of the nones of February [3d Feb.]. [9]And that same year Aelfwig was consecrated bishop of London, at York, on St. Juliana's mass-day [16th Feb.].[10] And all the fleet then chose Cnut for king. Then counselled all the witan [11]who were in England, clergy and laity, that they should send after king Aethelred; and they declared that no lord could be dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would rule them better than he had before done. Then sent the king his son Eadward hither with his messengers, and ordered them to greet all his people; and said that he would be to them a faithful lord, and amend all those things which they all abhorred, and each of those things should be forgiven which have been done or said to him, on condition that they all, with one consent, would be obedient to him, without deceit. And they then established full friendship, by word and by pledge, on either half, and declared every Danish king an outlaw from England for ever. Then, during Lent, king Aethelred came home to his own people; and he was gladly received by them all.

[1] The narrative is here abridged in F.
[2] As far as "Thames" is omitted in F.
[3] . . "and the king Aegelred sent his queen Aelfgive Ymma over the sea," &c. F.
[4] He was duke of Normandy.
[5] The conclusion of the year is from E.
[6] C. D. E. F.
[7] In C. D. E. he is not designated king.
[8] . . . "at Candlemas," not in F.
[9] This sentence does not occur in C. E. F.
[10] In 1014 this fell upon a Tuesday.
[11] . . . "who were in England," not in D. E.

[1]Then, after Swegen was dead, Cnut sate with his army at Gainsborough until Easter [17th April]; and it was agreed between him and the people of Lindsey that they should find him horses, and that afterwards they should all go out together, and plunder. Then came king Aethelred thither, to Lindsey, with his full force, before they were ready: and then they plundered, and burned, and slew all the people whom they could reach. And Cnut went away out with his fleet, and thus the poor people were deceived through him, and then he went southward until he came to Sandwich; and there he caused the hostages to be put on shore who had been delivered to his father, and cut off their hands, and ears, and noses. [2]And besides all these evils, the king ordered the army which lay at Greenwich to be paid twenty-one thousand pounds. And in this year, on the eve of St. Michael's mass [28th Sept.], came the great sea-flood wide throughout this land, and ran so far up as it never before had done, and washed away many towns, and a countless number of people.

A.D. 1015. [3]In this year was the great meeting at Oxford; and there Eadric the ealdorman betrayed Siferth[4] and Morcore, the chief thanes in the Seven Boroughs. He allured them into his chamber, and there within they were cruelly slain. And the king then took all their possessions, and ordered Siferth's widow to be taken, and to be brought to Malmesbury. Then, after a little space, Eadmund the etheling went there and took the woman, contrary to the king's will, and had her for his wife. Then, before the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], the etheling went thence, from the west, north to the Five Boroughs, and soon took possession of all Siferth's property, and Morcore's; and the people all submitted to him. And then, during the same time, came king Cnut to Sandwich; and soon after went about Kent into Wessex, until he came to the mouth of the Frome: and then he ravaged in Dorset, and in Wiltshire, and in Somerset. Then lay the king sick at Cosham. Then gathered Eadric the ealdorman forces, and the etheling Eadmund in the north. When they came together, then would the ealdorman betray the etheling, [5]but he was not able: and they then parted without a battle on that account, and gave way to their foes. And Eadric the ealdorman then enticed forty ships from the king, and then went over to Cnut. [6]And the men of Wessex submitted, and delivered hostages, and horsed the army; and then was it there until mid-winter.

A.D. 1016. In this year came Cnut with [7]his army, and Eadric the ealdorman with him, over Thames into Mercia at Cricklade. And then they went to Warwickshire, during the mid-winter's tide, and ravaged, and burned, and slew all that they could come at. [8]Then began the etheling Eadmund to gather his forces. When

[1] The greater portion of this sentence is omitted by F.
[2] F. omits this sentence. [3] C. D. E. F. [4] Sigeforth, E. F.
[5] These five words are omitted in C. D.
[6] F. has not this concluding sentence.
[7] Instead of "with his army," D. and E. read, "with one hundred and sixty ships."
[8] From this point F. omits as far as the passage ending with the words "to their ships."

the forces were assembled, then would it not content them except it so were that the king were there with them, and they might have the help of the citizens of London: then gave they up the expedition, and each man went him away home. Then after that tide, the forces were again called out, so that each man, who was able to go, should come forth, under full penalties; and they sent to the king at London, and prayed him that he would come to meet the forces with such help as he could gather. When they all had come together, then it availed them nothing more than it oft before had done. Then was it made known to the king that they would betray him; they who ought to have been of aid to him. Then left he the forces and returned to London. Then rode the etheling Eadmund into Northumbria to Uhtred the earl, and every man thought that they would assemble forces against king Cnut. Then marched they into Staffordshire, and into Shropshire, and to Chester; and they plundered on their part, and Cnut on his part. He went out through Buckinghamshire into Bedfordshire, and thence to Huntingdonshire, [1]and so into Northamptonshire along the fens to Stamford, and then into Lincolnshire; then thence to Nottinghamshire, and so to Northumbria towards York. When Uhtred heard this, then left he off his plundering, and hastened northwards, and then submitted, from need, and all the Northumbrians with him; and he delivered hostages: and, notwithstanding, they slew him, [2]through the counsel of Eadric the ealdorman, and Thurcytel, son of Nafena, with him. And then, after that, king Cnut appointed Yric to be his earl in Northumbria, in like manner as Uhtred had been; and afterwards went southward, by another way, all to the west: and then before Easter [1st April], came all the army to their ships. And the etheling Eadmund went to London to his father. And then, after Easter, went king Cnut with all his ships towards London. Then befel it that king Aethelred died, before the ships arrived. He ended his days on St. George's mass-day [23d April], and he held his kingdom with great toil and under great difficulties the while that his life lasted. And then, after his end, all the witan who were in London, and the townsmen, chose Eadmund to be king: and he strenuously defended his kingdom the while that his time lasted. Then came the ships to Greenwich at Rogation days [7th May]. And within a little space they went to London, and they dug a great ditch on the south side, and dragged their ships to the west side of the bridge; and then afterwards they ditched the city around, so that no one could go either in or out: and they repeatedly fought against the city; but they [the citizens] strenuously withstood them. [3]Then had the king Eadmund, before that, gone out; and then he overran Wessex, and all the people submitted to him. And soon after that he fought against the army at Pen, by Gillingham. And a second battle he fought, after midsummer, at Sceorstan; and there

[1] The four following words do not occur in E.

[2] . . . "through the counsel of Eadric the ealdorman." These words do not occur in D. E.

[3] The remainder of the year is omitted in F.

much slaughter was made on either side, and the armies of themselves separated. In that battle Eadric the ealdorman, and Aelmaer darling, were helping the army against king Eadmund. And then gathered he his forces for the third time, and went to London, [1]all north of Thames, and so out through Claeighanger; and relieved the townsmen, and drove the army in flight to their ships. And then, about two days after, the king went over at Brentford, and there fought against the army, and put it to flight: and there many of the English people were drowned, from their own carelessness: they who went before the forces, and would take booty. And after that the king went into Wessex, and collected his forces. Then went the army, soon, to London, and beset the city around, and strongly fought against it, as well by water as by land. But the Almighty God delivered it.

The enemy went then, after that, from London, with their ships, into the Arewa [the Orwell], and there went up, and proceeded into Mercia, and destroyed and burned whatsoever they overran, as is their wont, [2]and provided themselves with food: and they conducted, as well their ships as their droves, into the Medway. Then king Edmund assembled, for the fourth time, all his forces, [3]and went over the Thames at Brentford, and went into Kent; and the army fled before him, with their horses, into Sheppey: and the king slew as many of them as he could overtake. And Eadric the ealdorman went then to meet the king at Aylesford: never was anything more ill-advised than this was.[4]

The army then went again up into Essex, and passed into Mercia, and destroyed whatever it overran.

When the king learned that the army was upward, then assembled he, for the fifth time, all the English nation, and followed after them, and overtook them in Essex, at the down which is called Assandun: and there they strenuously joined battle. Then did Eadric the ealdorman, as he had oft before done, begin the flight first with the Magesaetas, and so betrayed his royal lord and the whole people of the English race. There Cnut had the victory; and all the English nation fought against him. There was slain bishop Eadnoth,[5] and abbat Wulsige, and Aelfric the ealdorman, and Godwine[6] the ealdorman of Lindsey, and Ulfcytel of East-Anglia, and Aethelweard, son of Aethelwine[7] the ealdorman; and all the nobility of the English race was there destroyed.

Then, after this battle, went king Cnut up with his army into Gloucestershire, where he learned that king Eadmund was.

Then advised Eadric the ealdorman, and the witan who were there, that the kings should be mutually reconciled. And they delivered hostages mutually; and the kings came together at Olanege [8]near Deerhurst, and then confirmed their friendship as

[1] As far as "Claeighanger" is omitted in D. E.
[2] The conclusion of the sentence is not in F.
[3] The passage of the Thames at Brentford is omitted in F.
[4] This passage is somewhat obscure in the original; see the corresponding sentence in Florence of Worcester.
[5] He was bishop of Dorchester.
[6] This individual is not mentioned in F.
[7] Aethelsig, E. F.
[8] . . . "near Deerhurst" do not occur in C. E. F.

well by pledge as by oath, and settled the tribute for the army. And they then separated with this reconcilement: and Eadmund obtained Wessex, and Cnut, Mercia.[1] [2]The army then went to their ships with the things they had taken. And the men of London made a truce with the army, and bought themselves peace: and the army brought their ships to London, and took up their winter-quarters therein. Then, at St. Andrew's mass [30th Nov.], died king Eadmund; and his body lies at Glastonbury, with his grandfather Edgar. [3]And in the same year died Wulfgar, abbat of Abingdon; and Aethelsige succeeded to the abbacy.

A.D. 1017. [4]In this year king Cnut obtained the whole realm of the English race, and divided it into four parts: Wessex to himself, and East Anglia to Thurkyll, and Mercia to Eadric, and Northumbria to Irke. And in this year was Eadric the ealdorman slain [5]in London, very justly, [6]and Northman, son of Leofwine the ealdorman, and Aethelweard, son of Aethelmaer the great, and Brihtric, son of Aelfeh, in Devonshire. And king Cnut banished Eadwig the etheling, [7]and afterwards commanded him to be slain, and Eadwi, king of the churls. And then, before the kalends of August, the king commanded the relict of king Aethelred, Richard's daughter, to be fetched for his wife, [8]that was Elfgive in English, Ymma in French.

A.D. 1017. [9]This year king Cnut was chosen king.

A.D. 1018. [10]In this year the tribute was delivered throughout the whole English nation; that was altogether, two and [11]seventy thousand pounds, besides that which the townsmen of London paid, which was ten and a half[12] thousand pounds. [13]And then some of the army went to Denmark, and forty ships remained with king Cnut. And the Danes and the Angles agreed, at Oxford, [14]to live under Edgar's law. [15]And this year abbat Aethelsige died at Abingdon, and Aethelwine succeeded him.

A.D. 1019. [16]This year king Cnut went [17]with nine ships to Denmark, and there abode all the winter.

A.D. 1019. [18]And this winter died archbishop [19]Aelfstan: he was named Lifing; and he was a very provident man, both as to God and as to the world.

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[1] "Mercia" is the reading of E. and F.; but D. reads instead, "the north portion." See Florence.
[2] This and the greater portion of the next sentence do not occur in F.
[3] Not in D. F. [4] C. D. E. F.
[5] . . . "in London, very justly," do not occur in C. D. E.
[6] The passage as far as to the words "to be slain" is omitted in F.
[7] This clause of the sentence is not found in D. E.; nor is that which immediately follows respecting Eadwi in C. F.
[8] These concluding words do not occur in C. D. E.
[9] From A. [10] C. D. E. F.
[11] F. states the amount at seventy-two thousand pounds. E. says seventy-two pounds. [12] E. and F. "eleven pounds."
[13] This sentence is not in F.
[14] The concluding words of this sentence are from D.
[15] Not in D. [16] C. D. E. F.
[17] These three words, "with nine ships," do not occur in C. E. F. Petrie's translation here reads "forty," though the text supports the rendering recorded above.
[18] D. in continuation of A.D. 1019. [19] Of Canterbury.

A.D. 1020. [1] In this year died archbishop [2] Lyfing: and king Cnut came again to England. [3] And then, at Easter [17th April], there was a great council at Cirencester: then was outlawed Aethelweard the ealdorman, [4] and Eadwig, king of the churls. And in this year went the king to Assandune,[5] and archbishop Wulstan,[6] and Thurkyl the earl, and many bishops and also abbats, and many monks with them, and hallowed the minster at Assandune. [7] And [8] Aethelnoth the monk, who was dean at Christ-Church, was in the same year, on [9] the ides of November [13th Nov.],[10] consecrated bishop at Christ-Church,[11] [12] by archbishop Wulstan.

A.D. 1020. [13] And caused to be built there a minster of stone and lime, for the souls of the men who there were slain, and gave it to one of his priests, whose name was Stigand.

A.D. 1021. [14] In this year, [15] at Martin-mass [11th Nov.], king Cnut outlawed Thurkyl the earl. [16] And bishop Aelfgar,[17] the alms-giver, died on Christmas-morn.

A.D. 1022. [18] This year king Cnut went out with his ships to the Isle of Wight. And archbishop Aethelnoth went to Rome, [19] and was there received by [20] Benedict, the honourable pope, with much worship; and he, with his own hands, put his pall upon him, and very honourably consecrated him archbishop, and blessed him, on [21] the nones of October [7th Oct.]. [22] And the archbishop soon after, on the self-same day, sang mass therewith: and then thereafter was honourably entertained by the same pope, and also himself took the pall from St. Peter's altar; and then afterwards he blithely went home to his country. [23] And abbat Leofwine, who had been unjustly driven out from Ely, was his companion; and he cleared himself of everything that was said against him, as the pope instructed him, in the presence of the archbishop, and of all the fellowship which was with him.

A.D. 1022. [24] And afterwards with the pall he there performed mass as the pope instructed him: and he feasted after that with the pope; and afterwards went home with a full blessing.

A.D. 1023. [25] This year king Cnut came again to England, and Thurcil and he were reconciled; and he committed Denmark and his son to the keeping of Thurcil; and the king took Thurcil's son

[1] C. D. E. F.
[2] The death of Lifing is not mentioned in D. at this point.
[3] This sentence is not found in F.
[4] This clause is not in D. E.
[5] As far as "to Assandune," not in E.
[6] Of York.
[7] To the end of the year is omitted in C.
[8] Aegelnoth, F.
[9] The date is wanting in E. F.
[10] In this year being the twenty-second Sunday after Trinity.
[11] At Canterbury.
[12] Not in D.
[13] From F.
[14] C. D. E. F.
[15] The date does not occur in F.
[16] This sentence is not in C.
[17] Of Elmham.
[18] C. D. E. F., the last of which MSS. passes over the first sentence.
[19] The remainder of the year does not occur in C.
[20] Benedict the Eighth.
[21] This date does not occur in E.
[22] On this year it fell upon a Sunday.
[23] E. F., as far as the end of the year, transpose this passage.
[24] E. F., but transposed.
[25] The first sentence is from C.

with him to England. [1]This year died archbishop Wulfstan:[2] and Aelfric succeeded him; and archbishop Aegelnoth blessed him at Canterbury. [3]This year king Cnut, within London, in St. Paul's minster, gave full leave to archbishop Aethelnoth and bishop Bryhtwine,[4] and to all the servants of God who were with them, that they might take up from the tomb the archbishop St. Aelfeah. And they then did so, on the 6th of the ides of June [8th June].[5] And the illustrious king, and the archbishop and suffragan bishops, and earls, and very many clergy, and also laity, carried, in a ship, his holy body over the Thames to Southwark, and there delivered the holy martyr to the archbishop and his companions; and they then, with a worshipful band and winsome joy, bore him to Rochester. Then, on the third day, came Imma the lady, with her royal child Hearda-Cnut: and then they all, with much state and bliss, and songs of praise, bore the holy archbishop into Canterbury; and then worshipfully brought him into Christ's Church, on the 3d of the ides of June [11th June]. Again, after that, on the eighth day, the 17th of the kalends of July [15th June], archbishop Aethelnoth, and bishop Aelfsie,[6] and bishop Bryhtwine, and all those who were with them, deposited St. Aelfeah's holy body on the north side of Christ's altar, to the glory of God, and the honour of the holy archbishop, and the eternal health of all who there daily seek to his holy body with a devout heart and with all humility. God Almighty have mercy on all christian men, through St. Aelfeah's holy merits.

A.D. 1023. [7]And he caused St. Aelfege's remains to be borne from London to Canterbury.

A.D. 1023. [8]And the same year archbishop Aethelnoth bore St. Aelfeah's, the archbishop's, remains to Canterbury, from London.

A.D. 1024.[9]

A.D. 1025. [10]This year king Cnut went to Denmark, with his ships, to the holm at the holy river. And there came against him Ulf and Eglaf, and a very great army, as well a land army as a fleet of Swedes. And there very many men were destroyed on king Cnut's side, as well of Danish men as of English: and the Swedes had possession of the place of carnage.

A.D. 1026. [11]This year bishop [12]Aelfric went to Rome, and received his pall of pope [13]John, on the 2d of the ides of November [12th Nov.].

A.D. 1027.

A.D. 1028. [14]This year king Cnut went from England with fifty ships [15]of English thanes, to Norway, [16]and drove king Olaf out of the land, and possessed himself of all that land.

[1] From E. F.
[2] Archbishop of York.
[3] From D.
[4] Bishop of Sherburne.
[5] In this year the 8th of June fell upon a Saturday.
[6] Bishop of Winchester.
[7] C. in transposition.
[8] E. F. in transposition.
[9] "Here Richard the Second died, and Richard his son reigned nearly one year; and after him Robert his brother reigned eight years." E. Latin.
[10] E. F.
[11] D.
[12] He was archbishop of York.
[13] John the Nineteenth.
[14] C. D. E. F.
[15] "Of English thanes" not in C. D. E., but it occurs in F., both in the Saxon and Latin texts.
[16] C. omits the conclusion of the year.

A.D. 1029. [1] This year king Cnut came home again to England. [2] And so soon as he came to England, he gave to Christ-Church at Canterbury the haven at Sandwich, and all the dues that arise thereof, on either side of the haven: so that, lo! when the flood is all at the highest, and all at the fullest, if a ship be floating so nigh the land as it nighest may, and there be a man standing in the ship, and he have a taper ax in his [3] . . . .

A.D. 1030. [4] This year was king Olaf slain in Norway by his own people; and afterwards was sainted. And in this year, before that, died Hacun, the doughty earl, at sea.

A.D. 1030. [5] This year came king Olaf again into Norway, and the people gathered against him, and fought against him; and he was there slain.

A.D. 1031. [6] This year king Cnut went to [7] Rome. And so soon as he came home then went he into Scotland: and the king of the Scots, [8] Malcolm, submitted to him, and became his man, but that he held only a little while; [9] and two other kings, Maelbaeth and Jehmarc. And Robert, earl of Normandy, went to Jerusalem, and there died; and William, who was afterwards king in England, succeeded to Normandy, though he was a child.

A.D. 1032. [10] In this year appeared the wild fire, such as no man before remembered; and moreover on all sides it did harm, in many places. And in the same year died Aelfsige, bishop at Winchester; and Aelfwine, the king's priest, succeeded thereto.

A.D. 1033. [11] This year died bishop Leofsie, and his body rests at Worcester: and Brihteh was raised to his see. [12] In this year died Merehwit, bishop of Somerset; [13] and he is buried at Glastonbury.

A.D. 1034. [14] This year died bishop Aetheric, [15] and he lies at Ramsey. [16] This same year died Maelcolm, king in Scotland.

A.D. 1035. [17] This year died king Cnut; and Harold, his son, succeeded to the kingdom. He departed at Shaftesbury, [18] on the 2d of the ides of November [12th Nov.]; and they bore him thence to Winchester, and there they buried him. And Aelfgyfu, Ymma, the lady, then sat there within: and Harold, who said that he was son of Cnut and of the other Aelfgyfe, though it was not true; he sent thither, and caused to be taken from her all the best treasures, which she could not withhold, that king Cnut had possessed; and nevertheless she still sat there within, as long as she could.

A.D. 1036. [19] This year Aelfred the innocent etheling, son of king Aethelred, came in hither, and would go to his mother, who

[1] This first sentence is from D. E. F. [2] A. F.
[3] The Latin portion of F. completes the portion in which the Saxon is here defective, but it has relation only to the jurisdiction of the church of Canterbury, and is of no public interest.
[4] C. [5] D. E. [6] D. E. F.
[7] Canute's journey to Rome is placed by Wippo, a contemporaneous writer, in the year 1027. See Pistorius, iii. 472.—*P.*
[8] The name of the Scottish king does not occur in D. F.
[9] The conclusion of the year is not in D. [10] E. F.
[11] The first sentence not in D.
[12] The conclusion of the year from E. F. [13] He was bishop of Wells.
[14] C. D. E. [15] Namely, of Dorchester.
[16] This concluding sentence does not occur in C.
[17] C. D. [18] This date is wanting in C. [19] C. D.

sat at Winchester; [1]but that neither Godwine the earl, nor the other men also who had much power, would allow him because the cry was then greatly in favour of Harold, though that was unjust.

But Godwine[2] him then let,
and him in prison set;
and his companions he dispersed;
and some divers ways slew;
some they for money sold,
some cruelly slaughtered,
some did they bind,
some did they blind,
some did they mutilate,
some did they scalp:
nor was a bloodier deed
done in this land
since the Danes came,
and here accepted peace.
Now is our trust in
the beloved God,
that they are in bliss,
blithely with Christ,
who were without guilt
so miserably slain.
The etheling still lived,
every ill they him vowed,
until it was decreed
that he should be led
to Ely-bury,
thus bound.
Soon as he came to land,
in the ship he was blinded;
and him thus blind
they brought to the monks:
and he there abode
the while that he lived.
After that him they buried,
as well was his due
full worthily,
as he worthy was,
at the west end,
the steeple well-nigh,
in the south-aisle.
His soul is with Christ.

A.D. 1036. [3]This year died king Cnut at Shaftesbury, and he is buried at Winchester in the Old-Minster: and he was king over all England very nigh twenty years. [4]And soon after his decease there was a meeting of all the witan at Oxford; and Leofric the earl, and almost all the thanes north of the Thames, and the "lithsmen" at London, chose Harold for chief of all England, him and his brother Hardacnut who was in Denmark. And Godwine the earl and all the chief men of [5]Wessex withstood it as long as they could; but they were unable to effect anything in opposition to it. And then it was decreed that Aelfgifu, Hardacnut's mother, should dwell at Winchester with the king's, her son's, huscarls, and hold all Wessex in his power; and Godwine the earl was their chief man. Some men said of Harold that he was the son of king Cnut and of Aelfgive daughter of Aelfelm the ealdorman, but it seemed quite incredible to many men; and he was nevertheless full king over all England.

A.D. 1037. [6]This year was Harald chosen king over all, and Hartha-Cnut forsaken, because he stayed too long in Denmark; and then they drove out his mother Aelfgyfe, the queen, without any kind of mercy, against the stormy winter: and she came then to Bruges beyond sea; and Baldwin the earl[7] there well received her, and there kept her the while she had need. And before, in this year, died Aefic the noble dean at Evesham.

[1] Instead of these words, D. reads thus, "and those who then were of great power in the land did not permit this."
[2] D. gives such a turn to the sentence as to avoid mentioning Godwin's name.
[3] E. F.
[4] F. omits as far as the word "Oxford," and also the words "and the 'lithsmen' at London."
[5] Instead of the conclusion of the year, F. adds, ... "withstood it, but they sped nothing whatever. And he was full king over all England."
[6] C. D.
[7] Earl of Flanders.

A.D. 1037. [1]This year was driven out Aelfgife, king [2]Cnut's relict; she was king Hardacanute's mother; and she then sought the protection of Baldwine south of the sea, and he gave her a dwelling in Bruges, and protected and kept her, the while that she there was.

A.D. 1038. [3]This year died Aethelnoth, the good [4]archbishop, and Aethelric, bishop in [5]Sussex, [6]who desired of God that he would not let him live, any while, after his beloved father Aethelnoth; and accordingly, within seven days after, he departed, and bishop Aelfric[7] in East Anglia, and bishop Bryhteh in Worcestershire, on the 13th of the kalends of January [20th Dec.] [8]And then bishop Eadsige succeeded to the archbishopric, and Grymcytel to the bishopric in Sussex, and bishop Living to Worcestershire and to Gloucestershire.

A.D. 1038. [9]This year died Aethelnoth, the [10]good archbishop, on the kalends of November [1st Nov.], and a little after, Aethelric, bishop in Sussex; and then before Christmas, Brihteh, bishop in Worcestershire, and soon Aelfric, bishop in East Anglia.

A.D. 1039. [11]This year was the great wind: and bishop Bryhtmaer died at Lichfield. And the Welsh slew Eadwine, brother of Leofric the earl, and Thurcil, and Aelfget, and very many good men with them. And this year also came Harthacnut to Bruges, where his mother was.

A.D. [12]1039. This year king Harold died at Oxford, on [13]the 16th of the kalends of April [17th March], and he was buried at Westminster. [14]And he ruled England four years and sixteen weeks; and in his days sixteen ships were retained in pay, at the rate of eight marks for each steersman, in like manner as had been before done in the days of king Cnut. And in this same year came king Hardacnut to Sandwich, [15]seven days before midsummer. And he was soon acknowledged as well by English as by Danes; though his advisers afterwards grievously requited it, when they decreed that seventy-two ships should be retained in pay, at the rate of eight marks for each steersman. [16]And in this same year the sester of wheat went up to fifty-five pence, and even further.

A.D. 1040. [17]This year died king Harald. Then sent they after Harthacnut to Bruges; thinking that they did well. And he then came hither with sixty ships before midsummer, and then imposed a very heavy tribute, so that it could hardly be levied; that was eight marks for each steersman, and all were then averse to him who before had desired him; and moreover he did nothing royal during his whole reign. He caused the dead Harald to be taken up, and

[1] E. F.
[2] . . . "the king's relict, and the mother of Eadward and Hardecnut." F.
[3] C. D. [4] Of Canterbury. [5] Of Selsey.
[6] This incident, as far as the word "departed," does not occur in C.
[7] The death of Aelfric, bishop of Elmham, is not in D.
[8] To the end of the year from E. F. [9] E. F.
[10] This appellation is omitted in F. [11] C.
[12] E. F. From this time the dates in these two MSS. are often faulty. Harold is here said to have reigned four years and sixteen weeks, although Cnut's death, November 12th, is placed under the year 1036, and the death of Hardacnut, and the coronation of Edward, which belongs unquestionably to the year 1043, are in like manner misdated.—*P.*
[13] The date is wanting in F. See A.D. 1040.
[14] F. omits as far as the word "Cnut." [15] The exact date not in F.
[16] The concluding sentence not in F. [17] C. D.

had him cast into a fen. [1]This year archbishop Eadsige [2] went to Rome.[3]

A.D. 1040. [4]This year was the "here-geld" paid; that was twenty-one thousand pounds and ninety-nine pounds. And after that they paid to thirty-two ships, eleven thousand pounds and forty-eight pounds. And, in this same year, came Eadward, son of king Aethelred, hither to land, from Weal-land; he was brother of king Hardacnut: they were both sons of Aelfgive; she was daughter of earl Richard.

A.D. 1041. [5]This year Harthacnut caused all Worcestershire to be ravaged, on account of his two house-carls, who demanded the heavy impost; when the people slew them in the town within the minster. And this year, soon after, came from beyond sea Eadward, his brother on the mother's side, king Aethelred's son, who before for many years had been driven from his country; and yet was he sworn king: and he then abode thus in his brother's court while he lived. And in this year also Harthacnut betrayed Eadulf the earl, while under his protection: and he became then a belier of his "wed." [6]And this year bishop Egelric[7] was ordained at York, on the 3d of the ides of January [11th Jan.][8]

A.D. [9]1041. This year died king Hardacnut at Lambeth, on the 6th of the ides of June [8th June]: and he was king over all England two years wanting ten days; and he is buried in the Old-minster at Winchester with king Canute his father. [10]And his mother, for his soul, gave to the New-minster the head of St. Valentine the martyr. And before he was buried, all people chose Edward for king at London: [11]may he hold it the while that God shall grant it to him! And all that year was a very heavy time, in many things and divers, as well in respect to ill seasons as to the fruits of the earth. And so much cattle perished in the year as no man before remembered, [12]as well through various diseases as through tempests. And in this same time died Aeulf[sine], abbat of Peterborough; and then Arnwi the monk was chosen abbat, because he was a very good man, and of great simplicity.

A.D. 1042. [13]This year died king Harthacnut as he stood at his drink, and he suddenly fell to the earth with a terrible convulsion: and then they who were there nigh took hold of him; and he after that spake not one word: and he died on the 6th of the ides of June [8th June]. And all people then acknowledged Edward for king, as was his true natural right.

A.D. [14]1043. This year was Edward consecrated king at Winchester, on the first day of Easter, with much pomp: and then was Easter on the 3d of the nones of April [3d April]. Archbishop Eadsige consecrated him, and before all the people well instructed him; and for his own need, and all the people's, well admonished him. And Stigant the priest was blessed bishop of the [15]East Angles. And soon after, the king caused all the lands which his mother possessed to be seized into his hands, and took from her all

[1] This sentence is from A.
[2] Archbishop of Canterbury.
[3] "and king Harold died," A. add.
[4] E. F.
[5] C. D.
[6] This sentence does not occur in C.
[7] He was bishop of Durham.
[8] In 1041 this day fell upon a Sunday.
[9] E. F. A.D. 1042, A. See the following year.
[10] This sentence does not occur in E.
[11] This clause is omitted in F.
[12] To the end of the year not in F.
[13] C. D.
[14] A. C. A.D. 1042, E. F.
[15] Namely, of Elmham.

that she possessed in gold, and in silver, [1]and in things unspeakable, because she had before held it too closely with him. [2]And soon after, Stigant was deposed from his bishopric, and all that he possessed was seized into the king's hands, because he was nearest to his mother's counsel, and she went just as he advised her, as people thought.

A.D. 1043. [3]This year was Edward consecrated king at Winchester on the first day of Easter [3d April]. And this year, fourteen days before Andrew's-mass [16th Nov.], the king was advised to ride from Gloucester, and Leofric the earl, and Godwine the earl, and Sigwarth [Siward] the earl, with their followers, to Winchester, unawares upon the lady [Emma]; and they bereaved her of all the treasures which she possessed, they were not to be told, because before that she had been very hard with the king her son; inasmuch as she had done less for him than he would, before he was king, and also since: and they suffered her after that to remain therein.

[4]This year king Edward took the daughter [Eadgithe] of Godwine the earl for his wife. And in this same year died bishop Brihtwold, and he held the bishopric thirty-eight years, [5]that was the bishopric of Sherborne, and Hereman the king's priest succeeded to the bishopric. [6]And in this year Wulfric was hallowed abbat of St. Augustine's, at Christmas, on Stephen's mass-day [26th Dec.], by leave of the king, and, on account of his great infirmity, of abbat Aelfstane.

A.D. [7]1044. This year archbishop Eadsige[8] gave up the bishopric by reason of his infirmity, and he blessed thereto Siward, abbat of Abingdon, as bishop, by the king's leave and counsel, and Godwine's the earl's: it was known to few men else before it was done, because the archbishop thought that some other man would obtain or buy it whom he could less trust in, and be pleased with, if more men should know of it. And in this year was a very great famine over all England, and corn was so dear as no man before remembered; so that the sester of wheat went up to sixty pence, [9]and even further. And in the same year the king went out to Sandwich with thirty-five ships: and Aethelstan the church ward obtained the abbacy at Abingdon. [10]And Stigand reobtained his bishopric. And in the same year[11] king Edward took Eadgythe, daughter of Godwine the earl, to wife, ten days before Candlemas [23d Jan.].

A.D. [12]1044. This year died Living, bishop[13] in Devonshire, and Leofric succeeded thereto: he was the king's priest. And [14]in this same year died Aelfstan, abbat of St. Augustine's, on the third of the nones of July [5th July]. And [15]in this same year was outlawed Osgot Clapa.

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[1] "and in things unspeakable," not in F.
[2] To the end of the year not in E. F. [3] From D.
[4] The date of 1043 is here repeated in MS. E. A.D. 1044, F.
[5] The words "that was the bishopric of Sherborne," do not occur in E.
[6] E. F.
[7] From C. A.D. 1043, E. F. [8] Archbishop of Canterbury.
[9] From this point as far as the word "bishopric," F. is silent.
[10] This sentence is not in C.F. In explanation of it see A.D. 1043.
[11] There are some anomalous appearances with respect to the time of beginning the year in MS. C. before this period; but henceforward to the year 1053, it can hardly be questioned that the computation from Easter is followed in that copy. This event, therefore, according to our mode of reckoning, would belong to the year 1045.—*P.*
[12] E. A.D. 1045, F. See A.D. 1045, 1046. [13] "of Exeter," F.
[14] "in this same year" do not occur in F., neither does the exact date specified in E.
[15] F. here again omits the words "in this same year."

A.D. 1045. [1]In this year died bishop Bryhtwold,[2] on the 10th of the kalends of May [22d April]; and king Edward gave the bishopric to Heraman his priest. And in the same summer king Edward went out with his ships to Sandwich; and there so great a force was gathered, that no man had seen a greater fleet in this land. And in this same year[3] died bishop Lyvync, on the 13th of the kalends of April [20th March]; and the king gave the bishopric to Leofric his priest. [4]This year died Aelfward, bishop of London, on the 8th of the kalends of August [25th July]. He was first abbat of Evesham, and greatly advanced the minster whilst he was there. He went then to Ramsey, and there gave up his life. And Manni was chosen abbat,[5] and ordained on the 4th of the ides of August [10th Aug.]. And in this year was driven out Gunnilde, the noble woman, king Cnut's niece; and she, after that, stayed at Bruges a long while, and afterwards went to Denmark.

A.D. [6]1045. This year died Grymkytel, bishop in Sussex, and Heca, the king's priest, succeeded thereto. And [7]in this year died Aelfwine, bishop of Winchester, [8]on the 4th of the kalends of September [29th Aug.]; and Stigand, bishop to the north,[9] succeeded thereto. And in the same year Swegen the earl went out to Baldwin's land[10] to Bruges, and abode there all the winter; and then in summer he went out.

A.D. 1046. [11]In this year Swegen the earl went into Wales, and Griffin the Northern king[12] went with him: and they delivered hostages to him. As he was on his way homewards, then commanded he to be brought unto him the abbess of Leominster: and he had her as long as he listed; and after that he let her go home. And in this same year Osgod Clapa was outlawed before midwinter. And in this same year, after [13]Candlemas, came the severe winter, with frost and with snow, and with all kinds of tempestuous weather, so that there was no man then alive who could remember so severe a winter as this was, as well through mortality of men as murrain of cattle; even birds and fishes perished through the great cold and famine.

A.D. 1046. [14]This year died Brihtwold, bishop in Wiltshire, and Hereman was appointed to his see. In that year king Eadward gathered a large ship-force at Sandwich, on account of the threatening of Magnus in Norway: but his and Swegen's contention in Denmark hindered his coming here.

A.D. [15]1046. This year died Aethelstan, abbot of Abingdon, and Spearhafoc, monk of St. Edmund's-bury, succeeded him. And in this same year died bishop Siward,[16] and archbishop Eadsige again obtained the whole bishopric.[17]

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[1] As far as the word "priest" is from C.

[2] He was bishop of Ramsbury.

[3] A.D. 1046.

[4] From D. to the end of the year, in which MS. the following events are placed under the year 1045, but this arises apparently from the omission of 1044, to which year, according to Florence of Worcester, who used a copy similar to D., they belong; and the like error continues in this MS. until 1052, where it is corrected by the repetition of that date.—*P.*

[5] Of Evesham.

[6] E. A.D. 1046, F. See A.D. 1047.

[7] "in this year," not in F.

[8] This date does not occur in F.

[9] The Latin text of F. explains this as meaning that he was bishop of the East Saxons. His see was at Elmham.

[10] That is, to Flanders.

[11] C.

[12] He was king of North Wales.

[13] Namely, 2d Feb. 1047.

[14] D. See A.D. 1045.

[15] E. A.D. 1047, F. See A.D. 1047, 1048.

[16] See A.D. 1044.

[17] Of Canterbury.

And in this same year came Lothen and Yrling with twenty-five ships to Sandwich, and [1]there took unspeakable booty, in men, and in gold, and in silver, so that no man knew how much it all was. And they then went about Thanet, and would there do the like; but the land's-folk strenuously withstood them, and denied them as well landing as water; and thence utterly put them to flight. And they betook themselves then into Essex, and there they ravaged, and took men, and property, and whatsoever they might find. And they betook themselves[2] then east to Baldwine's land, and there they sold what they had plundered; and after that went their way east, whence they before had come.

A.D. 1046. [3]In this year was the great synod at St. Remi's [Rheims]. Thereat was Leo the pope, [4]and the archbishop of Burgundy [Lyons], and the archbishop of Besançon, and the archbishop of Triers, and the archbishop of Rheims; and many men besides, both clergy and laity. And king Edward sent thither bishop Dudoc,[5] and Wulfric, abbat of St. Augustine's, and abbat Elfwine,[6] that they might make known to the king what should be there resolved on for Christendom. And in this same year king Eadward sent out to Sandwich with a great fleet. And Swegen the earl, son of Godwine the earl, came in to Bosham with seven ships; and he obtained the king's protection, and he was promised that he should be held worthy of everything which he before possessed. Then Harold the earl, his brother, and Beorn the earl,[7] contended that he should not be held worthy of any of the things which the king had granted to them: but a protection of four days was appointed him to go to his ships. Then befel it during this, that word came to the king that hostile ships lay westward, and were ravaging. Then went Godwine the earl west about with two of the king's ships; the one commanded Harold the earl, and the other Tostig his brother; and forty-two of the people's ships. Then Harold the earl was removed from the king's ship which Harold the earl before had commanded.[8] Then went they west to Pevensey, and lay there weather-bound. Upon this, after two days, then came Swegen the earl thither, and spoke with his father, and with Beorn the earl, and begged of Beorn that he would go with him to the king at Sandwich, and help him to the king's friendship: and he granted it. Then went they as if they would go to the king. Then whilst they were riding, then begged Swegen of him that he would go with him to his ships: saying that his seamen would depart from him unless he should at the soonest come thither. Then went they both where his ships lay. When they came thither, then begged Swegen the earl of him that he would go with him on ship-board. He strenuously refused, so long as until his seamen seized him, and threw him into the boat, and bound him, and rowed to the ship, and put him there aboard. Then they hoisted up their sails and ran west to Axmouth, and had him with them until they slew him: and they took the body and buried it in a church. And then his friends and litsmen came from London, and took him up, and bore him to Winchester to the Old-minster: and he is there buried with king Cnut his uncle. [9]And Swegen went then east to Baldwin's land, and sat down there all the winter at Bruges, with his full protection. And [10]in the same year died Eadnoth, bishop of the north;[11] and Ulf was made bishop.

A.D. 1047. [12]In this year died bishop Grimcytel; he was bishop in [13]Sussex, and he lies in Christ-Church, at Canterbury; and king

[1] F. passes on to "and took men," &c.
[2] As far as "east," is omitted in F.
[3] From E. See A.D. 1049. F. ascribes these incidents to 1048.
[4] These names are omitted in F. [5] Bishop of Wells.
[6] Abbot of Ramsey.
[7] F. passes over to the passage, "and spoke with his father."
[8] This sentence is obscure and apparently erroneous.
[9] This sentence is not in F.
[10] F. does not contain the words, "in the same year."
[11] The Latin text of F. explains this as meaning that he was bishop of the Northern Saxons: his see was that of Dorchester. [12] From C.
[13] He was bishop of Selsey.

Eadward gave the bishopric to Heca his priest. And in this same year died bishop Aelfwine,[1] on the 4th of the kalends of September [29th Aug.]; and king Eadward gave the bishopric to bishop Stigand. And Aethelstan, abbat of Abingdon, died in the same year, on the 4th of the kalends of April:[2] then was Easter-day on the 3d of the nones of April [3d April]. And there was over all England a very great mortality in the same year.

A.D. 1047. [3]This year died Lyfing, the eloquent bishop, on the 10th of the kalends of April [23d March]; and he had three bishoprics; one in Devonshire, and in Cornwall, and in Worcester. Then Leofric succeeded to Devonshire and to Cornwall, and bishop Aldred to Worcester. And in this year Osgod the "stallere" [master of the horse], was outlawed: and Magnus[4] won Denmark.

A.D. [5]1047. In this year there was a great meeting in London at Mid-lent, [10th March], and nine ships of litsmen were discharged, and five remained behind. In this same year came Swegen the earl into England. And in this same year was the great synod at Rome, and king Edward sent thither bishop Hereman and bishop Ealdred; and they came thither on Easter eve [14th April]. And afterwards the pope held a synod at Vercelli, [1st Sept.,] and bishop Ulf[6] came thereto; and well nigh would they have broken his staff if he had not given very great gifts; because he knew not how to do his duty so well as he should. And [7]in this year died archbishop Eadsige, on the 4th before the kalends of November [29th Oct.].

A.D. 1048. [8]In this year was a great earthquake wide throughout England. In the same year Sandwich and the Isle of Wight were ravaged, and the chief men that were there, slain. And after that king Edward and the earls went out with their ships. And in the same year bishop Siward resigned the bishopric on account of his infirmity, and went to Abingdon, and archbishop Eadsige again received the bishopric: and he [Siward] died within eight weeks after, on the 10th of the kalends of November [23d Oct.].

A.D. 1048. [9]This year was the severe winter: and this year died Aelfwine, bishop of Winchester, and bishop Stigand was raised to his see. And before that, in the same year, died Grimcytel, bishop in Sussex, and Heca the priest succeeded to the bishopric. And Swegen also sent hither, begging assistance against Magnus, king of Norway; that fifty ships should be sent to his aid. But it seemed unadvisable to all people: and it was then hindered by reason that Magnus had a great ship-force. And he then drove out Swegen, and with much man-slaying won the land: and the Danes paid him much money and acknowledged him as king. And that same year Magnus died.

A.D. [10]1048. [11]In this year king Edward appointed Robert, of London, archbishop of Canterbury, during Lent. And in the same Lent he went to Rome after his pall: and the king gave the bishopric of London to Sparhafoc, abbat of Abingdon; and the king gave the abbacy of Abingdon to bishop Rothulf, his kinsman. Then came the archbishop from Rome

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[1] Bishop of Winchester.
[2] Namely, 29th March, 1048.
[3] From D. See A.D. 1045, 1046.
[4] He was king of Norway.
[5] E. A.D. 1049, F. See A.D. 1050. F. does not contain the first and second sentences.
[6] He was bishop of Dorchester.
[7] F. does not contain the words which limit this incident to the present year.
[8] From C.
[9] From D. See A.D. 1046, 1047.
[10] From E. A.D. 1050, F. "Here king Edward gave to Robert, who was abbat of Jumiege, the archbishopric of Canterbury." F. Lat.
[11] "In this year," not in F.
[12] "during Lent," not in F., which MS. continues, "and soon after," &c.

one day before St. Peter's-mass eve [28th June], and entered on his archiepiscopal see at Christ's Church on St. Peter's-mass day; and soon after went to the king. Then came abbat Sparhafoc to him with the king's writ [1] and seal, in order that he should consecrate him bishop of London. Then the archbishop refused, and said that the pope had forbidden it him. [2] Then went the abbat to the archbishop again for that purpose, and there desired episcopal ordination; and the archbishop constantly refused him, and said that the pope had forbidden it him. Then went the abbat to London, and occupied the bishopric which the king before had granted him, with his full leave, all the summer and the harvest. And then came Eustace [3] from beyond sea soon after the bishop, and went to the king, and spoke with him that which he then would, and went then homeward. When he came to Canterbury, east, then took he refreshment there, and his men, and went to Dover. When he was some mile or more on this side of Dover, then he put on his hauberk, and so did all his companions, and went to Dover. When they came thither, then would they lodge themselves where they chose. Then came one of his men, and would abide in the house of a householder against his will, and wounded the householder; and the householder slew the other. Then Eustace got upon his horse, and his companions upon theirs; and they went to the householder, and slew him within his own hearth; and they went up towards the town, and slew, as well within as without, more than twenty men. And the townsmen slew nineteen men on the other side, and wounded they knew not how many. And Eustace escaped with a few men, and went again to the king, and made known to him, in part, how they had fared. And the king became very wroth with the townsmen. And the king sent off Godwin the earl, and bade him go into Kent in a hostile manner, to Dover: for Eustace had made it appear to the king, that it had been more the fault of the townsmen than his: but it was not so. And the earl would not consent to the inroad, because he was loth to injure his own retainers. Then the king sent after all his witan, and bade them come to Gloucester, nigh the aftermass of St. Mary [8th Sept.]. Then had the Welshmen erected a castle in Herefordshire among the retainers of Swegen the earl, and wrought every kind of harm and disgrace to the king's men thereabout which they could. Then came Godwin the earl, and Swegen the earl, and Harold the earl, together at Beverstone, and many men with them, in order that they might go to their royal lord, and to all the witan who were assembled with him, in order that they might have the advice of the king and his aid, and of all this witan, how they might avenge the king's disgrace, and the whole nation's. Then were the Welshmen with the king beforehand, and accused the earls, so that they might not come within his eyes' sight; because they said that they were coming thither in order to betray the king. Thither had come Siward [4] the earl, and Leofric the earl, and much people with them, from the north, to the king; and it was made known to the earl Godwine and his sons, that the king and the men who were with him, were taking counsel concerning them: and they arrayed themselves on the other hand resolutely, though it were loathful to them that they should stand against their royal lord. Then the witan on either side decreed that every kind of evil should cease: and the king gave the peace of God and his full friendship to either side. Then the king and his witan decreed that a council of all the nobles should be held for the second time in London at the harvest equinox [21st Sept.]; and the king directed the army to be called out, as well south of the Thames as north, all that was in any way most eminent. Then declared they Swegen the earl an outlaw, and summoned Godwine the earl and Harold the earl to the council, as quickly as they could effect it. When they had come thither, then were they summoned into the council. Then required he safe-conduct and hostages, so that he might come, unbe-

[1] "and seal," not in F.
[2] This and the following sentence, as far as "harvest," are wanting in F.
[3] Eustace was earl of Boulogne.
[4] Siward was earl of Northumbria, and Leofric of Mercia.

trayed, into the council and out of the council. Then the king demanded all the thanes whom the earls before had; and they granted them all into his hands. Then the king sent again to them, and commanded them that they should come with twelve men to the king's council. Then the earl again required safe-conduct and hostages, that he might defend himself against each of those things which were laid to him. Then were the hostages refused him; and he was allowed a safe-conduct for five nights to go out of the land. And then Godwine the earl and Swegen the earl went to Bosham, and shoved out their ships, and betook themselves beyond sea, and sought Baldwine's protection, and abode there all the winter. And Harold the earl went west to Ireland, and was there all the winter within the king's protection. And soon after this happened, then put away the king the lady who had been consecrated his queen,[1] and caused to be taken from her all which she possessed, in land, and in gold, and in silver, and in all things, and delivered her to his sister at Wherwell. And abbat Sparhafoc was then driven out of the bishopric of London, and William the king's priest was ordained thereto. And then Odda was appointed earl over Devonshire, and over Somerset, and over Dorset, and over the Welsh. And Aelfgar, the son of Leofric the earl, was appointed to the earldom which Harold before held.

A.D. [2]1049. In this year the emperor gathered a countless force against Baldwin[3] of Bruges: by reason that he had destroyed the palace at Nimeguen, and also, that he had done many other injuries to him: the force was not to be told which he had gathered. There was Leo [IX.] [4]the pope of Rome, and many great men of many nations. He sent also to king Edward, and begged the aid of his ships, in order that he should not suffer him to escape from him by water. And he went then to Sandwich, and there continued lying with a great fleet, until the emperor obtained of Baldwin all that he would. [5]Thither came back again Swegen the earl to king Edward, and requested land of him, from which he might maintain himself. But Harold his brother contended, and Beorn the earl, that they should not give up to him anything which the king had given to them. He came hither with false pretences; saying that he would be his man, and begged of Beorn the earl that he would aid him: but the king refused him everything. Then went Swegen to his ships at Bosham; and Godwine the earl went from Sandwich with forty-two ships to Pevensea, and Beorn the earl went forth with him; and then the king gave leave to all the Mercians to go home: and they did so. Then was it made known to the king, that Osgod lay at Ulpe with thirty-nine ships. Then the king sent after the ships which lay within North-mouth, that he might send after him. But Osgod fetched his wife from Bruges, and went back again with six ships; and the others landed in Essex, at Eadolfes-ness, and there did harm, and went again to their ships. Then lay Godwine the earl and Beorn the earl at Pevensea, with their ships. Then came Swegen the earl with fraud, and begged of Beorn the earl that he would be his companion to the king at Sandwich; saying that he would swear oaths to him, and be faithful to him. Then Beorn concluded that, on account of their kindred, he would not deceive him. Then took

[1] Namely, Eadgith.
[2] C. A.D. 1050, D.
[3] Baldwin, earl of Flanders.
[4] "Leo the pope, and the patriarch," D.
[5] From C. For the continuation in D. see A.D. 1050, p. 104, note [5].

he three companions with him, and they then rode to Bosham, as if they would go to Sandwich, where Swegen's ships lay. And they soon bound him, and led him on ship-board; and then went to Dartmouth, and there caused him to be slain and deeply buried. But his kinsman Harold fetched him thence and bore him to Winchester, and there buried him with king Cnut his uncle. And then the king and all the army declared Swegen a "nithing." Eight ships he had before he murdered Beorn; after that, all forsook him except two: and then he went to Bruges, and there abode with Baldwin. And in this year died Eadnoth, the good bishop, in Oxfordshire,[1] and Oswig, abbat of Thorney, and Wulfnoth, abbat of Westminster: and king Edward gave the bishopric to Ulf his priest, and unworthily bestowed it. And in this same year king Edward discharged nine ships from pay; and they went away, ships and all; and five ships remained behind, and the king promised them twelve months' pay. And in the same year went bishop Hereman and bishop Ealdred[2] to Rome, to the pope, on the king's errand.

A.D. 1049. [3]This year Swein came again to Denmark, and Harold, uncle of Magnus, went to Norway after Magnus was dead; and the Northmen acknowledged him: and he sent hither to land concerning peace. And Swegen also sent from Denmark, and begged of king Edward the aid of his ships. They were to be at least fifty ships: but all people opposed it. And this year also there was an earthquake, on the kalends of May [1st May], in many places, in Worcester, and in Wick, and in Derby, and elsewhere; and also there was a great mortality among men, and murrain among cattle: and moreover, the wild-fire did much evil in Derbyshire and elsewhere.

A.D. 1050. [4]In this year came the bishops home from Rome: and Swegen the earl was inlawed. And in this same year died archbishop Eadsige, on the 4th of the kalends of November [29th Oct.]; and also, in this same year, Aelfric, archbishop of York, on the 11th of the kalends of February [22d Jan.]; and his body lies at Peterborough. Then king Edward held a meeting of his witan in London at Mid-lent, and appointed Hrodberd archbishop of Canterbury, and abbat Sperhafoc to London; and gave to bishop Rothulf, his kinsman, the abbacy at Abingdon. And the same year he discharged all the litsmen from pay.

A.D. 1050. [5]Thither also came Swegen the earl, who before had gone from this land to Denmark, and who there had ruined himself with the Danes. He came thither with false pretences; saying that he would again be obedient to the king. And Beorn the earl promised him that he would be of assistance to him. Then, after the reconciliation of the emperor and of Baldwin, many of the ships went home, and the king remained behind at Sandwich with a few ships; and Godwin the earl also went with forty-two ships from Sandwich to Pevensey, and Beorn the earl went with him. Then was it made known to the king that Osgod lay at Ulpe with thirty-nine ships; and the king then sent after the ships which before had gone home, that he might send after him. And Osgod fetched

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[1] Namely, of Dorchester.

[2] They were bishops of Ramsbury and Worcester.

[3] From D. See A.D. 1048.

[4] From A. and C., the former of which omits the first sentence, and materially abridges the remainder.

[5] From D., in continuation from A.D. 1049, p. 103, note [5].

his wife from Bruges, and they went back again with six ships. And the others landed in Sussex[1] at Eadulf's-ness, and there did harm, and went again to their ships: and then a strong wind came against them, so that they were all destroyed, except four, whose crews were slain beyond sea. While Godwin the earl and Beorn the earl lay at Pevensea, then came Swein the earl, and begged Beorn the earl, with fraud, who was his uncle's son, that he would be his companion to the king at Sandwich, and better his affairs with him. He went then, on account of the relationship, with three companions, with him; and he led him then towards Bosham, where his ships lay: and then they bound him, and led him on ship-board. Then went he thence with him to Dartmouth, and there ordered him to be slain, and deeply buried. Afterwards he was found, and borne to Winchester, and buried with king Cnut his uncle. A little before that, the men of Hastings and thereabout, fought two of his ships with their ships; and slew all the men, and brought the ships to Sandwich to the king. Eight ships he had before he betrayed Beorn; after that all forsook him except two. In the same year arrived in the Welsh Axa,[2] from Ireland, thirty-six ships, and thereabout did harm, with the help of Griffin the Welsh king. The people were gathered together against them; bishop Ealdred[3] was also there with them; but they had too little power. And they came unawares upon them at very early morn; and there they slew many good men, and the others escaped with the bishop: this was done on the fourth of the kalends of August [29th July]. This year died, in Oxfordshire, Oswi, abbat of Thorney, and Wulfnoth, abbat of Westminster; and Ulf the priest was appointed as pastor to the bishopric which Eadnoth had held; but he was after that driven away; because he did nothing bishop-like therein: so that it shameth us now to tell more about it. And bishop Sigward died; he lieth at Abingdon. And this year was hallowed the great minster at Rheims: there was pope Leo [IX.] and the emperor;[4] and there they held a great synod concerning God's service. St. Leo the pope presided at the synod: it is difficult to have a knowledge of the bishops who came there, and how many abbats: and hence, from this land were sent two—from St. Augustine's and from Ramsey.

A.D. 1051. [5]In this year came archbishop Rodbeard hither over sea with his pall. And in this same year were banished Godwine the earl, and all his sons, from England: and he went to Bruges, and his wife, and his three sons, Swegen, and Tostig, and Gyrth: and Harold and Leofwine went to Ireland, and there dwelt during the winter. And in this same year died the old lady, king Edward's mother, and Harthacnut's, who was called Imme, on the 2d of the ides of March [14th March, 1052]; and her body lies in the Old-minster,[6] with king Cnut.

A.D. 1051. In this year died Eadsie,[7] archbishop of Canterbury; and the king gave to Rotbeard the Frenchman, who before had been bishop of London, the archbishopric. And Spearhafoc, abbat of Abingdon, succeeded to the bishopric of London; and it was afterwards taken from him before he was consecrated. And bishop Hereman and bishop Ealdred went to Rome.

A.D. 1052. [8]This year came Harold the earl from Ireland, with his ships, to the mouth of the Severn, nigh the boundaries of Somerset and Devonshire, and there greatly ravaged; and the people of the land drew together against him, as well from

[1] This is a mistake for Essex.
[2] The Welsh river, the Usk, is probably here meant to be indicated.
[3] Bishop of Worcester.
[4] Namely, Henry the Third.
[5] From C.
[6] That is, of Winchester.
[7] From D. See A.D. 1050.
[8] C. D., the latter in transposition.

Somerset as from Devonshire; and he put them to flight, and there slew more than thirty good thanes, besides other people: and soon after that he went about Penwithstart. And then king Edward caused forty vessels to be fitted out. They lay at Sandwich many weeks; they were to lie in wait for Godwine the earl, who had been at Bruges during the winter; and, notwithstanding, he came hither to land first, so that they knew it not. And during the time that he was here in the land, he enticed to him all the [1]men of Kent, and all the "butsecarls" from Hastings and everywhere there by the sea-coast, and all the East-end, and Sussex, and Surrey, and much else in addition thereto, Then all declared that they would die and live with him. When the fleet which lay at Sandwich learned this concerning Godwine's voyage, then set they out after him. And he escaped them, and concealed himself wherever he then could; and the fleet went again to Sandwich, and so homeward to London. Then when Godwine learned that the fleet which lay at Sandwich was gone home, then went he once more to [the Isle of] Wight, and lay thereabout by the sea-coast so long as until they came together, his son earl Harold, and he. And they did not much harm after they came together, except that they seized provisions: but they enticed to them all the land-folk by the sea-coast and also up the country; and they went towards Sandwich, and collected ever forth with them all the "butsecarls" which they met with, and then came to Sandwich, with an overflowing army. When king Edward learned that, then sent he up after more help; but they came very late. And Godwine advanced ever towards London with his fleet until he came to Southwark, and there abode some time until the flood-tide came up. During that time he also treated with the townsmen, that they should do almost all that he would. When he had mustered all his host, then came the flood-tide; and they then soon drew their anchors, and held their way through the bridge by the south shore, and the land-force came from above, and arrayed themselves along the strand: and they then inclined with the ships towards the north shore, as if they would hem the king's ships about. The king also had a great land-force on his side, in addition to his shipmen; but it was loathful to almost all of them that they should fight against men of their own race; for there was little else there which was of much account except Englishmen, on either side; and moreover they were unwilling that this land should be still more exposed to outlandish men, by reason that they themselves destroyed each other. Then decreed they that wise men should be sent between them; and they settled a truce on either side. And Godwine landed, and Harold his son, and from their fleet as many as to them seemed fitting. Then there was a meeting of the witan: and they gave his earldom clean to Godwine, as full and as free as he before possessed it, and to his sons also all that they before possessed, and to his wife and his daughter as full and as free as they before possessed it. And they then established between them full friendship, and to all the people they promised

[1] D. omits as far as "Sussex."

good law. And then they outlawed all the Frenchmen who before had instituted unjust law, and judged unjust judgments, and counselled ill counsel in this land; except so many as they agreed upon, whom the king liked to have with him, who were true to him and to all his people. And bishop [1]Rodbeard, and bishop William, and bishop Ulf, with difficulty escaped, with the Frenchmen who were with them, and thus got over sea. [2]And Godwine the earl, and Harold, and the queen,[3] sat down in their possessions. Swegen had gone before this to Jerusalem from Bruges; and he died on his way home at Constantinople on Michael's-mass [29th Sept.]. It was on the Monday after St. Mary's-mass [14th Sept.] that Godwine with his ships came to Southwark; and the morning after, on the Tuesday, they were reconciled, as it here before stands. Godwine then grew sick soon after he landed; and he afterwards departed: but he did all too little penance for the property of God which he held belonging to many holy places. And the same year came the strong wind, on Thomas's-mass night [21st Dec.], and did much harm in many parts. Moreover Hris, the Welsh king's brother, was slain.

A.D. 1052. [4]This year died Aelfric, archbishop of York, a very pious man, and wise. And in the same year king Edward abolished the heregeld, which king Aethelred had before imposed: that was in the nine-and-thirtieth year after he had begun it.[5] That geld distressed all the English nation during so long a time, as it here above is written; that was ever before other gelds which were variously paid, and wherewith the people were manifoldly distressed. In the same year Eustace[6] landed at Dover: he had king Edward's sister to wife. Then went his men inconsiderately after quarters, and they slew a certain man of the town; and their companions [slew] another man of the town: so that there lay [dead] seven of his companions. And much harm was there done on either side, by horse and also by weapons, until the people gathered together: and then they fled away until they came to the king at Gloucester; and he gave them protection. When Godwine the earl understood that such things should have happened in his earldom, then began he to gather together people over all his earldom, and Swein the earl, his son, over his, and Harold, his other son, over his earldom; and they all drew together in Gloucestershire, at Langtree, a great force and countless, all ready for battle against the king, unless Eustace were given up, and his men placed in their hands, and also the Frenchmen who were in the castle. This was done seven days before the latter mass of St. Mary [1st Sept.]. Then was king Edward sitting at Gloucester. Then sent he after Leofric[7] the earl, and north after Siward the earl, and begged their forces. And then they came to him; first with a moderate aid, but after they knew how it was there, in the south, then sent they north over all their earldoms, and caused to be ordered out a large force for the help of their lord; and Raulf, also, over his earldom: and then came they all to Gloucester to help the king, though it might be late. Then were they all so united in opinion with the king that they would have sought out Godwine's forces, if the king had so willed. Then thought some of them that it would be a great folly that they should join battle; because there was nearly all that was most noble in England in the two armies, and they thought that they should

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[1] These were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London and Dorchester.

[2] To the end of the year not in D.

[3] Queen Eadgythe.

[4] From D. See A.D. 1050, 1051.

[5] Therefore it had originated in A.D. 1012.

[6] Eustace, earl of Boulogne.

[7] Leofric was earl of Mercia, and Siward of Northumbria.

expose the land to our foes, and cause great destruction among ourselves. Then counselled they that hostages should be given mutually; and they appointed a term at London, and thither the people were ordered out over all this north end, in Siward's earldom, and in Leofric's, and also elsewhere; and Godwine the earl, and his sons, were to come there with their defence. Then came they to Southwark, and a great multitude with them, from Wessex; but his band diminished ever the more the longer he stayed. And they exacted pledges for the king from all the thanes who were under Harold the earl, his son; and then they outlawed Swegen the earl, his other son. Then did it not suit him to come with a defence to meet the king, and to meet the army which was with him. Then went he by night away; and the king on the morrow held a meeting of the witan, and, together with all the army, declared him an outlaw, him and all his sons. And he went south to Thorney, and his wife, and Swegen his son, and Tostig and his wife, Baldwin's relation of Bruges, and Gerth his son. And Harold the earl, and Leofwine, went to Bristol in the ship which Swegen the earl had before got ready for himself, and provisioned. And the king sent bishop Ealdred[1] to London with a force; and they were to overtake him ere he came on ship-board: but they could not, or they would not. And he went out from Avonmouth, and met with such heavy weather that he with difficulty got away; and there he sustained much damage. Then went he forth to Ireland when fit weather came. And Godwine[2] and those who were with him, went from Thorney to Bruges, to Baldwine's land, in one ship, with as much treasure as they might therein best stow for each man. It would have seemed wondrous to every man who was in England if any one before that had said that it should end thus; for he had been erewhile exalted to that degree, as if he ruled the king and all England; and his sons were earls and the king's darlings, and his daughter wedded and united to the king: she was brought to Wherwell, and they delivered her to the abbess. Then soon came William[3] the earl from beyond sea, with a great band of Frenchmen; and the king received him, and as many of his companions as it pleased him; and let him away again. This same year was given to William the priest, the bishopric of London, which before had been given to Spaerhafoc.

A.D. [4]1052. This year died Aelfgife, the lady, relict of king Aethelred and of king Cnut, on the second of the nones of March [6th March]. In the same year Griffin, the Welsh king, plundered in Herefordshire, until he came very nigh to Leominster; and they gathered against him, as well the landsmen as the Frenchmen of the castle, and there were slain of the English very many good men, and also of the Frenchmen; that was on the same day on which, thirteen years before, Eadwine had been slain by his companions.[5]

A.D. 1052. [6]In this year died Aelfgive Ymma, king Edward's mother and king Hardcnuta's. And in this same year the king decreed, and his witan, that ships should proceed to Sandwich; and they set Ralph the earl, and Odda the earl, as head-men thereto. Then Godwin the earl went out from Bruges with his ships to Ysera, and left it one day before Midsummer's-mass eve [23d June], so that he came to Ness, which is south of Romney. [7]Then came it to the knowledge of the earls out at Sandwich; and they

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[1] He was bishop of Worcester.

[2] Godwine's earldom consisted of Wessex, Sussex, and Kent: Sweyn's of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, and Berkshire: and Harold's, of Essex, East Anglia, Huntingdon, and Cambridgeshire.—*P.*

[3] This was William, duke of Normandy, the future king of England.

[4] This date is thus repeated in D. (from which MS. the following details under this year are taken), and the chronology thus agrees with C., although, by carrying on the year to Easter, that copy places Emma's death at the end of 1051.—*P.* Compare 1051, 1052.

[5] See A.D. 1039.

[6] From E. F., the former of which, by leaving blank the years 1049, 1050, and 1051, here again agrees with C. and D.

[7] The narrative, as far as the sentence beginning with the words "When they came to London," is from E.

then went out after the other ships, and a land force was ordered out against the ships. Then, during this, Godwin the earl was warned, and then he went to Pevensey; and the weather was very severe, so that the earls could not learn what was become of Godwin the earl. And then Godwin the earl went out again, until he came once more to Bruges; and the other ships returned again to Sandwich. And then it was decreed that the ships should return once more to London, and that other earls and commanders should be appointed to the ships. Then was it delayed so long that the ship-force all departed, and all of them went home. When Godwin the earl learned that, then drew he up his sail, and his fleet, and then went west direct to [the Isle of] Wight, and there landed, and ravaged so long there, until the people yielded them so much as they laid on them. And then they went westward until they came to Portland, and there they landed, and did whatsoever harm they were able to do. Then was Harold come out from Ireland with nine ships; and then landed at Porlock, and there much people was gathered against him; but he failed not to procure himself provisions. He proceeded further, and slew there a great number of the people, and took of cattle, and of men, and of property, as it suited him. He then went eastward to his father: and then they both went eastward until they came to [the Isle of] Wight, and there took that which was yet remaining for them. And then they went thence to Pevensey, and got away thence as many ships as were there fit for service, and so onwards until he came to Ness, and got all the ships which were in Romney, and in Hythe, and in Folkstone. And then they went east, to Dover, and there landed, and there took ships and hostages, as many as they would, and so went to Sandwich and did "hand"[1] the same; and everywhere hostages were given them, and provisions wherever they desired. And then they went to North-mouth, and so toward London; and some of the ships went within Sheppey, and there did much harm, and went their way to King's Middleton, and that they all burned, and betook themselves then toward London, after the earls. When they came to London, there lay the king and all the earls there against them, with fifty ships. Then the earls sent to the king, and required of him, that they might be held worthy of each of those things which had been unjustly taken from them. Then the king, however, resisted some while; so long as until the people who were with the earl were much stirred against the king and against his people, so that the earl himself with difficulty stilled the people. Then bishop Stigand interposed, with God's help, and the wise men, as well within the town as without; and they decreed that hostages should be set forth on either side: and thus was it done.

When archbishop Robert and the Frenchmen learned that, they took their horses and went, some west, to Pentecost's castle; some north, to Robert's castle. And archbishop Robert and bishop Ulf went out at Eastgate, and their companions, and slew and otherwise injured many young men, and went their way direct to Eadulf's-ness; and he there put himself in a crazy ship, and went direct over sea, and left his pall and all Christendom here on land, so as God would have it, inasmuch as he had before obtained the dignity so as God would not have it. Then there was a great council proclaimed without London: and all the earls and the chief men who were in this land were at the council. There Godwine bore forth his defence, and justified himself, before king Edward, his lord, and before all people of the land, that he was guiltless of that which was laid against him, and against Harold his son, and all his children. And the king gave to the earl and his children his full friendship, and full earldom, and all that he before possessed, and to all the men who were with him. And the king gave to the lady[2] all that she before possessed. And they declared archbishop Robert utterly an outlaw, and all the Frenchmen, because they had made most of the difference between Godwine the earl, and the king. And bishop Stigand obtained the archbishopric of Canterbury. In this same time Arnwi, abbat of Peterborough, left the abbacy, in sound health, and gave it to Leofric the monk, by leave of the king and of the monks; and abbat Arnwi

[1] The text is here apparently corrupt.

[2] Namely, to Eadgytha.

lived afterwards eight years. And abbat Leofric then (enriched) the minster, so that it was called the Golden-borough. Then it waxed greatly, in land, and in gold, and in silver.

A.D. 1052. [1]And went so to [the Isle of] Wight, and there took all the ships which could be of any service, and hostages, and betook himself so eastward. And Harold had landed with nine ships at Porlock, and slew there much people, and took cattle, and men, and property, and went his way eastward to his father, and they both went to Romney, to Hythe, to Folkstone, to Dover, to Sandwich, and ever they took all the ships which they found, which could be of any service, and hostages, all as they proceeded; and went then to London.

A.D. 1053. [2]In this year was the king at Winchester at Easter, and Godwine the earl with him, and Harold the earl, his son, and Tostig. Then, on the second day of Easter [11th April], he sat with the king at the feast: then suddenly sank he down by the footstool, deprived of speech, and of all his power, and he was then carried into the king's chamber, and they thought it would pass over: but it did not so; but he continued on, thus speechless and powerless, until the Thursday [15th April], and then resigned his life: and he lies there within the Old-minster. And his son Harold succeeded to his earldom, and resigned that which he before held; and Aelfgar succeeded thereto. This same year died Wulfsie, bishop of Lichfield, and Leofwine, abbat of Coventry, succeeded to the bishopric; and Aegelward, abbat of Glastonbury, died, and Godwine, abbat of Wincelcomb. Moreover, the Welshmen slew a great number of the English people, of the wardmen, near Westbury. In this year there was no archbishop in this land; but bishop Stigand held the bishopric of Canterbury at Christchurch, and Kynsige of York; and Leofwine[3] and Wulfwi went over sea, and caused themselves to be there ordained bishops; Wulfwi obtained the bishopric which Ulf had, he being yet living and driven from it.

A.D. 1053. [4]This year was the great wind on Thomas's-mass night [21st Dec.], and also the whole midwinter there was much wind; and it was decreed that Hris, the Welsh king's brother, should be slain, because he had done harm; and his head was brought to Gloucester on Twelfth-day eve [5th Jan.]. And the same year, before All-Hallows mass [1st Nov.], died Wulfsyg, bishop of Lichfield, and Godwine, abbat of Wincelcomb, and Aegelward, abbat of Glastonbury, all within one month; and Leofwine succeeded to the bishopric of Lichfield, and bishop Aldred[5] took the abbacy at Wincelcomb, and Aegelnath succeeded to the abbacy at Glastonbury. And the same year died Aelfric, Odda's brother, at Deorhurst; and his body resteth at Pershore. And the same year died Godwine the earl; and he fell ill as he sat with the king at Winchester. And Harold, his son, succeeded to the earldom which his father before held; and Aelfgar the earl succeeded to the earldom which Harold before held.

A.D. 1053. [6]In this year died Godwine the earl, on the 17th of the kalends of May [15th April], and he is buried at Winchester, in the Old-minster; and Harold the earl, his son, succeeded to the earldom, and to all that which his father had held; and Aelfgar the earl succeeded to the earldom which Harold before held.

A.D. 1054. [7]This year went Siward the earl[8] with a great army

[1] F. in continuation after the text referred to at note [7], p. 108.
[2] From C.
[3] Leofwine was bishop of Lichfield; Wulfwi, of Dorchester.
[4] From D.
[5] Namely, of Worcester.
[6] A. E. F., but chiefly from E.
[7] From C. as far as the death of Osgod Clapa.
[8] Of Northumberland.

into Scotland, and made much slaughter of the Scots, and put him to flight: and the king escaped. Moreover, many fell on his side, as well Danish-men as English, and also his own son.[1] The same year was consecrated the minster at Evesham, on the 6th of the ides of October [10th Oct.]. In the same year bishop Ealdred[2] went south over sea into Saxony land, and was there received with much reverence. That same year died Osgod Clapa suddenly, even as he lay on his bed. [3]In this year died Leo [IX.] the holy pope of Rome. And in this year there was so great a murrain among cattle, as no man remembered for many years before. And Victor [II.] was chosen pope.

A.D. 1054. [4]This year went Siward the earl with a great army into Scotland, both with a ship-force and with a land-force, and fought against the Scots, and put to flight king Macbeth, and slew all who were the chief men in the land, and led thence much booty, such as no man before had obtained. But his son Osbarn, and his sister's son, Sihward, and some of his house-carls, and also of the king's, were there slain, on the day of the Seven Sleepers [27th July]. The same year went bishop Aldred to Cologne, over sea, on the king's errand; and he was there received with much worship by the emperor, and there he dwelt well nigh a year; and either gave him entertainment, both the bishop of Cologne and the emperor. And he gave leave to bishop Leofwine[5] to consecrate the minster at Evesham on the 6th of the ides of October [10th Oct.]. In this year died Osgod suddenly in his bed. And this year died St. Leo the pope; and Victor was chosen pope in his stead.

A.D. 1055. [6]In this year died Siward the earl at York, and his body lies within the minster at Galmanho, which himself had before built, to the glory of God and of all his saints. Then, within a little time after, was a meeting of the witan in London, and Aelfgar the earl, Leofric the earl's son, was outlawed without any kind of guilt; and he went then to Ireland, and there procured himself a fleet, which was of eighteen ships, besides his own: and they went then to Wales, to king Griffin,[7] with that force: and he received him into his protection. And then, with the Irishmen and with Welshmen, they gathered a great force: and Ralph the earl gathered a great force on the other hand at Hereford-port. And they sought them out there: but before there was any spear thrown, the English people fled because they were on horses; and there great slaughter was made, about four hundred men or five; and they made none on the other side. And they then betook themselves to the town, and that they burned; and the great minster which Aethelstan the venerable bishop before caused to be built, that they plundered and bereaved of relics and of vestments, and of all things; and slew the people, and some they led away. Then a force was gathered from well nigh throughout all England, and they came to Gloucester, and so went out, not far, among the Welsh; and there they lay some while: and Harold the earl caused the ditch to be dug about the port[8] the while. Then, during this, then spoke they concerning peace; and Harold the

[1] Osbeorn.
[2] He was bishop of Worcester.
[3] To the end of the year from E. and F.
[4] From D.
[5] Bishop of Lichfield.
[6] From C.
[7] Griffin was king of North Wales.
[8] Namely, of Hereford.

earl, and those who were with him, came to Billingsley: and there peace and friendship was established between them. And then they inlawed Aelfgar the earl, and gave him all that before had been taken from him; and the fleet went to Chester, and there awaited their pay, which Aelfgar had promised them. The man-slaying was on the 9th of the kalends of November [24th Oct.]. In the same year died Tremerig, the Welsh bishop,[1] soon after that ravaging; he was bishop Aethelstan's coadjutor from the time that he had become infirm.

A.D. 1055. [2]In this year died Syhward the earl at York, and he lies at Galmanho, in the minster which himself caused to be built, and hallowed in God's and Olave's name. And Tosti succeeded to the earldom which he had held. And archbishop Kynsie [3] fetched his pall from pope Victor. And soon thereafter was outlawed Aelfgar the earl, son of Leofric the earl, well nigh without guilt. But he went to Ireland and to Wales, and procured himself there a great force, and so went to Hereford: but there came against him Ralph the earl, with a large army. And with a slight conflict he put them to flight, and much people slew in the flight: and they went then into Hereford-port, and that they ravaged, and burned the great minster which bishop Aethelstan had built, and slew the priests within the minster, and many in addition thereto, and took all the treasures therein, and carried them away with them. And when they had done the utmost evil, this counsel was counselled: that Aelfgar the earl should be inlawed, and be given his earldom, and all that had been taken from him. This ravaging happened on the 9th of the kalends of November [24th Oct.]. In the same year died Tremerin, the Welsh bishop, soon after that ravaging: and he was bishop Aethelstan's coadjutor from the time that he had become infirm.

A.D. 1055. [4]In this year died Siward the earl: and then was summoned a general meeting of the witan, seven days before Mid-lent [20th March]; and they outlawed Aelfgar the earl, because it was cast upon him that he was a traitor to the king and to all the people of the land. And he made a confession of it before all the men who were there gathered; though the word escaped him unintentionally. And the king gave the earldom to Tostig, son of earl Godwine, which Siward the earl before held. And Aelfgar the earl sought Griffin's protection in North Wales. And in this year Griffin and Aelfgar burned St. Aelthelbryht's minster, and all the town of Hereford.

A.D. 1056. [5]This year bishop Aegelric gave up his bishopric at Durham, and went to Burh, to St. Peter's minster, and his brother Aegelwine succeeded thereto. [6]This year died Aethelstan, the venerable bishop, on the 4th of the ides of February [10th Feb.], and his body lies at Hereford-port; and Leofgar was appointed bishop; he was the mass-priest of Harold the earl. He wore his "kenepas" during his priesthood, until he was a bishop. He forsook his chrism and his rood, his ghostly weapons, and took to his spear and his sword, after his bishophood; and so went to the field against Griffin the Welsh king: and there was he slain, and his priests with him, and Aelfnoth the sheriff, and many good men with them; and the others fled away. This was eight days before midsummer. It is difficult to tell the distress, and all the marching, and the camping, and the travail and destruction of men, and also

[1] He was bishop of St. David's.
[2] From D.
[3] He was archbishop of York.
[4] From E. F.
[5] This first sentence is from D.
[6] From C. D.

of horses, which all the English army endured, until Leofric[1] the earl came thither, and Harold the earl, and bishop Aldred, and made a reconciliation there between them; so that Griffin swore oaths that he would be to king Edward a faithful and unbetraying under-king. And bishop Ealdred succeeded to the bishopric which Leofgar had before held eleven weeks and four days. In the same year died Cona[2] the emperor. This year died Odda[3] the earl, and his body lies at Pershore, and he was ordained a monk before his end; a good man he was and pure, and right noble. And he died on the 2d of the kalends of September [31st Aug.].

A.D. 1057.

[4] Here came Edward etheling
to Engle-land;
he was king Edward's
brother's son,
Edmund king,
who Ironside was called
for his valour.
This etheling king Cnut
had sent away
to the land of Hungary
to be betrayed:
but he there grew up
to a good man,
as God granted him,
and him well became;
so that he obtained
the emperor's kinswoman to wife,
and by her, fair
offspring he begot:
she was named Agatha.
Nor knew we
for what cause
that done was,
that he might not
his kinsman Edward
king behold.
Alas! that was a rueful case
and harmful
for all this nation
that he so soon
his life ended
after that he to England came
for the mishap
of this wretched nation.

In the same year died Leofric[5] the earl, on the 2d of the kalends of October [30th Sept.]; he was very wise for God and also for the world, which was a blessing to all this nation. He lies at Coventry; and his son Aelfgar succeeded to his government. And within the year died Ralph the earl,[6] on the 12th of the kalends of January [21st Dec.]; and he lies at Peterborough. Moreover, bishop Heca died in Sussex, and Aegelric was raised to his see.[7] And this year pope Victor died, and Stephen [IX.] was chosen pope.

A.D. 1057. [8]In this year Aedward the etheling, king Eadmund's son, came hither to land, and soon after died: and his body is buried within St. Paul's minster at London. And pope Victor died, and Stephen [IX.] was chosen pope: he was abbat of Mont-Cassino. And Leofric the earl died, and Aelfgar his son succeeded to the earldom which the father before held.

A.D. 1058. [9]This year Aelfgar the earl[10] was banished: but he soon came in again, with violence, through Griffin's[11] aid. And this year came a fleet from Norway: it is tedious to tell how all these matters went. In the same year bishop Ealdred hallowed

[1] Leofric was earl of Mercia, and Aldred bishop of Worcester.
[2] Apparently Henry the Third.
[3] Earl of Devonshire.
[4] From D.
[5] He was earl of Mercia.
[6] Of Hereford.
[7] Namely, Selsey.
[8] E. F.
[9] The whole year is from D.
[10] Of Mercia.
[11] Griffin was king of North Wales.

the minster at Gloucester, which himself had raised to the glory of God and of St. Peter; and so he went to Jerusalem with such splendour as none other had displayed before him, and there devoted himself to God: and a worthy gift he also offered at our Lord's tomb; that was a golden chalice of five marks of very wonderful work. In the same year died pope Stephen [IX.], and Benedict [X.] was appointed pope: he sent a pall to bishop Stigand. Aegelric was ordained bishop of Sussex,[1] and abbat Sihward of Rochester.

A.D. 1058. [2]This year died pope Stephen, and Benedict was hallowed pope: the same sent hither to [this] land a pall to archbishop Stigand. And in this year died Heaca, bishop of Sussex; and archbishop Stigand ordained Aegelric, a monk, at Christchurch, bishop of Sussex, and abbat Siward bishop of Rochester.

A.D. 1059. [3]In this year was Nicholas [II.] chosen pope, he had before been bishop of the town of Florence; and Benedict was driven away, who had there before been pope. [4]And in this year was the steeple consecrated at Peterborough, on the 16th of the kalends of November [17th Oct.].

A.D. 1060. [5]In this year there was a great earthquake on the Translation of St. Martin [4th July]: and king Henry died in France. And Kynsie, archbishop of York, departed on the 11th of the kalends of January [22d Dec.], and he lies at Peterborough; and bishop Ealdred succeeded to the bishopric, and Walter succeeded to the bishopric of Herefordshire: and bishop Dudoc also died; he was bishop in Somerset;[6] and Gisa the priest was appointed in his stead.[7]

A.D. 1061. [8]This year bishop Ealdred went to Rome after his pall, and he received it from pope Nicholas. And Tostig the earl and his wife also went to Rome: and the bishop and the earl suffered much distress as they came homeward. And this year died Godwine, bishop of St. Martin's;[9] and Wulfric, abbat of St. Augustine's, on the 14th of the kalends of April [May?]. And pope Nicholas died, and Alexander [II.] was chosen pope: he had been bishop of Lucca.

A.D. 1061. [10]In this year died Duduc, bishop of Somerset, and Gisa succeeded. And in the same year died Godwin, bishop of St. Martin's, on the 7th of the ides of March [9th March]. And in the self-same year died Wulfric, abbat of St. Augustine's, within the Easter week, on the 14th of the kalends of May [18th April]. When word came to the king that abbat Wulfric was departed, then chose he Aethelsige the monk thereto, from the old-minster, who then followed archbishop Stigand, and was consecrated abbat at Windsor, on St. Augustine's-mass day [26th May].

A.D. 1062.[11]

A.D. 1063. [12]In this year, after midwinter, Harold the earl went from Gloucester to Rudelan, which was Griffin's, and burned the

[1] At Selsey. [2] E. F. [3] D. E.
[4] This concluding sentence is not in E. [5] D. E.
[6] Namely, at Wells.
[7] "Henry, the king of the Franks, died, and Philip, his son, succeeded him." E. Latin. [8] From D.
[9] St. Martin's, at Canterbury. [10] From E.
[11] "This year Mans was subjugated to William, earl of Normandy." E.
[12] D.

vill, and his ships, and all the stores which thereto belonged, and put him to flight. And then, at Rogation-tide [26th May], Harold went with his ships from Bristol about Wales; and the people made a truce and delivered hostages; and Tostig went with a land-force against them: and they subdued the land. But in this same year, during harvest, was king Griffin slain, on the nones of August [5th Aug.], by his own men, by reason of the war that he warred with Harold the earl. He was king over all the Welsh race: and his head was brought to Harold the earl, and Harold brought it to the king, and his ship's head, and the "bone" therewith. And king Edward committed the land to his two brothers, Blethgent and Rigwatla; and they swore oaths, and delivered hostages to the king and to the earl, that they would be faithful to him in all things, and be everywhere ready for him, by water and by land, and make such renders from the land as had been done before to any other king.

A.D. 1063. [1]This year went Harold the earl, and his brother Tostig the earl, as well with a land force as a ship force, into Wales, and they subdued the land; and the people delivered hostages to them, and submitted; and went afterwards and slew their king Griffin, and brought to Harold his head; and he appointed another king thereto.

A.D. 1064.

A.D. [2]1065. In this year, before Lammas [1st Aug.], Harold the earl ordered a building to be erected in Wales at Portskeweth, after he had subdued it; and there he gathered much good; and thought to have king Edward there for the purpose of hunting. But when it was all ready, then went Caradoc, Griffin's son, with the whole force which he could procure, and slew almost all the people who there had been building; and they took the good which there was prepared. We wist not who first devised this ill counsel. This was done on St. Bartholomew's-mass day [24th Aug.].

And soon after this, all the thanes in Yorkshire and in Northumberland gathered themselves together, and outlawed their earl, Tostig, and slew his household men, all that they might come at, as well English as Danish: and they took all his weapons at York, and gold, and silver, and all his treasures which they might any where there hear of, and sent after Morkar, the son of Aelfgar the earl, and chose him to be their earl: and he went south with all the shire, and with Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, until he came to Northampton: and his brother Eadwine came to meet him with the men who were in his earldom, and also many Britons came with him. There came Harold the earl to meet them; and they laid an errand upon him to king Edward, and also sent messengers with him, and begged that they might have Morkar for their earl. And the king granted it, and sent Harold again to them at Northampton, on the eve of St. Simon's and St. Jude's mass [27th Oct.]; and he made known the same to them, and delivered a pledge thereof unto them: and he there renewed Cnut's law. But the northern men did much harm about Northampton whilst he went on their errand, inasmuch as they

[1] E. [2] D. C. A.D. 1064, E.

slew men and burned houses and corn; and took all the cattle which they might come at, that was many thousand: and many hundred men they took and led north with them; so that that shire, and the other shires which there are nigh, were for many years the worse. And Tostig the earl, and his wife, and all those who would what he would, went south over sea with him to Baldwin the earl, and he received them all; and they were all the winter there. And king Edward came to Westminster at midwinter, and there caused to be consecrated the minster which himself had built to the glory of God and of St. Peter, and of all God's saints; and the church-hallowing was on Childermass day [28th Dec.]. And he died on Twelfth-day eve [5th Jan. 1066], and they buried him on Twelfth-day, in the same minster, as it hereafter sayeth.

Here Edward king,
of Angles lord,
sent his truthful
soul to Christ,
his spirit holy
in God's protection.
He in the world here
dwelt awhile
in royal majesty
mighty in council.
Four-and-twenty
(lordly ruler!)
of winters numbered,
he wealth dispensed;
and he a prosperous tide,
ruler of heroes,
distinguished governed,
Welsh and Scots,
and Britons also,
son of Ethelred,
Angles and Saxons,
chieftains bold.
Where'er embrace
cold ocean-waves,
there all to Edward,
noble king!
obeyed faithfully
the warrior-men.
Aye was blithe-minded
the harmless king,
though he long erst
of land bereaved,
in exile dwelt
wide o'er the earth
since Cnut overcame
the race of Aethelred,
and the Danes possessed
the dear kingdom
of England,
eight-and-twenty
winters by number,
dispensed wealth.
Afterwards came forth,
noble in his array,
a king very good,
pure and mild,
Edward the noble.
The land he guarded,
the land and the people,
until there suddenly came
bitter death
and took away one so dear.
The angels carried
this noble one from the earth,
this true soul
into the light of heaven.
And yet the wise man
committed this realm
to a man highly born,
even to Harold,
that noble earl.
He always
faithfully obeyed
his rightful lord
in words and deeds
nor neglected anything
which was needful
to his sovereign king.

And this year also was Harold consecrated to [be] king, and he continued therein with little quiet whilst he possessed the kingdom.

A.D. 1065. [1]And the slaughter of the men was on the mass-day of St. Bartholomew [24th Aug.]. And then after Michaelmas [29th Sept.], all the thanes in Yorkshire went to York, and there slew all the house-carls of earl Tostig, of whom they could hear, and took his treasures; and Tostig was then at Brytford with the king. And then, very soon thereafter there was a great meeting at Northampton, and likewise one at Oxford, on the day of Simon and Jude [28th Oct.]. And earl Harold was there, and he wished to reconcile them, if he could, but he could not; but all his earldom, and all those who had upreared lawlessness along with him, unanimously forsook him, and outlawed him, because he robbed God first and plundered all those over whom he had power as to life and land. And they then took to themselves Morkere for their earl, and Tostig went then over the sea, and his wife with him, to Baldwin's land, and they took up their winter residence at St. Omers.

A.D. 1066. [2]This year came Harold the king from York to Westminster, at that Easter which was after the midwinter upon which the king died; and Easter was then on this day, viz. the 16th of the kalends of May [16th April]. Then was there seen all over England such a token in the heavens as no man had ever seen before. Some men said that it was the star Cometa, which some persons call the hairy star, and it appeared first on the eve Litania Major on the 8th of the kalends of May [24th April], and so shone all the seven nights. And soon thereafter came Tostig the earl from beyond sea into Wight, with as great a fleet as he might procure; and there they rendered to him as well money as provisions. [3]And king Harold, his brother, gathered as great a ship army and also a land army as no king here on [this] land before had done, because it was intimated to him that William the bastard would come hither and win this land, just as it afterwards happened. And in the meanwhile came earl Tostig into the Humber with sixty ships; and Eadwine the earl came with a land force and drove him out. And the butse-carls forsook him and went to Scotland with twelve vessels; and Harold, king of Norway, met him there with three hundred ships, and Tostig submitted to him and became his homager. And then both of them went into the Humber until they came to York; and there Eadwine the earl, and Morkere the earl, his brother, fought against them, but the North-men had the victory.

Then it was told to Harold, king of the English, that this had thus happened, and this fight was on the vigil of St. Matthew [20th Sept.]. Then came Harold, our king, on the North-men unawares [24th Sept.], and encountered them beyond York, at Steinford-bridge, with a great army of English folk: and there during the [whole] day there was a very strong fight on both sides. There was slain Harold Harfager[4] and earl Tosti; and the North-men who there remained were put to flight, and the English from behind slew them furiously, until some of them came to their ships. Some were drowned, and some also were burned, and so in different ways destroyed that few were left; and the English had possession of the place of slaughter. The king then gave his

[1] C. in continuation, after the passage in the text ending with the words, "who there had been building;" A.D. 1065, p. 115. [2] D. C.

[3] D. For the remainder of C. see the continuation appended to the text.

[4] This is a mistake; we should here read, "Hardrada."

protection to Olaf, the son of the king of the Norsemen, and to their bishop, and to [Paul] the earl of Orkney, and to all those who were left in the ships; and they then went up to our king, and swore oaths that they would ever keep peace and friendship towards this land, and the king let them go home with twenty-four ships. These two general battles were fought within five days.

Then came William, earl of Normandy, to Pevensey, on the eve of the mass of St. Michael [28th Sept.], and as soon as they had arrived they built at the town of Hastings. This was then intimated to king Harold, and he then gathered a large army, and came against him at the Hoar Apple-tree, and William came against him unawares before his people were put in array. But the king nevertheless very boldly fought against him along with those men who would support him; and there was there great slaughter made on either side. There was slain king Harold and earl Leofwine his brother, and earl Gyrth his brother, and many good men; and the French had possession of the place of slaughter, entirely as God permitted for the sins of the people. Adred, the archbishop, and the citizens of London, wished them to have Eadgar, child, as king, as was his undoubted hereditary right; and Edwine and Morkere promised him that they would fight along with him. But just in proportion as it ought to have been the forwarder, so was it from day to day the later and the worse, so that at the last it entirely passed away. This fight was done on the day of pope Calixtus [14th Oct.]. And earl William went again to Hastings, and waited there [to ascertain] whether the people would submit to him. And when he perceived that the people would not come to him, he went up with all the army which remained to him, and that which afterwards had come from over sea to him, and he harried all that district which he passed over, until that he came to Berkhampstead. And there came to meet him archbishop Ealdred, and Eadgar, child, and earl Eadwine, and earl Morkere, and all the best men of London, and submitted then of necessity, when the greatest harm had been done; and this was great folly that they had not done so sooner, since God would not better it for our sins; and they gave him pledges and swore oaths to him and he promised them that he would be to them a faithful lord; nevertheless in the meanwhile they harried all that they passed over. Then on midwinter's day [25th Dec.], Ealdred, archbishop, consecrated him as king at Westminster, and he pledged him with Christ's book, and moreover swore, before he would place the crown on his head, that he would rule this nation as well as any king before him had done at the best, provided they [the people] would be faithful to him. Yet he nevertheless laid a very heavy tribute upon the people; and afterwards, during Lent, he went over the sea to Normandy, and took with him Stigand, the archbishop, and abbat Aegelnath, of Glastonbury, and Eadgar, child, and earl Eadwine, and earl Morkere, and earl Waeltheof, and many other good men of England. And bishop Oda[1] and

[1] Odo, bishop of Bayeux, half-brother of king William, and William Fitzosbert, created earl of Hereford.

earl William remained here behind, and they built castles wide throughout the nation, and oppressed the poor people, and ever after it grew worse exceedingly. May the end be good when God will.

A.D. 1066. [1]This year king Edward died, and earl Harold succeeded to the kingdom, and he held it forty weeks and one day. And this year came William and won England. And in this year was Christ Church burned. And this year appeared a comet on the 14th of the kalends of May [18th April].

A.D. 1066. [2]And then he went thence and did harm everywhere by the sea-coast wherever he could, until he came to Sandwich. Then was it intimated to king Harold, who was at London, that Tostig his brother was come to Sandwich. Then gathered he so great a ship force, and also a land force, as no king before here in this land had gathered, because it had been told him as a truth that earl William, king Edward's kinsman, would come hither and take this land, just as it afterwards occurred. When Tostig understood this, that king Harold was on his way to Sandwich, then went he from Sandwich and took some of the butse-carls with him, some willingly, some unwillingly, and went then northwards [into] the Humber, and there he harried in Lindsey, and there slew many good men. When Eadwine the earl and Morkere the earl understood that, then came they thither, and drove him out of the land, and he went then into Scotland, and the king of the Scots protected him, and assisted him with provisions; and he dwelt there the whole summer.

Then came king Harold to Sandwich, and waited there for his fleet, because it was a long time before it could be gathered together. And when his fleet was gathered together, then went he into Wight, and there lay all the summer and the autumn: and they had a land army everywhere by the sea [coast], though in the end it was of no profit. When it was the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], then were the provisions of the men exhausted, and no man could any longer hold them there. Then were the men permitted to go home, and the king rode up, and the ships proceeded to London, and many perished before they came thither. When the ships had reached home, then came king Harold from Norway north into Tyne, and unawares, with a very large ship army, and by no means little; they might be, or more.[3] And earl Tostig came to him with all that he had gotten, just as they had arranged beforehand; and then went they both, with all the fleet, along the Ouse, up towards York.

Then was it intimated to king Harold in the south, when he was come from his ships, that king Harold of Norway, and earl Tostig, were come up nigh York. Then went he northward, day and night, as rapidly as he could collect his army. Then before that king Harold could come thither, then gathered earl Eadwine and earl Morkere from their earldom as great a force as they could assemble, and they fought with the army and made a great slaughter, and there was much of the English people slain, and drowned, and driven away in flight; and the Northmen had possession of the place of slaughter. And this fight was on the vigil of St. Matthew the apostle [20th Sept.], and it was a Wednesday. And then after the fight went Harold, king of Norway, and earl Tostig into York, with as much people as to them seemed good. And hostages were given them of the city, and assistance of provisions likewise, and so they went thence to their ships, and they agreed to a full peace, [namely,] that they should all go with him south and obtain this land.

Then, in the meantime, came Harold, king of the English, with all his army, upon the Sunday [24th Sept.], to Tada [Tadcaster], and there put his army in array, and went then on Monday through York; and Harold, king of Norway, and earl Tostig and their force were gone from their ships beyond York to Stanford-bridge, for it had been promised them of a

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[1] From A.

[2] From C. in continuation from the text, at p. 117, note [3].

[3] The sense is here imperfect.

certainty, that three hostages should be brought to meet them from every shire. Then came Harold, king of the English, against them unawares, beyond the bridge, and they there met together, and continued fighting for a long time of the day, very furiously. And there was Harold, king of the Norwegians, slain, and earl Tostig, and a countless number of the people with them, as well of the Northmen as of the English; and the Northmen fled from the English.

[1]Then was there one of the Norwegians who withstood the English people, so that they could not pass over the bridge, nor obtain the victory. Then shot an Englishman with a "flar," but it availed nothing; and then came another under the bridge and pierced him through in under the hauberk. Then came Harold, king of the English, over the bridge, and his army onward with him, and there committed great havoc as well of Norwegians as of Flemings. And Harold permitted Hetmundus, the king's son, to go home to Norway with all the ships.

A.D. 1066. [2]On this year was consecrated the minster at Westminster, on Childermass day [28th Dec.]. And king Edward died on the eve of Twelfth-mass [5th Jan.], and he was buried on Twelfth-mass day, within the newly consecrated church at Westminster. And earl Harold succeeded to the kingdom of England, as the king had granted it to him, and moreover the people had chosen him thereto; and he was blessed as king on Twelfth-mass day. And that same year that he became king he went out with a ship army against William; and in the meantime came earl Tostig into the Humber with sixty ships. Earl Eadwine came with a land force, and drove him out, and the butse-carls forsook him. And he went to Scotland with twelve vessels; and Harold, king of the Norwegians, met him with three hundred ships, and Tostig submitted to him; and they both went into the Humber, until they came to York. And earl Morkere and earl Eadwine fought against them; and the king of the Norwegians had the victory.

And it was told king Harold how it was there done and had come to pass; and he came there with a great army of Englishmen, and met him at Staeng-ford-bridge, and slew him and the earl Tostig, and honourably overcame the whole army. And in the meantime the earl William landed at Hastings, on St. Michael's-mass day [29th Sept.]; and Harold came from the north, and fought against him before all his army had come up; and there he fell, and his two brothers, Gyrth and Leofwine; and William took this land. And he came to Westminster, and archbishop Ealdred hallowed him to [be] king; and the people paid him tribute and gave him hostages, and afterwards bought their land.

And then was Leofric, abbat of Peterborough, in that same expedition; and there he grew sick, and came home, and was dead soon thereafter, on the night of All-hallow mass [1st Nov.]. God be merciful to his soul! In his day was all bliss and all good in Peterborough; and he was dear to all the people, so that the king gave to St. Peter and him the abbacy at Burton, and that at Coventry, which the earl Leofric, who was his uncle, had before made, and that at Crowland, and that at Thorney. And he did so much for good to the minster at Peterborough in gold, and in silver, and in vestments, and in land, as did never any other before him, nor any after him. Then was the golden city turned to the sorrowful city. Then the monks chose Brand the provost for their abbat, for that he was a very good man and very wise, and they sent him then to Aedgar the etheling, by reason that the land-folk supposed that he should become king; and the etheling granted it him then gladly. When king William heard that said, then was he very wroth, and said that the abbat had despised him. Then went good men between them, and reconciled them, because that the abbat was a good man. Then gave he the king forty marks of gold for reconciliation, and then he lived a short while after that, only three years. Afterwards came every distress and every evil to the minster. God be merciful to it!

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[1] The following narrative is in a later and different kind of hand.
[2] E.

A.D. 1067. [1]Here came the king back again to England on St. Nicholas's-mass day [6th Dec.], and on this day was burnt Christchurch at Canterbury, and Wulfwi the bishop died, and is buried at his see in Dorchester; and Eadric, child, and the Britons became at enmity and fought with the castle-men at Hereford, and did them much harm. And now the king placed a great tribute upon the miserable people; and nevertheless still permitted his men to harry all that they went over: and then he went to Devonshire and beset the town of Exeter for eighteen days, and there many of his army were slain; but he had promised them well, and performed ill, and they surrendered the town to him, because that the thanes had betrayed them. [2]And this summer Eadgar, child, went out with his mother Agatha and his two sisters, Margareta and Christina, and Mærla-Swegen, and many good men with them, and they came to Scotland under the protection of king Malcholom, and he received them all. Then began the king Malcholom to yearn after Margaret, the child's sister, for his wife: but he, and all his men, for a long time refused, and also she herself refused, [3]and said that she would have neither him nor any other, if the Supreme Power would grant to her, that she, in her virginity, might please the mighty Lord with her bodily heart in this short life in pure continence. The king earnestly urged her brother until he answered Yea; and indeed he durst do nothing otherwise, because that they were come within his power. It was then thus fulfilled as God had provided beforehand, and otherwise it could not be, as He himself has said in his Gospel, that a sparrow may not fall forth on the ground without his foreknowledge. The prescient Creator knew long before what He by her would have done, for that she should increase the glory of God in that land, and rightly direct the king from that erroneous path, and lead him to the better way and his people along with him, and put down the evil habits which the nation formerly followed: just as she afterwards did. The king then took her, though it were against her own inclination, and her disposition was pleasing to him, and he thanked God, who to him such a mate had in his might given: and wisely he bethought himself (for he was a prudent man), and turned himself to God, and renounced all impurity, according to that which the apostle Paul, the teacher of all the nations, says, "Salvabitur vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem; sic et mulier infidelis per virum fidelem;" that is, in our language, "Full oft the unbelieving husband shall be sanctified and healed through the believing wife; and so in like manner the wife through the believing husband." [1 Cor. vii. 14.] This fore-named queen afterwards

[1] From this point to the conclusion of the Chronicle the translation has been made from Ingram's text, collated with the Laud Manuscript.

[2] E. thus briefly narrates the subsequent events of this year:—"And this summer went out Eadgar the child and Maerlegswegen, and many men with them, and they went to Scotland; and the king Malcolm received them all, and took to wife Margaret, the child's sister."

[3] The editors of the Saxon Chronicle have not perceived that there are here obvious traces of the incorporation into the text of a Saxon poem, though in a corrupted form, as is proved by the imperfect alliteration, which, however, might be restored without much difficulty.

performed many useful deeds in that land, to the honour of God; and also in her royal condition she well conducted herself, as her nature was. She was sprung of a faithful and noble race; her father was Edward the etheling, the son of king Eadmund, Eadmund was the son of Aethelred, Aethelred was the son of Eadgar, Eadgar of Eadred, and so forth in the royal line; and her descent on the mother's side reaches to Henry the emperor, who had the dominion over Rome.

This year went out Gytha the mother of Harold, and the wives of many good men with her, into Bradan-reolice,[1] and there remained some time, and went thence over the sea to St. Omers. This Easter came the king to Winchester, and Easter was then on the 10th of the kalends of April [23d March, 1068], and soon after this came Mathild, the lady, hither to this land, and Ealdred, the archbishop, consecrated her as queen at Westminster, on Whit-Sunday. Then it was intimated to the king that the people in the north had gathered themselves together, and would stand against him if he came. Then he went to Nottingham, and there built a castle; and thence he went to York, and there built two castles, and at Lincoln, and everywhere in that district; and the earl Gospatric and the best men went into Scotland. And in the mean-time came one of Harold's sons from Ireland with a fleet into the mouth of the Avon, unawares, and soon harried over all that district; and thence they went to Bristol, and would have assailed the town, but the townsmen bravely fought against them. And when they could gain nothing from the borough, they went to their ships with whatever they had harried, and so they went to Somerset-shire, and there they landed, and Eadnoth, stallere, fought with them, and there he was slain, and many good men on either side, and those who survived departed thence.

A.D. [2]1068. This year king William gave to Robert the earl the earldom over Northumberland, but the men of the country besieged him in the city of Durham, and slew him and nine hundred men with him; and soon after this Eadgar, etheling, came with all the Northumbrians to York, and the townsmen made an agreement with him, and king William came from the south unawares upon them with a large army, and put them to flight, and there slew those who could not escape, (there were many hundred men,) and harried the city. He made St. Peter's minster despicable; and all the others he wholly plundered and despised; and the etheling returned to Scotland.

[3]After this came Harold's sons from Ireland, at midsummer [24th June], with sixty-four ships, into Taw-mouth, where they unwarily landed, and earl Breon[4] came unawares against them with no little army and fought against them, and slew there all the best men who were in the fleet, and drove the other little troop to the ships; and Harold's sons departed to Ireland again.

[1] Steep-Holms, an island off the county of Somerset.
[2] The date is from D.
[3] This paragraph is from D., and does not occur in E.
[4] Beorn, Lye.

A.D. 1068. [1]This year king William gave Robert the earl the earldom of Northumberland; then came the landsmen against him, and slew him, and nine hundred men with him. Then came Eadgar, etheling, with all the Northumbrians, to York, and the townsmen made a compact with him, and king William came from the south with all his army and harried the city and slew many hundred men; and the etheling returned to Scotland.

A.D. 1069. [2]This year departed Aldred archbishop of York, and he is there buried at his bishop's see; and he died on the day of Protus and Jacinthus [11th Sept.], and he held his archiepiscopal see with much honour for ten years, wanting only fifteen weeks. Soon after this came from Denmark three of the sons of king Swegen, with two hundred and forty ships, and earl Esbeorn and earl Thurkyl, into the Humber, and there Eadgar, child, and earl Waldtheof, and Maerleswegen, and earl Gospatric, with the Northumbrians and all the land-folk, met them, riding and marching with a large army, rejoicing exceedingly: and so with one consent they all went to York, and took and destroyed the castle, and won therein countless treasures: and there they slew many hundred Frenchmen, and many of them they took to the ships with them. And before that the shipmen came thither the Frenchmen had burnt the city, and also had entirely harried the holy minster of St. Peter, and burnt it. When the king understood this he went northward with all the army which he could muster, and he entirely harried and wasted the shire; and the fleet lay the whole winter within the Humber, where the king could not come at them. And the king was at York on midwinter day [25th Dec.], and also the whole winter in that land, and he came to Winchester at the same Easter. And bishop Aegelric was betrayed (he was at Peterborough) and taken to Westminster, and his brother bishop Aegelwine was outlawed. [3]And in this same year died Brand, abbat of Peterborough, on the 5th of the kalends of December [27th Nov.].

A.D. 1069. [4]This year bishop Aegelric was betrayed at Peterborough, and they sent him to Westminster, and outlawed his brother bishop Aegelwine. Then, between the two feasts of St. Mary [15th Aug., 8th Sept.], people came from the east, from Denmark, with three hundred ships, namely the sons of king Swaegne, and his brother earl Osbearn; then went out the earl Waltheaf, and he, and Eadgar, etheling, and many hundred men with them, came, and they met the fleet in the Humber, and they went to York, and landed, and won the castles, and slew many hundred men, and carried many treasures to the ships, and put the chief men in chains; and they lay between the Ouse and the Trent all that winter, and king William went into that shire, and they all departed.

A.D. 1070. [5]This year, Landfranc, he who had been abbat at Caen, came to England; after a few days he became archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated on the 4th of the kalends of September[6] [29th Aug.], in his own episcopal see, by eight of his

[1] From E.

[2] From D., which, however, assigns no date to the events; it has been supplied from Florence. E. is here blank.

[3] To the end of the year from E.

[4] From E.

[5] Whelock, Gibson, and Ingram, from MS. A. as far as "benediction." Wanting in D. and E.

[6] Namely, the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, and the festival of the beheading of St. John the Baptist.

suffragan bishops; and the others who were not there, by messengers and by letters, stated why they could not be present.

This year, Thomas, who was bishop elect of York, came to Canterbury, that he might be there consecrated according to the old custom; then when Landfranc demanded the confirmation of his obedience with an oath, he refused, and said that he ought not to do it.

Then archbishop Landfranc was angry, and commanded the bishops (who had there assembled by the command of archbishop Landfranc to perform the service), and all the monks, that they should unrobe themselves; and, at his command, they did so. And so Thomas at that time departed without the benediction. Soon after this it happened that archbishop Landfranc went to Rome, and Thomas went with him. When they had come thither, and had spoken about other things concerning which they wished to speak, then Thomas began his speech, how he came to Canterbury, and how the archbishop had demanded obedience with the swearing of an oath from him, and he refused it. Then began the archbishop Landfranc to declare, with clear reason, that he rightfully demanded whatever he had demanded, and he established the same with strong sayings before the pope Alexander, and before all the council which was there assembled; and so they went home. After this came Thomas to Canterbury, and he obediently fulfilled all that the archbishop demanded of him, and after that he received the benediction.[1]

This year the earl Waltheof made peace with the king, and on the Lent of this year the king caused all the minsters which are in England to be harried. On this same year came Swegn, king of Denmark, into the Humber; and the people of the country came to meet him, and made a treaty with him, thinking that he would overrun the land. Then came into Ely Christien,[2] the Danish bishop, and Osbearn the earl, and the Danish house-carles with them, and the English people of all the fen-lands came to them, thinking that they would win all that land. Then the monks of Peterborough heard say that their own men intended to harry the minster, that is, Hereward and his troop; and that was because they heard say that the king had given the government of the abbey to a French abbat, who was named Turold, and that he was a very stern man, and that he had then come into Stamford with all his Frenchmen. Then was there a church ward, who was named Yware; and he took thence by night all that he could, namely, Christ's books, and mass-robes, and cantle-capes, and vestments, and such other small matters, as much as he could; and he went early before day to the abbat Turold, and told him that he sought his protection, and gave him to understand that the outlaws intended coming to Peterborough; and that he did all by the advice of the monks. Then early in the morning came all the outlaws, with many ships, and wished to come into the minster; but the monks resisted, so that they could not enter.

[1] Here ends the text of this year in the edition of Whelock.

[2] Concerning this Danish bishop see Langebeck, Scripp. Rerum Danicarum, iii. 247.

Then they laid fire to it, and burnt up all the houses of the monks, and all the town,[1] except one house. Then by the means of fire they gained an entrance at Bull-hithe-gate, and the monks came and met them, and besought peace from them; but they cared nothing. They went into the minster, climbed up to the holy rood, took the crown from our Lord's head, which was all of wrought gold; they took then the bracket which was beneath his feet, which was all of red gold; they climbed up to the steeple, brought down the hæcce which was there hidden—it was all of gold and of silver—and took then two golden shrines and nine of silver, and they took fifteen large crosses, as well of gold as of silver; and they took there so much gold and silver, and so many treasures in money, and in vestments, and in books, as no man could count to another; and they said that they did this from their fidelity to the minster. After this they betook themselves to their ships; they proceeded to Ely, and then stowed away all the treasure there. The Danish men imagined that they would overcome the Frenchmen, and drove out all the monks, and left there none but one monk, who was named Leofwine Lang [the Tall]; he lay sick in the infirmary. Then came Turold the abbat, and eight times twenty Frenchmen with him, all fully armed. When he came thither he found it all consumed, within and without, excepting the church alone; but the outlaws were at that time all afloat, for they knew that he intended coming thither. This was done on the 4th day of the nones of June [2d June]. The two kings, William and Swaegn, were reconciled; then went the Danes out of Ely, with all the beforementioned treasure, and took it away with them. When they were come in the middle of the sea there arose a great storm, and scattered all the ships in which the treasures were. Some went to Norway, some to Ireland, some to Denmark. And all that reached there—namely, the hæcce, and some of the shrines and of the roods, and many of the other treasures—they brought it to a king's town named[2] . . . . , and placed it all there, in the church. Then afterwards, through their carelessness and through their drunkenness, on a certain night the church and all that was within it was consumed with fire. Thus was the minster of Peterborough burnt and harried; may Almighty God have pity upon it, through his great compassion! And thus the abbat Turold came to Peterborough, and the monks met him, and did Christ's service in the church, which

> Before had stood full seven night
> Withouten any kind of rite.

When bishop Aegelric understood this, he excommunicated all the men who had done that evil deed.

There was great famine this year; and in this summer came the fleet from the north of the Humber into the Thames, and lay there two nights, and proceeded afterwards to Denmark. And Baldwin the earl died, and his son Arnulf[3] succeeded him; and earl William

[1] Probably the close or enclosure around the minster.

[2] Blank in the Saxon original.

[3] See the relative position of these individuals in the table in Anderson's Genealogies, 594.

should have been his guardian, and also the king of the French; then came the earl Robert and slew his relation Arnulf and the earl, and put the king to flight, and slew many thousands of his men.

A.D. 1071. [1]This year the earl Waeltheof made peace with the king; and in the Lent of this year the king caused to be plundered all the minsters which were in England; and this year there was great hunger, and the minster at Peterborough was plundered by the men whom the bishop Aegelric had previously excommunicated, because that they had there taken all his property. And this same summer came the fleet into the Thames, and there lay two nights, and thereafter proceeded to Denmark; and the earl Baldwin died, and Arnulf his son succeeded him; and the king of the French and the earl William should have been his guardians, but there came Robert, and slew Arnulf, his kinsman, and the earl William, and put the king to flight, and slew many thousands of his men.

A.D. 1071. [2]In this year earl Eadwin and earl Morker escaped, and went at large in the woods and the fields.[3] Then went earl Morker to Ely by ship, and earl Eadwin was slain ignominiously by his own men; and bishop Aegelwin and Siward Bearn came, and many hundred men with them, into Ely.[4] And when king William understood that, he summoned a ship army and a land army, and surrounded that land all about, and made a bridge, and entered within; and the ship army on the side by the sea. The outlaws then all submitted, namely, bishop Aegelwin and earl Morker, and all those who were with them, excepting only Hereward, and all they who would go with him, and he led them out honourably. And the king took their ships and weapons, and great treasures; and he took all the men, and did with them what he would; and the bishop Aegelwine he sent to Abingdon, and he died there early in the winter.[5]

A.D. [6]1072. This year king William led a ship army and a land army to Scotland, and beset that land on the sea-ports with ships, and his land army he [himself] led in at the "Gerwaede,[7]" and there he found nothing by which he was the better. And the king Malcolm came and made his peace with the king William, and gave hostages, and became his vassal; and the king returned home with all his army. And the bishop Egelric died; he had been consecrated bishop to York, but it was unjustly taken from him, and the bishopric of Durham was given to him, and he kept it as long as he would, and he resigned it afterwards and went to Burch to St. Peter's minster, and there he resided twelve years. After that the king William had won England, he took him from

[1] These events, above given under the year 1070, are in D. and E. referred to 1071, and recorded in this contracted form.

[2] From this point to the end of the Chronicle the only authority of Gibson was E., but Ingram collated the Cottonian MS. D. and that which he calls the Peterborough copy, both of which proceed as far as the year 1080.

[3] "until Eadwine was slain by his own men, and Morkare with a fleet went ignominiously to Ely, and there came bishop Aegelwine and Sigward Barn." D.

[4] "into Ely," omitted in D.

[5] "early in the winter," omitted in D., supplied from E.

[6] A.D. 1072, Peterb. A.D. 1073, D.

[7] "and he himself went in over the Wath" (*i.e.* the ford), D. Ingram conjectures an error here in the text for "the Tweed," and translates accordingly.

Peterborough and sent him to Westminster, and there he died on the ides of October [15th Oct.], and he is buried there within the minster, within the porch of St. Nicolas.

A.D. [1]1073. This year king William led an English army and a French over the sea, and won the district Mans, and the Englishmen exceedingly ravaged it; they destroyed the vineyards and burnt the towns, and very much damaged the district, and they subdued it all [2]to the hands of king William, and afterwards they departed home to England.

A.D. [3]1074. This year king William went over the sea to Normandy, and the child Eadgar came from the land of the Flemings into Scotland on the mass-day of St. Grimbald [8th July], and the king Malcholom and his sister Margaret received him with much honour. At that same time the king of France, Philip, sent a writing to him and entreated him that he would come to him, and he would give him the castle at Mustrael, that he might afterwards daily do injuries to his enemies. What then? king Malcolm and his sister Margaret gave him great gifts and many treasures, and all his men, consisting of skins, ornamented with pall, and of costly pilches, and of grey skins, and of ermine skins, and of palls, and of vessels of gold and of silver, and conducted him and all his ship-men from his jurisdiction with great honour. But on their journey evil happened them. When they were out at sea, very rough weather came upon them, and the raging sea and the strong wind drove them on the land, and all their ships went to pieces, and they themselves reached the land with difficulty. He lost nearly all their treasures, and some of his men also were taken by the Frenchmen; but he himself and his best men returned again to Scotland, some walking pitifully on foot, and some riding miserably. Then king Malcolm advised him that he should send to king William over the sea and entreat his reconciliation; and he did even so, and the king granted it to him, and sent after him. And once more king Malcolm and his sister gave countless treasures to him and all his men, and again sent him from their jurisdiction very honourably; and the sheriff of York came to meet him at Durham, and went all the way with him, and caused him to be provided with food and fodder at every castle to which they came, until they should come over the sea to the king. And king William then received him with much worship, and he was there in his court, and accepted such privileges as he allowed him.[4]

A.D. [5]1075. This year king William gave to earl Ralph [6] the daughter of William, the son of Osbearn; and the same Ralph was a Briton on his mother's side, and his father, who was called

[1] D. refers this to the year 1074. [2] To the end of the year from D.

[3] So E. and the Peterborough copies. A.D. 1075, D.

[4] E. thus briefly recounts these incidents:—"A.D. 1074. This year king William went over the sea to Normandy, and child Eadgar came from Scotland to Normandy, and the king inlawed him and all his men, and he was in the king's court, and accepted such privileges as the king granted him."

[5] This date is from E. A.D. 1076, D.

[6] Compare Florence of Worcester's account of this event.

Ralph, was an Englishman, and he was born in Norfolk. The king therefore gave his son the earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk, and he then took his wife to Norwich. There was a marriage mischievous to men. There was earl Roger and earl Waltheof, and bishops, and abbats; and there they came to the conclusion that they would drive the king out of the kingdom of England. And it was soon told the king in Normandy how it had been resolved, that earl Roger and earl Ralph were the originators of that plot, and that they were alluring the Britons to them, and were sending eastward to Denmark for a naval force to assist them. And Roger went west to his earldom and gathered his people, to the king's injury, as he thought, but it was to the great harm of himself. He was hindered however. Ralph also in his earldom would go forth with his people; but the castle-men who were in England and also the land-folk came against him, and so made it that he did nothing, [1]but he took to the ships at Norwich. And his wife was within the castle, and held it so long that they gave her peace, and she then went out of England, and all her men who would go with her. And the king afterwards came to England, and took earl Roger his relative, and put him in prison, and Waltheof the earl went over the sea and concealed himself, and asked for forgiveness and offered treasures. But the king took little notice of it until he [Waltheof] came into England, and then he caused him to be apprehended. And soon after this there came from the east, from Denmark, two hundred ships, and therein were two chief men, Cnut, Swaegn's son, and earl Hacun, and they did not dare to hold a fight with king William. But they went to York and brake into St. Peter's minster, and took therein great possessions, and so departed, and passed over the sea to Flanders; [2]but all they perished who were [acquainted] with the design, namely, the son of earl Hacun, and many others with him. And Eadgyth, the lady, died [3](she was the widow of king Eadward) seven nights before Christ's mass [17th Dec.], at Winchester; and the king caused her to be brought to Westminster with great honour, and laid her with Eadward the king, her lord. And the king was then at Westminster, at midwinter [25th Dec.], and there were destroyed all the Britons who were at the bridal at Norwich. Some were blinded, some banished from the country, some were put to shame. Thus were the traitors of king William subdued.

A.D. [4]1076. This year departed Swaegn, king of Denmark, and Harold his son succeeded him in the kingdom. And this year king William gave the government of the abbey of Westminster to abbat Vithel, who had formerly been abbat at Baernege. And [5]this year earl Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester, [6]on the mass-day

[1] So E.; but D. reads, "but he was glad to flee to the ships, and his wife remained behind in the castle, and kept it so long until they gave her peace."

[2] The conclusion of the sentence is omitted by E.

[3] This explanatory clause is from D., and does not occur in E.

[4] So E. and Peterb. MS. A.D. 1077, D.

[5] These two words, "this year," do not occur in E., but are found in D. As to the chronology of this event, compare Florence of Worcester.

[6] The date of this occurrence is from D.

of St. Petronilla [31st May], and his body was conveyed to Crowland, and there he is buried. And king William went over the sea, and led his army to Brittany, and besieged the castle at Dol; but the Britons retained it until the king came from France, and then king William departed thence, and there he lost as well men as horses, and many of his treasures.

A.D. 1077. [1]This year were reconciled the king of the French and William king of England, but it continued for a little while. And this year there was a fire in London one night before the assumption of St. Mary [16th Aug.], so great as there never had before been since it was founded.

[2]This year the moon was eclipsed three nights before Candlemas [30th Jan.]. [3]And this year died Aegelwig, the world-wise abbat of Evesham, on the 14th day of the kalends of March [16th Feb.], on the mass-day of St. Juliana, and Walter was appointed abbat in his place; and Hereman the bishop also died on the tenth of the kalends of March [20th Feb.]; he was bishop in Berkshire, and in Wiltshire, and in Dorsetshire. And this year king Malcholom captured the mother of Maelslaeht . . . . . [4] and all his best men, and all his treasure, and his cattle, and he himself escaped with difficulty. . . . . [5] This year also was the dry summer, and wild fire came on many shires, and burnt up many towns, and also burnt up many cities.

A.D. 1078. [6]

A.D. 1079. [7]This year Robert, the son of king William, started off from his father to his uncle Robert in Flanders, because his father would not let him possess his earldom in Normandy, which he himself and also the king Philip with his consent had given him, and the best men in the land had sworn oaths to him and accepted him as their lord.

In this year Robert fought with his father out of Normandy, near a castle called Gerborneth, and wounded him in the hand, and his horse on which he sat was shot under [him] and so slain; and the person who brought him another was there immediately shot with an arblast, namely, Tokig Wiggod's son, and many were slain there and also taken prisoners, and also his son William was there wounded, and Robert afterwards returned to Flanders. We will not here however write any more mischief which he [did] to his father. [8]

This year came Malcolm, king of Scotland, into England between the two Mary-masses [15th Aug., 8th Sept.], with a great army,

[1] From E.; wanting in D.

[2] From D.; wanting in E. The fragment appended to Lye's Saxon Dictionary ascribes this to the year 1078.

[3] From E.; wanting in D. as far as the words are concerned which ascribe the event to this year.

[4] Here in D. there is a blank space equivalent to two half lines.

[5] A blank space here occurs in D. of greater extent than the former.

[6] This year being left blank in E., restores that copy to an uniformity of chronology with D.

[7] From D. as far as "to his father," with the exception of a few passages supplied from E.

[8] Here ends abruptly the valuable Cotton MS. D. It contains a notice,

harried Northumberland until it reached the Tyne, and slew many hundred men, and carried home much money and treasures, and many men into captivity.

A.D. 1080. This year was bishop Walcher slain at Durham, at a conference, and a hundred men with him, French and Flemish, and he himself was born in Lorraine. This did the Northumbrians in the month of May.

A.D. 1081. This year the king led an army into Wales, and there he freed many hundred men.

A.D. 1082. This year the king took bishop Oda; and this year there was a great famine.

A.D. 1083. This year began the dispute at Glastonbury between the abbat Thurstan and his monks. It arose first from the want of wisdom of the abbat, that he misdirected his monks in many things, and the monks complained of it to him in loving manner, and entreated him that he would govern them according to right, and love them, and they would be faithful to him and obedient. But the abbat would do none of this, but did them evil and promised them worse. One day the abbat went into the chapter, and spoke against the monks, and would have afflicted them, and sent after laymen, and they came into the chapter upon the monks fully armed. And then were the monks very much afraid of them, and knew not what they were to do, but they rushed out. Some ran into the church, and locked the doors upon themselves; but they went after them into the minster, and wished to drag them out, so that they durst not go out at all. But a lamentable thing happened there that day. The Frenchmen broke into the quire and shot toward the altar where the monks were, and some of the knights went upon the upper floor, and shot downwards with arrows towards the haligdom,[1] so that many arrows stuck in the wood which stood above the altar. And the wretched monks lay round about the altar, and some crept under it, and earnestly called to God, entreating his mercy, since they could obtain no mercy from men. What may we say? but that they shot vehemently, and the others broke the doors down there, and went in and slew certain of the monks to death, and wounded many therein, so that the blood came from the altar upon the steps, and from the steps to the floor. Three were there slain to death, and eighteen were wounded.

And in this same year departed Matilda, king William's queen, on the day after All-hallow-mass day [2d Nov.]. And in this same year, after Midwinter, the king proclaimed a great and a heavy contribution over all England, which was for every hide of land two-and-seventy pence.

in a later hand, relative to the year 1130, which, together with the variations afforded by a transcript on paper made by Joscelin, extending from 1123 to 1131, will be given in their proper places. With these exceptions the Chronicle from A.D. 1080 to the end is derived entirely from the Laud MS. E.

[1] Ingram translates this "the sanctuary," but I am rather inclined to understand it as meaning the portion of the consecrated host which was allowed to remain over the altar.

A.D. 1084. This year departed Wulfuuold, abbat of Chertsey, on the 14th of the kalends of May [18th April].

A.D. 1085. This year it was said, and reported for a truth, that Canute, king of Denmark, the son of king Swaegn, was proceeding hitherward, and that he intended to win this country with the assistance of Robert, earl of Flanders, because Canute had [to wife] Robert's daughter.[1] When William, king of England, understood this—he was then resident in Normandy, for he owned both England and Normandy—he went into England with so great an army of riding men and marching men, from France and Brittany, such as had never sought this land before, so that people wondered how this land might support all that army. But the king caused the army to distribute itself over all this land among his men, and they provisioned the army, each in proportion to his land. And people had much trouble this year; and the king caused that the land near the sea should be laid waste, that if his enemies landed they might not have anything upon which they could provide themselves so readily. But when the king understood of a truth that his enemies were hindered, and could not put forward their expedition, then he caused a portion of the army to return to their own land, and some he kept in this land over the winter. Then at the Mid-winter [25th Dec.], was the king at Gloucester with his council, and held his court there for five days; and afterwards the archbishop and the clergy held a synod for three days. There was Maurice chosen as bishop of London, and Wiliam of Norfolk, and Robert of Chester; they were all the king's clerks. After this the king had a great meeting, and a very deep conference with his witan concerning this land, how it was leased out, or to what kind of men. Then sent he his men over all England into each shire, and directed them to ascertain how many hundred hides were in each shire, or what quantity of land the king himself held, and how much stock was upon the land, or what dues he ought to have by the twelvemonth from the shire. Also he caused to be recorded in writing how much land his archbishops held, and his diocesan bishops, and his abbats, and his earls, and (though I take long to tell it,) what, or how much, each man, who was a tenant of land, occupied within England, in land or in stock, and how much money it was worth. So exceedingly narrowly did he cause the investigation to be made, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard of land, nay moreover—it is a disgrace to recount it, but he considered it no disgrace to do it,—neither an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was there left, which was not written down in his record. And all these writings were brought to him afterwards.

A.D. 1086. This year the king wore his crown and held his court at Winchester, at Easter [5th April], and so he journeyed that he was at Westminster at the Pentecost [24th May], and he dubbed his son Henry as knight there. Afterwards he moved about so that by the Lammas [1st Aug.], he came to Salisbury, and there his witan came to him, and all the tenants of land that were of consequence over all England became the vassals of this man,

[1] See Anderson's Royal Genealogies, 418, 594.

whosoever they were, and they all submitted to him and became his men, and swore to him oaths of fidelity that they would be faithful to him against all other men. Thence he went into Wight, because he intended to proceed into Normandy, and so he did afterwards; yet before this he did according to his custom, he obtained a very large sum of money from his people where he could make any charge, either with right, or otherwise. Then afterwards he went into Normandy, and Edgar etheling, the relative of king Eadward, then went off from him, because he had no great honour from him; but may Almighty God give him worship for the future! And Christina, the sister of the etheling, betook herself into the minster at Romsey, and took the holy veil.

And this same year was a very heavy year, and a very laborious and a sorrowful year within England by the murrain of cattle, and corn and fruits were left standing; and such mishap was there in the weather as that one cannot easily think; such heavy thunder and lightning was there that it killed many men, and ever it grew worse among men, more and more. May God Almighty amend it, when his will is!

A.D. 1087. After the birth of our Lord [and] Saviour Christ one thousand and eighty-seven winters, on the one-and-twentieth year after that William governed and ruled England, (as God permitted him,) there was a very oppressive and very pestilential year in this land. Such a pestilence came upon men that very nearly every second man was ill with that very evil disease; namely, with the diarrhœa, and that so powerfully that many men died of that disease. Afterwards there came, in consequence of the exceeding badness of the weather, (which happened as we before have mentioned,) so great a famine over all England, that many hundred men died a miserable death through hunger. Alas! how miserable and how lamentable a period was that! when the wretched men lay nearly purged to death, and afterwards came the sharp hunger and despatched them entirely. Who will not lament over such a period? or who is so hard-hearted as not to weep at such a calamity? But such an occurrence happens for the sins of the people, because they will not love God and righteousness. So it was then in those days, that little right dealing was in this land among any people, except among the monks alone, wherever they fared well. The king and the chief men loved much (and too much) covetousness of gold and of silver, and cared not how sinfully it were obtained, provided it reached them. The king gave his land as dearly to rent as he might possibly do for the dearest; then came some other person and offered more than the other had before given, and the king let it to the man who offered him the more. Then came the third, and offered a larger sum still; and the king let it to the possession of the man who offered him most of all; and he heeded nothing how very sinfully the reeves obtained it from the miserable men, nor how many unlawful acts they committed; but the more that was said about true laws, so much the more lawlessly did they act. They set up unjust tolls, and many other unlawful things they did, which are difficult to enumerate.

Also in this same year before harvest, the holy minster of St. Paul, the episcopal see in London, was burnt, and many other minsters, and the greatest part and the richest of all the city. So also at the same time, almost all the chief towns in all England were burnt. Alas! pitiful and lamentable was the time this year which produced so many misfortunes.

Also in this same year, before the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], king William departed from Normandy into France with an army, and harried his own lord Philip the king, and slew a great part of his men, and burnt the city Mathante, and all the holy minsters that were within the city; and two holy men who served God, dwelling in a cell as anchorites, were there burnt. These things being done, king William returned again to Normandy. This was a lamentable thing which he had done, and a more lamentable thing befell himself. What more lamentable thing? He fell sick, and his ailment grew strong. How may I tell it? The sharp death, who spares neither rich man nor poor, laid hold on him. He died in Normandy on the day next after the Nativity of St. Mary [9th Sept.], and he was buried at Cathum, at St. Stephen's minster, which he had formerly erected, and afterwards enriched in many ways. Alas! how false and worthless is the prosperity of this world! He who a short time before had been a rich king, and the lord of many lands, had then no more of all his land than the space of seven feet; and he who was formerly clothed with gold and gems, there he lay covered over with mould. He left behind him three sons: the eldest was named Robert (he was earl of Normandy after him); the second was named William, he bore the crown after him in England; the third was called Henry, to whom his father bequeathed innumerable treasures.

If any one desires to know what sort of man he was, or what honour he had, or of how many lands he was lord, then will we write concerning him just as we found him, we who have seen him, and formerly lived in his court. The king William of whom we speak was a very wise man, and very powerful, and more honourable and stronger than any of his ancestors were. He was gentle to those good men who loved God; and beyond all measure stern to those men who opposed his own will. On that same site where God permitted him that he should win England, he erected a great minster, and placed therein monks, and well he endowed it. In his day was the greater minster built at Canterbury, and also many others over all England. Also was this land exceedingly well filled with monks, who guided their lives according to the rule of St. Benedict. And such was the condition of Christendom in his day, that each man followed what belonged to his order, just as he himself pleased. He was also very dignified: each year he wore his crown thrice, as often as he was in England; on Easter he wore it at Winchester, on Whitsuntide at Westminster, on Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times there were with him all the powerful men from over all England; archbishops and diocesan bishops, abbats and earls, thanes and knights. So very severe a man was he, and so quickly provoked, that no one

dared to do anything against his will. He had in his bonds earls who had acted against his pleasure. Bishops he deposed from their bishoprics, and abbats from their abbacies, and thanes he put in prison; and at last he did not spare his own brother, who was called Odo. He was a very powerful bishop in Normandy, his see was at Baius, and he was the foremost of all men to augment [the power of] the king. He had an earldom in England; and when the king was in Normandy, then was he the most powerful man in this land. And he [William] placed him in prison.

Among other matters this must by no means be forgotten, the good peace that he made in this land; so that a man of property might go by himself alone over his realm unhurt, having his bosom full of gold. No man dared to slay another, how great soever the evil which he had done to the other; and if any male had intercourse with a woman against her consent, he soon lost the member that he had played with. He reigned over England, and so entirely did he understand it by his cunning policy, that there was not a hide of land within England that he knew not who owned it, or how much it was worth; and afterwards he put it down in his writing. The land of the Britons was in his power, and therein he built castles, and entirely governed that nation. So also he subjugated Scotland by his great strength. The land of Normandy was his naturally, and he ruled over the earldom called Mans; and if he might have lived two years longer, he would have won Ireland by his valour and without any weapons. Truly in his time men had much labour and very many sorrows. He caused castles to be built, and the poor men to be made to labour heavily. The king was so exceedingly stern, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver, that he took by right and with great unright of his people, for little need. He[1] was fallen into covetousness, and he loved greediness above all. He instituted a great protection for deer, and he established laws therewith, that whosoever slew hart or hind that he should be blinded. He forbid the harts and the boars also [to be slain], so much he loved the tall deer as if he were their father. Also he commanded respecting the hares that they must free fare; his rich men lamented it, and the miserable people murmured at it. But so firm was he that he cared nothing for the ill-will of the whole of them; yet must they entirely follow the king's pleasure, if they wished to live or possess their land,—land, or property, or have good quiet. Alas! that any man should be proud and thus exalt himself, and boast above all men. May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins!

These things have we written concerning him, as well the good as the evil, that what is good men may accept according to their goodness, and entirely forsake that which is evil, and walk in the way which leadeth us to the kingdom of heaven.

Many things may we write which were done this same year. It happened in Denmark that the Danes, who were formerly con-

[1] Throughout this passage there are traces of metrical arrangement, showing that we have here a fragment of a poem upon the character of the Conqueror.

sidered the most faithful of all people, were perverted to the greatest untruth and to the greatest treachery that ever might happen. They chose Cnut as their king, and submitted to him, and swore oaths to him, and afterwards, in cowardly fashion, they slew him in a church. It happened also in Spain that the heathen men went and harried upon the christian men, and reduced much [of the country] to their rule. But the king of the Christians, who was named Auphos, sent everywhere into each land and asked for assistance, and people came to his aid from each land that was christian, and they went and slew and drove away all the heathen folk, and won their land again, through God's assistance. Also in this same land, in this same year, died many rich men; Stigand, bishop of Chichester, and the abbat of St. Augustine, and the abbat of Bath, and the abbat of Pershore, and the lord of them all, William king of England, of whom we before spoke.

After his death his son, who was also called William as well as his father, took the kingdom, and was blessed as king by Lanfranc, the archbishop of Westminster, three days before the Mass-day of St. Michael [27th Sept.], and all the men in England submitted to him and swore oaths to him. This being done the king went to Winchester, and examined the treasury and the treasures which his father had before gathered, of gold and of silver, of vessels, and of palls, and of gems, and of many other precious things which are difficult to reckon. The king then did as his father had told him before he died; he divided these treasures for his father's soul to each minster which was in England; to some minsters ten marks of gold, to some six; to each upland church sixty pence; and to each shire there were sent one hundred pounds of money, to distribute to the poor men for his soul. And before he died, he directed that they should release all the men who were in confinement under his power. And the king was at London at the Midwinter [25th Dec.].

A.D. 1088. In this year was the land much stirred and filled with great treachery, so that the most powerful Frenchmen who were within this land wished to betray their lord the king, and wished to have as their king his brother Robert, who was earl of Normandy. In this counsel first of all was Oda the bishop, and Gosfrith the bishop, and William bishop of Durham. So well had the king acted towards the bishop [Oda], that all England fared according to his counsel, and just as he would; and he [Oda] thought to do by him as Judas Scarioth did by our Lord. And earl Roger was also at this evil counsel, and very much people with him, all Frenchmen; and this plot was planned in Lent. As soon as Easter [16th April] came, then went they and harried, and burned, and wasted the king's farm-dwellings, and ravaged the land of all the men who were in the king's fealty; and each of them went to his castle, and manned it and victualled it as they best might; Bishop Gosfrith and Robert Amundbraeg went to Bristol, and plundered it, and brought the plunder to the castle. And afterwards they went out of the castle, and plundered Bath, and all the land thereabout; and they wasted all the jurisdiction of Berkeley.

And the eldest men who were of Hereford, and all the shire with them, and the men of Shropshire, with much people of Wales, came and harried and burned in Worcestershire, until they came to the town itself; and they wished to burn the town and pillage the minster, and win the king's castle into their possession. The honourable bishop Wulfstan, seeing these things, was much distressed in his mind, because that the castle had been committed to him to keep. Yet his retainers went out with a few men of the castle, and by God's mercy and by the bishop's merits, they slew and captured five hundred men, and put all the others to flight. The bishop of Durham did all the harm he could over all the north. One of them was called Roger, who got possession of the castle at Norwich, and did yet worse still over all that land. Hugh also was one of those who did no better than this in any respect, neither in Leicestershire, nor in Northampton. The bishop Odo, one of the same descent as the king himself,[1] went into Kent to his earldom, and ruined it very much; and they plundered the land of the king and of the archbishop entirely: and he brought all the plunder into his castle at Rochester. When the king understood all these things, and what treachery they committed towards his [adherents], then was he much troubled in his mind. Then sent he after Englishmen, and informed them of his necessity, and begged for their assistance; and he promised them the best laws that ever before had been in this land; and he forbid every improper tax, and granted to the men their woods and [the right of] killing [the deer]. But this lasted nowhile. Nevertheless the Englishmen undertook to assist the king their lord. Then they went toward Rochester, desiring to secure the bishop Odo; for they concluded that could they lay hold of him who was the chief originator of the plot, they should the easier obtain possession of all the others. Then came they to the castle of Tunbridge, and then there were within the castle the knights of the bishop Odo, and many others, who determined to hold it against the king. But the Englishmen came and brake into the castle; and the men who were within it made peace with the king. The king, with his army, went towards Rochester, and they imagined that the bishop was therein; but it was made known to the king that the bishop was gone to the castle at Pevensea; and the king with his army went after him, and surrounded the castle round about, with a very large army, full six weeks.

In the meantime Robert the earl of Normandy, the king's brother, gathered a very large [number of] people, and thought to win England with the assistance of the men who were within this land, against the king; and he sent some of his men to this land, resolving that he himself would come after. But the Englishmen who guarded the sea captured some of the men and slew them, and drowned more than any man was able to number.

When meat began to fail those who were within the castle, then they craved for peace, and they surrendered themselves to the king, and the bishop swore that he would go out of England, and come

[1] This clause of the sentence is obscure, probably imperfect; and the version here given is conjectural.

no more into this land, unless the king sent for him, and that he would surrender the castle at Rochester. When the bishop had gone and was about to give up the castle, and the king had sent his men with him, then arose the men who were within the castle, and took the bishop and the king's men and put them into ward. Within the castle there were some very good knights; Eustace the young, and the three sons of earl Roger, and all the best-born men who were of this land or of Normandy. When the king understood this thing, then went he after with the army that he had there, and sent over all England, and directed that every man who was "unnithing" should come to him, as well French as English, from town and from upland. Much people then came to him, and he went to Rochester, and surrounded the castle, until those who were within made peace with him and surrendered the castle. The bishop Odo, as well as the men who were within the castle, went over the sea; and so the bishop lost the honour that he had in this land.

The king afterwards sent an army to Durham, and caused the castle to be besieged; and the bishop made peace and surrendered the castle, and gave up his bishopric, and went into Normandy. Many Frenchmen also surrendered their lands, and went over the sea; and the king gave their lands to those men who were faithful to him.

A.D. 1089. In this year the venerable father and protector of monks, Landfranc the archbishop, departed from this life; and we trust that he went to the kingdom of heaven. There also happened over all England a great earthquake, on the day of the 3d of the ides of August [11th Aug.]; and it was a very backward year in corn and in fruits of all kinds, so that many men reaped their corn about Martinmas [11th Nov.], and even later.

A.D. 1090. The thirteenth indiction. When these things were thus done as we have formerly said above, concerning the king, and his brother, and his men, the king was deliberating how he might avenge [himself upon] his brother Robert, trouble him most, and win Normandy from him. And of a truth, either through his cunning or his treason, he secured the castle at Valeri, and the haven, and also he got possession of that at Albemarle, and therein he put his knights, and they damaged the land by harrying and burning it. After this he obtained possession of more castles within the land, and therein he lodged his knights. Robert, the earl of Normandy, when he understood that his sworn men had cheated him, and had surrendered their castles to his injury, then sent he to his lord, Philip king of the Franks, and he came to Normandy with a great army; and the king and the earl, with an immense force, besieged the castle round about, within which were the men of the king of England. William, king of England, sent to Philip king of the French; and he, for his love or for his great treasure, thus deserted his homager the earl Robert, and his land, and went again to France, and thus abandoned them. And in the meantime this land was much ruined with unlawful tributes, and by many other misfortunes.

A.D. 1091. This year king William held his court at Christmas

in Westminster; and after that, at Candlemas [2d Feb.], he went out of England into Normandy, to the damage of his brother. During the time he was there, their reconciliation was brought about on this condition, that the earl should cede into his hands Fescamp, and the earldom of Eu, and Cherbourg; and in addition to this, that the king's men should be held blameless in the castles which they had formerly obtained against the earl's will. And the king in return promised him those many [castles] which their father had formerly won, and also to reduce to subjection those which had revolted from the earl, and all that his father had beyond these, except those which he had then granted to the king; and that all those who had formerly lost their land in England on the earl's account, should have it again through this reconciliation; and that the earl should have in England just as much as was included in their agreement; and that if the earl died without a son in lawful marriage, that the king should be heir of all Normandy. By this same treaty [it was agreed that] if the king should die, the earl should be heir of all England. To this treaty swore twelve of the best men on the king's side, and twelve on the earl's; yet it stood but for a little while afterwards.

During this treaty was Edgar etheling deprived of the land which the earl had formerly committed to his keeping; and he went out of Normandy to his brother-in-law, in Scotland, and to his sister. During the time when the king William was out of England, the king Malcolm went out of Scotland hither into England, and harried over a great part of it, until the good men who had the charge of this land sent an army against him, and drove him back. When king William, who was in Normandy, heard this, then he prepared for his departure and came into England, and his brother, earl Robert, with him, and he soon called out an army, both a ship force and a land force: but the ship force, before it could come into Scotland, miserably perished almost [entirely], a few days before Michaelmas [29th Sept.]. And the king and his brother went with the land force. But when king Malcolm heard that they intended advancing against him with an army, he proceeded with his army out of Scotland into Lothian in England, and there abode. When king William drew near with his army, then there mediated between them earl Robert and Edgar etheling, and so made reconciliation between the kings; and the king Malcolm came to our king, and became his homager, to [do] all such obedience as his father had formerly done, and he confirmed it with an oath; and king William promised him in land and all things whatever he had formerly held under his father. At this reconciliation was Edgar etheling also brought into unity with the king. And then the kings departed with great unanimity; yet it lasted but a short while. And the earl Robert remained here well nigh unto Christmas with the king: and during that period he found little truth in the agreement; and two days before that time [23d Dec.] he took ship at Wight, and went into Normandy, and Edgar etheling with him.

A.D. 1092. This year the king William with a large army went north to Carlisle, and refortified the town, and built the castle, and drove out Dolphin, who formerly had possession of that land, and

manned the castle with his own men, and afterwards returned here south; and he sent thither a large body of males, with women and cattle, to dwell there for the cultivation of that land.

A.D. 1093. This year during Lent, was king William so severely sick at Gloucester, that it was everywhere reported that he was dead. And during his sickness he vowed many good promises to God rightly to direct his own life, and to give peace and protection to the churches of God, and never more to sell them for money, and to have all righteous laws for his people. And the archbishopric of Canterbury, which formerly had stood in his own hands, he committed to Anselm, who had before been abbat at Bec; and to Robert, his chancellor, [he gave] the bishopric of Lincoln; and to many ministers he gave land (but that he afterwards took back when he had recovered); and he gave up the good laws which he had formerly promised us. Then after this the king of Scotland sent and desired [the completion of] the treaty which had been promised him, and the king William summoned him to Gloucester, and sent him hostages to Scotland; and Edgar etheling returned, and the men who had brought him with great honour to the king. But when he had come to the king, he could not be considered worthy either of speech with our king, nor of the promise which had been formerly promised him. And therefore they parted from each other with great want of concord, and the king Malcolm went home to Scotland. And shortly after he had come home he gathered his army together, and went harrying into England with greater want of wisdom than behoved him; and Robert, the earl of Northumberland, with his men betrayed him unawares and slew him. Morael, of Bamborough, slew him; he was the earl's steward, and a fellow-sponsor along with earl Malcolm. With him also was slain his son Edward, who would have been king after him if he had lived. When the good queen Margaret had heard this, that her most beloved lord and son were thus betrayed, she was oppressed on her mind almost to death. She went with her priests to church, and performed her rites, and prayed before God that she might give up her ghost. And the Scots then chose Dufenal, Melcolm's brother, for their king, and drove out all the English who were formerly with king Melcolm. When Dunecan, king Melcolm's son, heard all this how it had occurred (he was then in the court of king William, for his father had formerly given him as a hostage to our king, and he remained here afterwards), he came to the king, and did such fealty as the king would have had for him; and so with his permission he went to Scotland, with the assistance which he might procure of English and of French; and he deprived his uncle Dufenal of the kingdom, and was accepted as king. But the Scots afterwards gathered some [troops] together, and slew nearly all his retinue; and he himself escaped with a few. Afterwards they were reconciled, on the condition that he should never afterwards give a settlement either to English or French in that land.

A.D. 1094. This year king William held his court at Christmas in Gloucester, and messengers came to him thither from his brother

Robert from Normandy, who said that his brother entirely renounced peace and treaty, unless the king would accomplish all that they had previously agreed on in the treaty; and thereupon he called him forsworn and faithless, unless he would hold to the treaty, or went thither and confessed himself where the agreement had been formerly made and also sworn. Then went the king to Hastings at the Candlemas [2d Feb.], and during the time that he was waiting there for weather, he caused to be hallowed the minster at Battle, and deprived Herbert Losinga, the bishop of Thetford, of his staff; and after that, about Mid-lent [19th March], he went over the sea into Normandy. After he had come thither, he and his brother earl Robert agreed that they would come together in peace, and so they did, that they might be reconciled. Afterwards they came together along with the same men who had formerly made the agreement, and they also swore oaths, and they laid all [the blame of] breaking it upon the king; but he would not assent to this, nor even hold the treaty, and therefore they parted with great dissension. And the king afterwards won the castle at Bures, and took the earl's men therein, some of whom he sent hither to this land. On the other hand the earl, with the aid of the king of France, won the castle at Argentses, and captured therein Roger of Poitou, and seven hundred of the king's knights with him, and afterwards that at Hulme, and frequently did the one quickly burn the towns, and also capture the men of the other. Then sent the king hither to this land, and commanded to call out twenty thousand Englishmen to assist him in Normandy; but when they came to the sea, then were they commanded to turn, and to pay [back] to the king's behoof the fee which they had received, which was half-a-pound to each man, and they did so. And after this the earl, who was in Normandy, with the king of France, and with all that they could gather together, went towards Ou, where the king William was, and thought to besiege him therein, and so they advanced until they came to Lungevile. Then was the king of France turned aside through craft, and so afterwards all the army separated. In the midst of these things king William sent after his brother Henry, who was in the castle at Damfront; but because he could not go through Normandy with peace, he sent ships after him, and Hugh, earl of Chester; but when they should have gone towards Ou where the king was, they went to England, and landed at [South] Hampton on the eve of the mass of All Saints [31st Oct.], and after that they abode here, and on Christmas they were at London.

Also in this same year the Welshmen gathered themselves together, and in conjunction with the French, who were in Wales on the borders, and who had formerly seized their land, raised war, and broke many fastnesses and castles, and slew men; and after their followers increased, they divided themselves the more. Hugh, earl of Shropshire, fought with one part of them, and he put them to flight. Yet this notwithstanding, the others, during the whole of this year, ceased not from doing all the evil they could do. This year also the Scots betrayed their king Duncan and slew him; and

afterwards, for the second time, they took his uncle Dufenal to their king, through whose instruction and seduction he had been betrayed to death.

A.D. 1095. This year king William was at Whitsand for the first four days of Christmas, and after the fourth day he came hither to land, and arrived at Dover. And Henry, the king's brother, abode in this land until Lent [7th Feb.], and then went over the sea to Normandy with much treasure, on the side of the king, against their brother earl Robert, and frequently fought against the earl, and did him much harm, both in land and in men. And then at Easter [25th March], the king held his court at Winchester, and the earl Robert of Northumberland would not come to court; and the king was exceedingly moved [with anger] against him for this, and sent to him and commanded him with severity, that if he wished to be at peace he would come to the court at Whitsuntide. In this year Easter was the 8th of the kalends of April [25th March]; and then upon Easter, on the night of the mass of St. Ambrose, that is, the 2d of the nones of April [4th April], there was seen over nearly all this land, and well nigh all the night, very many stars of different kinds falling from the heavens, not by one or two, but so thickly that no man could count them. After this, at Whitsuntide [13th May], the king was at Windsor, and all his council with him, excepting the earl of Northumberland, because the king would neither give him hostages, nor promise him, upon his truth, that he might come and depart with peace. And the king thereupon summoned his army, and marched upon the earl into Northumberland, and as soon as he came thither, he won many, and nearly all the best of the earl's court within a fort, and put them in prison; and he beseiged the castle at Tynemouth until he won it, and the earl's brother therein, and all those who were with him. And he afterwards went to Bamborough, and besieged the earl therein. But when the king perceived that he could not win it, then ordered he that a castle should be made before Bamborough, and he called it in his tongue "Malveisin," that is in English, "Evil neighbour:" and this he fortified powerfully with his men, and afterwards he went southwards. Then soon after that the king had gone south, the earl one night went out of Bamborough towards Tynemouth; but they who were within the new castle were aware of him, and went after him, and fought with him, and wounded him, and afterwards they took him, and of those who were with him some they slew, and some they took alive.

In the midst of these things, it was made known to the king that the Welshmen in Wales had broken into a castle called Montgomery, and slain earl Hugh's men, who should have held it. And he immediately commanded that another army should be summoned in consequence; and after Michaelmas [29th Sept.] he went into Wales, and separated his army and overran all that land, so that the whole army came together again by All Saints [1st Nov.], at Snowdun. But the Welshmen always went before them into mountains and moors, so that no man might get at them.

The king then returned homeward, because he saw that he could do no more then this winter.

When the king came home again, then commanded he to take the earl Robert of Northumberland, and lead him to Bamborough, and put out both his eyes, unless those who were within would give up the castle. His wife held it, and Morael who was steward, and also his relative. Through this was the castle given up, and Morael was then in the king's court; and through him were many both of the clergy and also of the laity betrayed, who by their own counsels had become faithless to the king. Some of these the king before this time had commanded to be brought into custody; and afterwards it was very strictly proclaimed over all this land, that all those who held land of the king, in proportion as they wished to be held as worthy of peace, should come to the court at the [appointed] time. And the king commanded that the earl Robert should be led to Windsor, and there kept within the castle.

Also in this same year, against Easter [25th March], the pope's messenger came hither to this land, namely Walter, bishop of the city of Albano, a man of very good life; and upon Whitsunday [13th May], he gave his pall to archbishop Anselm, on the behalf of pope Urban, and he received him at his archiepiscopal seat at Canterbury. And the bishop Walter remained in this land during a considerable portion of this year; and the Rome-scot was afterwards sent by him, which for many years had not been done. During this same year was very unseasonable weather, by reason of which over all this land the fruits of the earth were reduced below the average.

A.D. 1096. This year king William held his court on Christmas at Windsor; and William, bishop of Durham, died there on New-year's day; and on the octaves of the Epiphany [13th Jan.], the king and all his council was at Salisbury. There Geoffrey Bainard accused William of Ou, the king's relative, that he had been in the treachery against the king; and he fought with him about it, and overcame him in the duel; and after he was overcome, the king commanded that his eyes should be put out, and afterwards that he should be emasculated; and the king commanded that his steward, named William, who was the son of his aunt by the mother's side, should be hanged upon a cross. Then was also Eoda, earl of Champagne, the king's son-in-law, and many others, deprived of their lands; and some were taken to London, and there put to death. This year also, at Easter [13th April], there was a great commotion throughout all this nation, and many other nations, in consequence of Urban who was declared pope, though he had nothing of a footing at Rome. And an innumerable multitude of people, with their wives and children, went forth for the purpose of making war upon the heathen nations. By means of this expedition, the king and his brother, earl Robert, were united; so that the king went across the sea and purchased all Normandy from him with money, as they had agreed between themselves. And the earl afterwards departed, and with him the earl of Flanders, and the earl of Boulogne, and also many other head

men. And the earl Robert and they that went with him tarried during the winter in Apulia; but of the people who went by Hungary, many thousands perished miserably there and by the way; and many drew themselves home against winter, miserable and hunger-bitten. This year was very heavy over all the kingdom of England, as well in consequence of manifold taxes, as also by reason of very severe hunger, which this year heavily oppressed this earth. Also, in this year, the chief men who ruled this land frequently sent armies into Wales, and thereby grievously afflicted many men; but there was no success therefrom, excepting the destruction of men and the slaughter of cattle.

A.D. 1097. This year was king William at Christmas in Normandy, and against Easter [5th April] he came here to this land from thence, because he thought to hold his court at Winchester; but he was prevented by the weather until Easter-eve [4th April], when he first landed at Arundel, and therefore he held his court at Windsor. And after this he went with a great army into Wales; and speedily he went through the land with his army by means of some of the Welshmen who had come to him and were his guides; and therein he remained from Midsummer [24th June], nearly until August; and he suffered much loss of men and horses, and also of many other things. The Welshmen, after they had revolted from the king, chose many rulers from among themselves: one of these was named Caduugaun, who was the worthiest of them; he was the brother's son of king Griffin. And when the king saw that he could make no progress according to his own inclination, he returned again into this land; and speedily after that he caused castles to be built along the marches. Then during [the festival of] Michaelmas, upon the 4th of the nones of October [4th Oct.], there appeared a strange star shining in the evening, and soon hastening to its setting. It was seen in the south-west, and the light which proceeded from it appeared very long, shining south-east; and it appeared on this wise nearly all the week. Many men considered that it was a comet. Soon after this the archbishop Anselm took leave of the king (though it was against the king's will, as was generally thought,) and crossed the sea, because it appeared to him that in this country little was done according to justice and after his teaching. And after this the king, upon St. Martin's mass [11th Nov.], went over the sea into Normandy; and while he was waiting for [fair] weather, his court did, within the shire where they lay, the greatest harm that ever either court or army did, or could do, within a land which was at peace with them. This was in all things a very heavy-timed year, and excessively oppressive in consequence of the badness of the weather, both when people wished to till the land or to gather in the tilth; and they never ceased from unlawful taxes. Many districts also, of which the labour was due to London, were excessively oppressed by reason of the wall which they built about the Tower, and of the bridge which had nearly all been carried away by the river, and of the working of the king's hall at Westminster; and many men perished by reason of these.

Also in this same year, soon after Michaelmas [29th Sept.], Edgar etheling went with an army into Scotland, by the king's assistance, and won that land after a severe struggle, and drove out the king Dufenal; and his kinsman Edgar (who was the son of king Malcolm and of queen Margaret) he there set up as king in subjection to king William, and after that he returned into England.

A.D. 1098. This year, at Christmas, was king William in Normandy; and Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, and Baldwin, abbat of St. Edmund's, both departed within this period. And in this year also, Turold, abbat of Peterborough, departed. In this year also, during the summer, in Berkshire, at Finchamstead, a pond flowed with blood, as many true men said who had seen it. And earl Hugh was slain in Anglesey by foreign pirates, and his brother Robert was his heir, as he obtained it from the king. Before the mass of St. Michael [29th Sept.], the heaven appeared as if it were burning all the night through. This was a very oppressive year through manifold unlawful payments, and in consequence of the great rains, which all the year through ceased not, almost all cultivation in the marsh lands was destroyed.

A.D. 1099. This year was the king William, at Midwinter [25th Dec.], in Normandy, and at Easter [10th April] he came hither to this land, and at Whitsuntide [29th May] for the first time he held his court within his new building at Westminster; and there he gave to Ranulf, his chaplain, the bishopric of Durham, who had hitherto guided and guarded all his counsel over all England. Soon after this he went over the sea, and drove the earl Elias out of the [province of] Maine, and afterwards brought it under his power; and so he returned hither to this land at Michaelmas [29th Sept.]. This year also, on the mass day of St. Martin [11th Nov.], the flood of the sea advanced so high and did so much harm, as no man could remember that it ever had done before; and the new moon was on this same day. And Osmond, bishop of Salisbury, departed in Advent.

A.D. 1100. In this year the king William held his court on Christmas at Gloucester, and on Easter [1st April] at Winchester, and on Whitsunday [22d May] at Westminster. And at Whitsunday [22d May] there was seen in Berkshire, at a certain town, blood welling from the earth, as many said who had seen it. And after this, on the morning after Lammas-day [1st Aug.] king William was shot, when hunting, by one of his own men with an arrow, and afterwards brought to Winchester, and there buried in the cathedral: this was in the thirteenth year after he had taken the sovereignty. He was very hard and harsh over his land and his men, and with all his neighbours, and much to be dreaded; and by reason of the counsels of evil men (which were ever pleasing to him), and through his own covetousness, he was constantly irritating the people with his army and with exactions. Therefore, during his days, all right sank, and every unright, both in respect to God and to the world, was elevated. God's churches he humbled, and the bishoprics and abbacies, whose rulers died in his

days, all these he either sold for money, or held in his own hand, and let them out at a rent; because he desired to be the heir of every man, both the clergy and the laity. Thus in the day on which he fell, he had in his own hand the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the bishopric of Winchester, and that of Salisbury, and eleven abbacies, all of which were let out to farm. And (though I may be long in my narrative) all this was hateful to God and to righteous men, and yet all this was common in this land during his time; and in consequence of this he was hateful to nearly all his people and an adversary to God, as his end shows, for he departed in the midst of his unrighteousness, without repentance and satisfaction of any kind. He was slain on the Thursday, and on the morning afterwards he was buried. And after he was buried, the council and they who were nigh at hand, chose his brother Henry as king. And there forthwith he gave the bishopric of Winchester to William Gifford, and after that he went to London; and on the Sunday thereafter he promised to God and all the people, before the altar at Westminster, that he would put down all the things contrary to right which had prevailed in his brother's time, and that he would hold the best laws which had prevailed in any king's days before his time. And immediately after this Maurice, the bishop of London, hallowed him as king, and all in this land submitted to him, and swore oaths to him, and became his vassals. And soon after this, by the advice of the men who were about him, the king caused Ranulph, bishop of Durham, to be taken, and to be brought into the Tower of London, and there kept in ward. Then before Michaelmas [29th Sept.] came Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, here to this land, as king Henry, by the advice of his council, had sent after him, because he had gone out of this land in consequence of the great wrongs which king William had done unto him. And soon hereafter the king took Mahald to wife, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of Margaret the good queen, the kinswoman of king Edward, and of the true royal race of England. And on the mass-day of St. Martin [11th Nov.] she was given to him with great honour at Westminster, and archbishop Anselm wedded her to him, and after that consecrated her as queen. And the archbishop Thomas, of York, died soon after this. Also in this same year, during autumn, came the earl Robert home into Normandy, and the earl Robert of Flanders, and Eustace, earl of Boulogne, from Jerusalem; and as soon as the earl Robert came into Normandy, he was blithely received by all the people, excepting the castles, which were garrisoned with the men of king Henry, against whom he had many a struggle and contest.

A.D. 1101. This year at Christmas king Henry held his court at Westminster, and on Easter [21st April] at Winchester. And soon after this, the head men here of this land entered into evil counsel against the king, as well for their own great untruthfulness as also through Robert, earl of Normandy, who came here to this land in an hostile manner. And the king afterwards sent ships out to sea, to damage his brother and for his hindrance; but some

of these afterwards proved themselves cowards at the time of need, and turned from the king, and betook themselves to the earl Robert. Then at Midsummer [24th June], went the king out to Pevensey, with all his army, against his brother, and there waited for him: but in the midst of this the earl Robert landed at Portsmouth, twelve days before Lammas [21st July], and the king went against him with all his army. But the head men meditated between them; and the brothers were reconciled, upon the understanding that the king should resign all that he held with strength in Normandy against the earl; and that all those who were in England should have their lands again who had formerly lost them through the earl; and that earl Eustace should also have all his hereditary land here in this country; and that the earl Robert every year should have from England three thousand marks of silver; and (mark this!) whichever of the brothers should survive the other, he should be heir of all England, and also of Normandy, unless the deceased should have an heir by lawful marriage. And the twelve men who were the highest on either side confirmed this with an oath; and the earl afterwards dwelt in this land until after Michaelmas [29th Sept.], and his men constantly did much harm wherever they went, the while that the earl continued here in this land. Also, during this year the bishop Ranulf, at Candlemas [2d Feb.], escaped by night out of the Tower of London, where he was in custody; and he went to Normandy. It was chiefly through his instrumentality and inducement, that the earl Robert had this year sought this land in enmity.

A.D. 1102. This year, at the Nativity [25th Dec.], was the king Henry at Westminster, and at Easter [6th April] at Winchester. And soon thereafter there was a disagreement between the king and the earl Robert of Belesme, who held the earldom of Shrewsbury here in this land, which his father, Roger the earl, formerly possessed, and a great dominion in addition, both on this side of the sea and beyond it. And the king went and besieged the castle at Arundel; but when he could not win it so speedily, he caused castles to be made before it, and furnished them with his men; and afterwards with all his army he went to Bridgenorth, and there resided until he had the castle; and he stripped the earl Robert of his land, and deprived him of all that he had in England: and thus the earl departed over the sea, and the army afterwards turned homewards. Then after this was the king at Westminster, on Michaelmas [29th Sept.], and all the chief men of this land, clergy and laity. And the archbishop Anselm held a synod of clergy; and there they fixed many rules which have reference to the Christian faith; and many, both French and English, there lost their [pastoral] staves and jurisdictions which they had obtained with unright, or on which they were living with wrong. And on this same year, on the mass-week of Whitsunday [25th June—2d July], there came thieves, some from Auvergne, some from France, and some from Flanders, and broke into the minster of Peterborough, and therein took much property in gold and in silver, namely, roods, and chalices, and candlesticks.

A.D. 1103. In this year, at Midwinter [25th Dec.], was king Henry at Westminster; and thereafter soon departed bishop William Giffard out of this land, because he would not, against right, accept his ordination from the archbishop Gerard of York. And then at Easter [29th March], the king held his court at Winchester; and after this Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, went to Rome, as had been [agreed between] him and the king. In this year, also, came the earl Robert of Normandy to speak with the king here in this land; and before he departed hence, he released the three thousand marks, which king Henry was bound by agreement to pay him each year. In this year also, at Hamstead in Berkshire, blood was seen [to spring] from the earth. This was a very oppressive year in this land, through manifold taxes, and through the death of cattle, and the destruction of produce, not only in corn but also in all kind of tree-fruit. Also in the morning upon the mass-day of St. Lawrence [14th Nov.], the wind did so much harm here in this land to all fruits as that no man could remember that ever any did before. In this same year Matthias, abbat of Peterborough, died, who lived no longer than one year after he became abbat. After Michaelmas, on the 12th of the kalends of November [21st Oct.] he was received as abbat in procession; and on the same day of the following year he died at Gloucester, and there was buried.

A.D. 1104. In this year, at Christmas [25th Dec.], king Henry held his court at Westminster, and on Easter [17th April] at Winchester, and on Whitsuntide [5th June] again at Westminster. On this year was the first day of Whitsuntide on the nones of June [5th June]; and on the Tuesday [7th June] after this, there appeared four circles at mid-day about the sun, of a white hue, each arranged under the other, as if they had been measured. All who saw it wondered, because they never remembered any such like before. After this there was a reconciliation between the earl Robert of Normandy and Robert de Belesme, whom king Henry had formerly deprived of his land and driven from England; and through their reconciliation the king of England and the earl of Normandy became enemies. And the king of England sent his people over the sea into Normandy, and the chief men in that land received them; and in their treachery to their lord the earl, they lodged them in their castles, whence they did many injuries to the earl by their harryings and burnings. Also in this year William, earl of Moreton, went hence from this land into Normandy; but after he had gone, he wrought against the king, in consequence of which the king stripped him of all he had, and took his land from him which he had here in this country. It is not easy to describe the miseries of this land, which, at this time, it was suffering through numerous and manifold wrongs and taxes, which never ceased nor were mitigated; and wherever the king went there was full harrying by his court upon his wretched people; and in the midst of these there occurred frequently burnings and manslaughters. All this was enough to anger God, and to oppress this miserable nation.

A.D. 1105. This year, on the Nativity [25th Dec.], king Henry held his court at Windsor; and after this, during Lent, he went

over the sea into Normandy, against his brother, earl Robert. And during the time he tarried there, he won from his brother Caen and Baieux; and almost all the castles and the chief men on that land were reduced under him; and in the autumn he returned here to this land. And what he had won in Normandy afterwards continued in peace and in subjection to himself, excepting those who dwelt anywhere near the earl William of Moreton; those he continually harassed to the utmost of his power, for the land which he had lost here in this country. And then before Christmas [25th Dec.] came Robert de Belesme here to this land to the king. This was a very oppressive year in this country, through the destruction of the produce, and through manifold exactions, which never ceased, as well before the king crossed over [into Normandy], as while he was there, and after he returned thence.

A.D. 1106. This year was the king Henry at the Nativity [25th Dec.] at Westminster, and there he held his court; and at that time Robert de Belesme went in unfriendly manner from the king out of this land into Normandy. After this, before Lent [10th Feb.], was the king at Northampton, and the earl Robert, his brother, came thither to him from Normandy, and because the king would not give him that which he had taken from him in Normandy, they parted from each other in ill will, and the earl went over the sea soon again. On the Friday in the first week in Lent, on the 14th of the kalends of March [16th Feb.], in the evening, appeared a remarkable star, and for a long time thereafter it was seen during every evening shining for a while. The star appeared in the south-west; it seemed little and obscure, but the light which proceeded from it was very bright, and appeared like an immense beam shining north-east; and some evenings it appeared as if the beam was moving backwards in a direction opposite to the star. Some people said that at this time they saw more unknown stars; but we do not write about it more openly because that we ourselves did not see it. On the night on the morrow of which was the Lord's Supper, that is, on the Thursday before Easter [22d March], two moons were seen in the heavens before the day, the one in the east and the other in the west, both full; and this same day was the fourteenth of the moon. At Easter [25th March], the king was at Bath, and on Whitsunday [13th May], at Salisbury, because he would not hold his court when he was preparing to cross the sea. After this, before August, the king went over the sea into Normandy; and nearly all they who were in that land bent to his will, excepting Robert de Belesme and the earl of Moreton, and a few others of the chief men, who still held with the earl of Normandy. In consequence of this the king went afterwards with an army, and beset a castle of the earl of Moreton, called Tunercebrai. While the king beset the castle, the earl Robert of Normandy came upon the king with his army, on the eve of the mass of St. Michael [28th Sept.], and with him were Robert de Belesme, and William, earl of Moreton, and all those who would go with them; but the strength and the victory were the king's. Then was the earl of Normandy captured, and the earl of

Moreton, and Robert de Stulteville, and afterwards sent to England, and brought into confinenent. Robert de Belesme was there banished, and William Crispin taken, and many with him. Eadgar, etheling, who a little while before had gone from the king to the earl, was also captured there, whom the king afterwards let go free. Then the king passed over all that was in Normandy, and placed it according to his will and in his power.

In this year also there were very heavy and continual struggles between the emperor of Saxony and his son; and in the midst of these conflicts the father died, and the son succeeded to the empire.

A.D. 1107. In Christmas, in this year, king Henry was in Normandy, and he arranged and settled that land according to his power; and after Lent he came here to this land, and on Easter [18th April], he held his court at Windsor, and at Whitsunday [2d June], at Westminster. And afterwards, in the beginning of August, he was again at Westminster; and there he gave and settled the bishoprics and abbacies as well in England as in Normandy, without [consulting] his nobles and his court. Of these there were so many that there was no man who remembered that ever before so many were given away at one time. And at the same time, among the others who received abbacies, Ernulf (who before had been prior of Canterbury) succeeded to the abbacy of Peterborough. This was exactly about seven years after king Henry had accepted the kingdom, and it was the one-and-fortieth year since the French gained possession of this land. Many said that they saw various tokens in the moon this year, and its light increasing and decreasing against nature. In this year died Maurice, bishop of London, and Robert, abbat of St. Edmundsbury, and Richard, abbat of Ely. In this year also departed the king Edgar in Scotland, on the ides of January [13th Jan.], and Alexander his brother succeeded to the kingdom, as this king Henry gave him permission.

A.D. 1108. In this year was the king Henry on the Nativity at Westminster, and on Easter [5th April] at Winchester, and at Pentecost [24th May] again at Westminster; and after this, before August, he went into Normandy. And Philip, the king of France, died upon the nones of August [5th Aug.], and his son Louis succeeded to the kingdom. And there were after this many conflicts between the king of France and the king of England, while he [Henry] continued in Normandy. In this year also departed the archbishop Girard of York, before Pentecost [24th May], and Thomas was afterwards appointed thereto.

A.D. 1109. This year was the king Henry at Christmas and at Easter [25th April] in Normandy; and before Whitsuntide [13th June] he came hither to this land and held his court at Westminster. There were accomplished the conditions and the oaths were sworn for the giving of his daughter to the emperor. In this year were very many thunder-storms, and these were very awful ones; and the archbishop Anselm of Canterbury departed on the eleventh of the kalends of April [22d March]; and the first day of Easter [25th April] was on Litania Major.

A.D. 1110. In this year the king Henry held his court on Christmas at Westminster, and on Easter [10th April] he was at Marlborough, and at Pentecost [29th May], for the first time, he held his court at the New Windsor. In this year, the king sent his daughter, before Lent [23d Feb.], with manifold treasures over the sea, and gave her to the emperor. On the fifth night in the month of May, the moon appeared in the evening, shining brightly, and afterwards by little and little its light waned; so that early in the night it was so entirely extinguished that neither light, nor circle, nor anything at all of it was visible, and so it continued almost until day, and then it appeared shining full and bright. On this same day it was fourteen days old. During all the night the sky was very clear, and the stars were shining very bright over all the heavens, and the fruits of the trees were very much destroyed this night by the frost. Afterwards, in the month of June, there appeared a star in the north-east, and its light proceeded before it towards the south-west. Thus was it seen for many nights; and later in the night, after it had risen higher, it was seen going backwards towards the north-west. In this year, Philip de Brause, and William Mallet, and William Bainard, were deprived of their lands. In this year also died earl Elias, he who held Maine of the king Henry in fee-tail;[1] and after his death the earl of Anjou succeeded to it, and held it against the king. This was a very oppressive year in consequence of the tax which the king took for his daughter's portion, and through unseasonable weather, in consequence of which the fruits of the earth were much destroyed, and the fruits of the trees almost all perished over this land. And this year the works were first begun at the new minster at Chertsey.

A.D. 1111. This year king Henry did not wear his crown at Christmas, nor on Easter [2d April], nor on Pentecost [21st May]; and in August he went over the sea into Normandy in consequence of the disagreement which some had with him concerning the boundaries of France; and more particularly on account of the earl of Anjou, who held Maine against him: and after he came over thither, they mutually perpetrated many evil counsels and burnings on each other. In this year also died the earl Robert of Flanders, and his son Baldwin succeeded thereto. In this year the winter was very long, and it was a heavy and a severe time; and the fruits of the earth were in consequence much damaged; and there arose the greatest murrain of cattle that any man could remember.

A.D. 1112. King Henry remained all this year in Normandy in consequence of the feud which he had with France, and with the earl of Anjou, who held Maine against him. And while he was there he deprived of their lands the earl of Evreux, and William Crispin, and drove them out of Normandy; and he gave his land to Philip de Braus, whom he had previously deprived of his land; and he caused Robert de Belesme to be seized and put into prison.

[1] The rendering here adopted is that of Ingram, which is allowed to stand, although unsatisfactory, no better explanation having as yet occurred. Gibson conjectures that the text is faulty, and candidly owns his inability to explain the term in question.

This was a very good year, and very productive in wood and in field; but it was a very heavy time and sorrowful, in consequence of an excessive pestilence among men.

A.D. 1113. This year king Henry was in Normandy at the Nativity, and Easter [6th April], and Pentecost [25th May]; and after that, in the summer, he sent to this land Robert de Belesme, to the castle at Wareham; and soon afterwards he himself came hither to this land.

A.D. 1114. This year king Henry held his court during the Nativity at Windsor, and during this year he afterwards held no court. And at Midsummer [24th June], he went with an army into Wales; and the Welsh came and made peace with the king; and he caused that castles should be built therein. And after this, during the month of September, he went over the sea into Normandy. This year, towards the end of May, a wonderful star was seen, having long rays, shining many nights. Also, this same year, there was so great an ebb everywhere on one day, such as no man remembered heretofore; so much so that people passed, on horseback and foot, over the Thames, to the east of the bridge of London. This year there were very great winds in the month of October, but it was exceedingly high on the night of the octave of St. Martin [18th Nov.]; and that was everywhere exhibited both in wood and in town. Also, in this year, the king gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to Ralph, who was before bishop of Rochester; and Thomas, archbishop of York, died, and Thurstan succeeded thereto, who had before been the king's chaplain. At this same time the king went towards the sea, and wished to pass over, but the weather hindered him; but during the while he sent his writ to the abbat Ernulf of Peterborough, and commanded that he should come to him speedily, because he wished to speak to him privately. When he came to him he constrained him to accept the bishopric of Rochester: and the archbishops and the bishops and nobility who were in England agreed with the king: and he for a long time refused, but it did not long continue. And the king commanded the archbishop to conduct him to Canterbury, and consecrate him bishop, whether he would or no. This was done in the town called Burne, on the 17th day of the kalends of October [14th Sept.]. When the monks of Peterborough heard this said, then were they so sorry as they never had been before, because he was a very good man and gentle, and did much good within and without while he resided there. May Almighty God ever dwell with him. Soon after this the king gave the abbacy to a monk of Sieyes, called John, at the request of the archbishop of Canterbury. And soon after this the king sent him and the archbishop of Canterbury to Rome, after the archbishop's pall; and there was with him a monk also, whose name was Warner, and the archdeacon John, the archbishop's nephew. And there they succeeded well. This was done on the 12th day of the kalends of October [20th Sept.], in the town called Rugenore; and on the same day the king went on ship-board at Portsmouth.

A.D. 1115. This year, at the Nativity, king Henry was in

Normandy, and during the time he was there he caused that all the chief men in Normandy should make submission and swear oaths to his son William, whom he had by his queen. And after this, in the month of July, he came again into this land. This year was the winter so severe with snow and with frost that no man who was then alive ever remembered one more severe previously, and in consequence there was an immense pestilence of cattle. This year pope Paschalis sent to this land the pall to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury; and he received it with great worship at his archiepiscopal see at Canterbury. Abbat Anselm brought it hither from Rome; (he was the nephew of archbishop Anselm;) and the abbat John of Peterborough.

A.D. 1116. This year king Henry was at St. Alban's at the Nativity, and there he caused that minster to be consecrated; and at Easter [2d April], he was at Odiham. And there was also this year a very heavy-timed winter, and strong and long, for cattle, and everything. And soon after Easter the king went over sea into Normandy; and there arose many plots and robberies, and castles were taken between France and Normandy. Most of this discord was because king Henry aided his nephew, the earl Theodbald of Blois, who was then waging war against his lord Louis, king of France. This was a very oppressive and destructive year upon the fruits of the earth, through the excessive rains which came down before August, and they exceedingly grieved and oppressed [people] until Candlemas came. In this year, also, there was such a failure in mast as men had never heard tell of in all this land nor in Wales. This land and people were also this year frequently and sorely oppressed through the taxes which the king took, as well within towns as without. In this same year all the minster of Peterborough was burnt, and all the houses, excepting the chapter-house and the dormitory; and together with them all the greater part of the town was burnt. All this happened on a Friday, which was the 2d of the nones of August [4th Aug.].

A.D. 1117. During all this year king Henry remained in Normandy, in consequence of the hostility of the king of France and his other neighbours. And then, towards the summer, came the king of France and the earl of Flanders with him, with an army into Normandy. And they remained one night therein, and in the morning, without having fought, they again departed. And Normandy was very much oppressed as well through taxes as the army which king Henry gathered there against [his enemies]. This nation was also strongly oppressed through this same thing, namely, through manifold exactions. In this year also, on the night of the kalends of December [1st Dec.], were excessive storms, together with thunder and lightning, and rain, and hail. And in the night of the third of the ides of December [11th Dec.], the moon became, during a long period of the night, as if it were all bloody, and afterwards it became obscured. Also on the night of the 17th of the kalends of January [16th Dec.], the heaven appeared very red, as if it were burnt. And on the octave of St. John the Evangelist [1st July], was a great earthquake in Lombardy; in consequence of which

many minsters and towns and houses fell, and did much harm to men. This was a very ruinous year for corn, through the rains, which ceased not nearly the whole year. And the abbat Gilbert of Westminster died on the 8th of the ides of December [8th Dec.], and Faricius, abbot of Abingdon, on the 7th of the kalends of March [23d Feb.]; and in this same year. . . . .

A.D. 1118. All this year king Henry remained in Normandy in consequence of the hostility of the king of France, and of the earl of Anjou, and of the earl of Flanders. And the earl of Flanders was wounded in Normandy, and being so wounded he went into Flanders. The king was much oppressed in consequence of this war, and he lost much, both in money and in land; and most of all his own men oppressed him, who frequently turned from him and betrayed him, and turned to his enemies; and to the injury of the king, and in treachery towards him, they surrendered their castles. England dearly bought all this in consequence of the manifold taxes, which ceased not all this year. On this year, during the week of the Epiphany, one evening, there was much lightning and immediate thunder after it. And the queen Matilda died at Westminster on the kalends of May [1st May], and there she was buried; and the earl Robert of Mellent died also this year. Also this year, on St. Thomas's mass [21st Dec.], there was a great wind, so exceedingly violent, as that no man then living could remember a greater, and that was everywhere seen, as well in houses as also in trees. This year also departed pope Paschalis; and John of Gaeta, whose other name was Gelasius, succeeded to the popedom.

A.D. 1119. During all this year king Henry remained in Normandy, and he was exceedingly distressed by the hostility of the king of France, and also of his own men, who departed from him with treachery, and frequently turned from him, until the two kings met together in Normandy with their forces. There was the king of France put to flight, and all his best men taken; and afterwards many of the men of king Henry submitted to him and accorded with him, who had previously been against him, along with their castles, and some of these castles he took by assault. This year William, the son of king Henry and queen Matilda, went into Normandy to his father; and then there was given to him and wedded to wife the daughter of the earl of Anjou. On Michaelmas-eve [28th Sept.], there was a great earthquake in some places here in this land, though chiefly in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. In this same year died the pope Gelasius, on this side of the mountains [the Alps], and he was buried at Cluny, and after him the archbishop of Vienne was chosen pope, whose name was Callistus. Afterwards at the festival of St. Luke the Evangelist [18th Oct.], he came into France to Rheims, and there held a council; and the archbishop Thurstan of York went thither, and the king forbade him any return whatever into England, because that he, contrary to justice, and against the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, and against the king's will, had accepted his dignity from the pope; and thus he was deprived of his archbishopric, and went

towards Rome with the pope. Also in this year the earl Baldwin of Flanders died of the wounds which he had received in Normandy, and after him Charles, the son of his paternal uncle, (who was the son of Cnute, the holy king of Denmark,) succeeded to the earldom.

A.D. 1120. This year the king of England and the king of France were reconciled; and after this reconciliation all king Henry's own men accorded with him in Normandy, as also the earl of Flanders and the earl of Ponthieu. After this time the king Henry settled his castles and his land in Normandy after his own will; and thus before Advent [28th Nov.], he came hither to this land. And in the passage there were drowned William and Richard, the king's two sons, and Richard earl of Chester, and Ottuel, his brother, and very many of the king's court, stewards, and chamberlains, and butlers, and men of different offices, and an innumerable number of common people besides. The death of these people was in a twofold respect painful to their friends; one was that they so suddenly lost this life, the other was that so few of their bodies were found anywhere afterwards. This year the light came twice to the sepulchre of the Lord in Jerusalem; once at Easter [18th April], and the second time at the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], as credible persons said who came from thence. And the archbishop Thurstan of York was accorded with the king through the pope, and came hither to this land, and received his bishopric, although this was much against the will of the archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 1121. This year at Christmas king Henry was at Brampton; and after this, before Candlemass [2d Feb.], at Windsor, there was given to him as his wife Athelis, and she was afterwards consecrated queen; she was the daughter of the duke of Louvain. And the moon was eclipsed on the night of the nones of April [5th April], being in her fourteenth day. And at Easter [10th April], the king was at Berkley; and after that, at Pentecost [29th May], he held a great court at Westminster, and afterwards, during the summer, he went with an army into Wales. And the Welsh came against him, and they came to an agreement with the king according to his will. This year the earl of Anjou came from Jerusalem into his own land, and afterwards he sent hither to this land and caused his daughter to be brought, who had previously been given to wife to William the king's son. And on the night of the vigil of the Natalis Domini [24th Dec.], there was a very great wind over all this land, and that was in many things evidently seen.

A.D. 1122. This year king Henry, at Christmas, was at Norwich, and at Easter [26th March], he was at Northampton. [1]And on the Lenten-tide before that the town of Gloucester was burnt during the time the monks were singing the mass, and the deacon had begun the Gospel "Præteriens Jesus" [2] just as the fire came

[1] The whole of this narrative, respecting the conflagration at Gloucester, is an addition by a different hand.

[2] This is the Gospel for the Wednesday in the fourth week in Lent, which, in the year 1122, would fall on March 8.

from the upper part of the steeple; and it entirely burnt the whole of the minster, and all the treasures which were there within it, excepting a few books and three mass vestments. This was on the 8th of the ides of March [8th March]. And after this, on the Tuesday after Palm Sunday [21st March], there was a very great wind on the 11th [12th] of the kalends of April; thereafter came many tokens wide over England, and many prodigies were both seen and heard. And on the night of the 13th of the kalends of August [25th July], there was a very great earthquake over all Somersetshire and in Gloucestershire. After this, on the 6th of the ides of September [8th Sept.], which was on the mass-day of [the Nativity of] St. Mary, there was a very great wind from the morning of the day until the black night. This same year died Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury; that was on the 13th of the kalends of November [20th Oct.]. After this were many shipmen at sea and on the water; and they said that they saw on the north-east along the earth a great and broad fire, and it increased speedily upwards in extent towards the sky, and the sky opened itself in four parts and fought there against it, as if it would extinguish it; but, nevertheless, the fire extended up to the heaven. They saw that fire in the dawn of the day, and it continued until it was quite light. This was on the 7th of the ides of December [7th Dec.].

A.D. 1123. This year at Christmas king Henry was at Dunstable, and there came to him the ambassadors of the earl of Anjou. From thence he went to Woodstock, and his bishops and his whole court with him. Then happened it on a Wednesday, which was on the fourth of the ides of January [10th Jan.], that the king was riding in his deer-fold, and the bishop Roger of Salisbury was on one side of him, and Roger Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, on the other side of him, and they rode there in conversation. Then fell down the bishop of Lincoln, and said, "Lord king, I am dying;" and the king alighted down from his horse and raised him up in his arms, and caused that he should be carried home to his residence, and there he soon died; and they carried him to Lincoln with great honour, and buried him before the altar of St. Mary; and the bishop of Chester, whose name was Robert Pecceth, buried him. Soon after this the king sent his writ over all England, and summoned all his bishops, and his abbots, and his thanes to come to his witena-gemot on Candlemas-day [2d Feb.], to meet him at Gloucester, and they did so. When they were there gathered, then the king enjoined them to choose for themselves an archbishop of Canterbury, whomsoever they would, and that he would grant them this. Then the bishops spoke among themselves and said that never more would they have a man from the monastic order as an archbishop over them; and they went all together to the king and entreated him that they might choose from the clerical order whomsoever they would for archbishop; and the king granted them this. All this had been done beforehand by the bishop of Salisbury, and by the bishop of Lincoln before he died; because they never had loved the rule of monks, but always were

opposed to the monks and their rule. And the prior and the monks of Canterbury, and all the others of the monastic order who were there, opposed it for full two days, but it prevailed nothing; for the bishop of Salisbury was strong and ruled all England, and was opposed to them in everything that he might and could. Then they chose a clerk named William, of Curboil; he was canon of a minster named Chiche, and they brought him before the king, and the king gave him the archbishopric, and all the bishops received him; but almost all the monks, and the earls, and the thanes, who were there, refused to accept him.

At this same time departed the messengers of the earl [of Anjou] from the king in hostile manner, caring nothing for his goodwill. At that same time a legate came from Rome, named Henry; he was the abbat of St. John's minster of Angelo, and he came after the Rome-scot. And he told the king that it was contrary to right that a clerk should be set over monks; and as they had before chosen an archbishop in their chapter according to right [so should they do again]; but the king would not set it aside, for the love of the bishop of Salisbury. Then went the archbishop soon after this to Canterbury, and there he was received, though it was against their will, and there was he soon consecrated as bishop by the bishop of London, and bishop Ernulf of Rochester, and bishop William Giffard of Winchester, and bishop Bernard of Wales [St. David's], and bishop Roger of Salisbury. Then soon in the Lent the archbishop went to Rome after his pall, and with him went the bishop Bernard of Wales [St. David's], and Sefred, abbat of Glastonbury, and Anselm, abbat of St. Edmund's, and John, archdeacon of Canterbury, and Girard, who was the clerk of the king's court. At that same time the archbishop of York, Thurstan, went to Rome by the pope's commandment, and he arrived there three days before the archbishop of Canterbury came, and he was there received with great worship. Then came the archbishop of Canterbury, and was there full seven days before he could come into the pope's presence; and that was because the pope had been given to understand that he had accepted the archbishopric against the monks of the minster, and against right. But that which overcometh all the world overcame Rome, and that is, gold and silver, and the pope relented and gave him his pall. And the archbishop swore subjection to him in all those matters which the pope laid on him by the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the pope sent him home with his blessing. While the archbishop was out of the land the king gave the bishopric of Bath to the queen's chancellor, named Godefreith; he was born in Louvain; and that was on the day of the Annunciation of St. Mary [25th March], at Woodstock. Soon after this the king went to Winchester, and was there all the Easter-tide [15th April], and while he was there he gave the bishopric of Lincoln to a clerk named Alexander; he was the nephew of the bishop of Salisbury. This he did entirely for the love of the bishop. Then went the king thence to Portsmouth, and lay there quite past the week of Whitsuntide [3d June]; and then, as soon as he had a [fair] wind

he went over into Normandy, and then he committed all England to Roger, bishop of Salisbury, to keep and rule. Then was the king all this year in Normandy, and then great discord grew between him and his thanes, so that the earl Walaram of Mellent, and Almari, and Hugh of Montfort, and William of Romare, and many others went from him, and held their castles against him. And the king held strongly against them, and the same year he won from Walaram the castle of Pont Audemer and of Hugh Montfort; and after this he sped the longer the better. This same year, before the bishop of Lincoln came to his bishopric, nearly all the city of Lincoln was burnt, and an innumerable number of people were consumed, men and women; and so much harm was there done that no man could know it, or recount it. And that was on the 14th of the kalends of June [19th May].

A.D. 1124. All this year the king Henry was in Normandy, and that was in consequence of the great discord that he had with king Louis of France, and with the earl of Anjou, and most of all with his own men. Then it came to pass on the day of the Annunciation of St. Mary [25th March], that the earl Waleram of Mellent went from his own castle called Belmont to Watteville, another castle of his. With him went Almari, the steward of the king of France, and Hugh the son of Gervase, and Hugh of Montfort, and many other good knights. Then came against them the king's knights from all the castles that were thereabouts, and fought with them, and put them to flight; and they took the earl Waleram, and Hugh the son of Gervaise, and Hugh of Montfort, and twenty other knights, and they brought them to the king; and the king caused the earl Waleram and Hugh the son of Gervaise to be put into custody in the castle of Rouen, and Hugh of Montfort he sent to England, and caused him to be put in evil bonds in the castle of Gloucester; and of the others, as many as he thought good he sent in custody north and south to his castles. After this the king went and won all the castles of the earl Waleram that were in Normandy, and all the others which his enemies held against him. All this enmity was on account of William, the son of earl Robert of Normandy. The same William had taken to wife the younger daughter of Fulco, earl of Anjou, and therefore the king of France and all the earls held with him, and all the noblemen; and they said that the king kept his brother Robert in captivity wrongfully, and unjustly banished his son William out of Normandy.

In this same year there were many unpropitious seasons in England with respect to corn and all produce, so that between Christmas and Candlemas [2d Feb.], the seed-wheat sufficient for sowing an acre (namely, two seed-lips) was sold for six shillings; and the barley, that is three seed-lips, for six shillings, and the seed for an acre of oats for four shillings. That was because there was little corn, and the penny was so bad that the men who had at market a pound could not on any consideration procure for it in exchange twelvepence.

This same year died the blessed bishop Earnulf, of Rochester

(who before had been abbot of Peterborough), and that was on the ides of March [15th March]. And after this died the king Alexander of Scotland, on the 9th of the kalends of May [23d April]; and his brother David, who was earl of Northamptonshire, succeeded to the kingdom, and then he had at the same time both the kingdom of Scotland and this earldom in England. And on the 19th of the kalends of January [14th Dec.], died the pope of Rome, named Calistus, and Honorius succeeded to the popedom.

In this same year, after St. Andrew's-mass [30th Nov.] and before Christmas, Ralph Basset and the king's thanes held a witena-gemot in Leicestershire, at Hundhoge, and there they hanged so many thieves as never more had been hanged before; so that in a little while there were as many as four-and-forty, and six men were deprived of their eyes and emasculated. Many credible men said that many of these were punished with great injustice; but our Lord God Almighty, who seeth and knoweth every hidden thing, He seeth that this wretched people is oppressed with all unrighteousness. In the first place they are plundered of their property, and afterwards they are slain. This was a full heavy year. The man who had any substance was harried of it with heavy taxes and heavy pleas; the man who had not died of hunger.

A.D. 1125. This year the king Henry sent before Christmas from Normandy to England, and commanded that all the mint men who were in England should be deprived of their limbs, namely, of each the right hand, and be emasculated; and this was because that the man who had a pound could not expend a penny of it at market. And the bishop Roger of Salisbury sent over all England, and commanded all of them that they should come to Winchester at Christmas. When they were come thither, then they were taken one by one, and each man was deprived of his right hand and emasculated. All this was done within the Twelfth Night [6th Jan.], and all this was done with much justice, because that they had ruined all the land with their great deception which they had introduced.

In this same year the pope of Rome sent to this land a cardinal, who was named John of Crema; he came first to the king in Normandy, and the king received him with great honour, and he afterwards committed him to the archbishop W[illiam] of Canterbury, and he conducted him to Canterbury, and he was there received with great honour, and with a great procession, and he sang the high-mass on Easter-day [29th March], at Christ's altar. And afterwards he went over all England to all the bishoprics and abbeys which were in this land, and everywhere he was received with honour, and all persons gave him great honour and respect. And afterwards he held his council at London full three days on the Nativity of St. Mary, in September [8th Sept.], with archbishops, and diocesan bishops, and abbats, and clergy, and laity, and there he enjoined the same laws which archbishop Anselm had before enjoined, and many others; but it availed little. And soon

after Michaelmas [29th Sept.] he went thence over the sea, and so to Rome; and the archbishop William of Canterbury, and the archbishop Thurstan of York, and the bishop A[lexander] of Lincoln, and J[ohn] the bishop of Lothian, and G[aufridus] abbat of St. Albans, and there they were received by pope Honorius with great honour, and they were there all that winter. In this same year was so great a flood on the festival of St. Lawrence [10th Aug.], that many towns and men were drowned, and bridges were broken, and corn and meadows entirely ruined, and famine and death of men and cattle; and among all produce of the ground there was so great unseasonableness as had not been for many years before. And on this same year died the abbat John of Peterborough, on the 2d of the ides of October [14th Oct.].

A.D. 1126. All this year was the king Henry in Normandy, until after harvest; then came he to this land betwixt the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.] and Michaelmas [29th Sept.]. With him came the queen and his daughter, whom he before had given to wife to the emperor Henry of Lorraine. And he brought with him the earl Waleram and Hugh the son of Gervaise, and he sent the earl to Bridgenorth in custody, and thence he afterwards sent him to Wallingford, and Hugh to Windsor, and he caused him to be put in hard bonds. And then after Michaelmas [29th Sept.] came David, the Scottish king, from Scotland, hither to his land; and the king Henry received him with great honour, and he continued all that year in this land. In this same year the king caused his brother Robert to be taken from Roger, the bishop of Salisbury, and he consigned him to his son Robert, earl of Gloucester, and caused him to be led to Bristol and placed there in the castle. All this was done by the advice of his daughter, and through her uncle David the Scottish king.

A.D. 1127. This year king Henry held his court on Christmas at Windsor, and there was the Scottish king David, and all the chief men, clerks and laymen, which were in England. And there he caused the archbishops, and bishops, and abbats and earls, and all the thanes who were there, to confirm by oath the possession of England and Normandy to his daughter Aethelic [Alice], after his life; she had formerly been the wife of the emperor of Saxony. And he sent her afterwards to Normandy, and with her went her brother Robert, earl of Gloucester, and Brian the son of the earl Alein Fergant, and he caused her to marry the son of the earl of Anjou, named Geoffrey Martel. Nevertheless all the French and English disliked this: but the king did it to have peace with the earl of Anjou, and to have help against his nephew William. In the Lent [16th Feb.] of this same year, the earl Charles of Flanders was slain in a church, where he was prostrate and was praying to God before the altar, in the midst of the mass, by his own people. And the king of France brought William, the son of the earl of Normandy, and gave him the earldom; and the people of the land rejected him. This same William had previously taken to wife the daughter of the earl of Anjou; but they were afterwards separated on account of consanguinity: this was entirely through

king Henry of England. After this he took to wife the sister of the wife of the king of France, and in consequence the king gave him the earldom of Flanders.

This same year he gave the abbacy of Peterborough to an abbat named Henry of Poitou, who kept in possession his abbacy of St. John of Angeli; and all the archbishops and bishops said that it was against right, and that he might not have two abbacies in possession. But the same Henry gave the king to understand that he had resigned his abbacy, in consequence of the great dispeace that was in that land; and that he had done this through the consent and permission of the pope of Rome, and through that of the abbat of Cluny, and because he was legate of the Rome-scot. But nevertheless, it was not entirely so, but he wished to hold both in possession: and so he did as long as it was God's will. While in his condition as a cleric he was Bishop of Soissons, afterwards he became a monk at Cluny, and afterwards prior of the same minster, and afterwards he became prior of Savigni, because he was a relative of the king of England, and of the earl of Poitou: then the earl gave him the abbacy of St. John's minster of Angeli. Afterwards through his great craft he obtained the archbishopric of Besançon, and he had it in possession for three days, and then he lost it by right, because he had before obtained it with unright. After this he obtained the bishopric of Saintes, which was five miles from his abbacy; and that he had in possession nearly a week; the abbat of Cluny brought him thence as he had before done from Besançon. Then he bethought himself that if he could be firmly rooted in England, he might have all that he wished. Then he besought the king, and said to him that he was an old man, and a broken down man, and that he could not endure the great acts of injustice and hostility which were in their land; and he made his entreaty [to the king,] personally and by all his friends, namely, for the abbat of Peterborough; and the king obtained it for him, because he was his relative, and because he was a chief person to swear the oaths and to bear witness on the occasion when the son of the earl of Normandy and the daughter of the earl of Anjou were separated on account of consanguinity. Thus miserably was he gifted with the abbacy, betwixt Christmas and Candlemas [2d Feb.], at London; and so he went with the king to Winchester, and thence he came to Peterborough, and there he dwelt exactly as a drone does in a hive. All that the bees carry inward the drones devour and drag outwards; and so did he. All that he might take, within and without, from learned and from ignorant, he sent over the sea; and he did no good there, and left no good there. Let no man think it wonderful that we do not tell the truth, for it was very well known over all the land, that as soon as ever he came there (which was upon the Sunday when they sing "Exsurge, quare O Domine!") [6th Feb.] then immediately after many persons saw and heard many hunters hunting. The hunters were swart, and large, and hideous; and their hounds were all black, and broad-eyed and fearful: and they rode upon black horses and on black goats. This was seen in the very park itself in the town of Peterborough, and in all the woods which extended from

that same town to Stamford. And the monks heard the horn blown which they blew in the night. Trustworthy men who observed them during the night, said that, as it appeared to them, there might well be about twenty or thirty horn-blowers. This was seen and heard from the time that he [the abbat] came thither all that Lenten tide constantly on to Easter [3d April]. This was his coming in; of his outgoing we cannot as yet say anything. May God provide!

A.D. 1128. All this year was the king Henry in Normandy in consequence of the disagreement which was between him and his nephew, the earl of Flanders. But the earl was wounded in a fight by a rustic; and being thus wounded he went to St. Bertin's minster, and soon there became a monk, and he lived five days after this, and then he died and was there buried. May God honour his soul! And this was on the 6th of the kalends of August [27th July]. And this same year departed the bishop of Durham, Randulf Passeflambard, and there he was buried on the nones of September [5th Sept.].

And this same year departed the before-mentioned abbat Henry home to his own minster, to Poitou, by the king's leave. He gave the king to understand that he would entirely abandon the minster and the land, and there dwell with him in England at the minster of Peterborough. But nevertheless, it was not so. He did this because he wished to be there by his great wiles, if it were a twelvemonth or more, and afterwards return again. May Almighty God have his mercy upon that wretched place!

This same year there came from Jerusalem Hugh [master] of the Temple to the king in Normandy, and the king received him with great honour, and gave him great presents in gold and in silver; and afterwards he sent him to England, and there he was received by all good men, and they all gave presents to him; and in Scotland in like manner. And moreover they sent to Jerusalem great wealth in gold and in silver. And he invited people out to Jerusalem; and there went along with him and after him so many people, as more had never done before since the first expedition during the days of pope Urban. Yet it availed little. He said that a full fight had been settled between the Christians and the heathen; but when they came thither, then was it nothing but leasing. Thus miserably was all that people distressed.

A.D. 1129. During this year the king sent to England after the earl Waleram, and after Hugh, the son of Gerveis, and there they ransomed them. And Hugh went home to his own land, to France, and Waleram remained with the king; and the king gave him all his land, excepting only his castle. Afterwards came the king to England, during the harvest, and the earl came with him; and they became as good friends as they had before been enemies.

Soon after this, by the king's counsel and by his leave, William, the archbishop of Canterbury, sent over all England, and summoned bishops, and abbats, and archdeacons, and all the priors, monks, and canons that were in all the cells in England, and all to whom it belonged to take care of and to look after the Christian faith, that they should all come to London at Michaelmas [29th Sept.], and that there they should speak about all God's rights. When they came

thither, then began the conference on Monday [30th Sept.], and continued until the Friday [4th Oct.]. When it all came forth, then was it all about archdeacons' wives, and about priests' wives, that they should abandon them by St. Andrew's Mass [30th Nov.]; and that he who would not do this should forego his church, and his house, and his home, and should never more have any claim thereto. The archbishop of Canterbury, William, enjoined this, and all the diocesan bishops who were then in England; but the king gave them all leave to go home, and so they went home; and thus the canon availed nothing. All kept their wives, by the king's leave, as they had hitherto done.

This same year departed the bishop of Winchester, William Giffard, and there he was buried, on the eighth of the kalends of February [25th Jan.]; and after Michaelmas [29th Sept.] the king Henry gave the bishopric to his nephew Henry, abbat of Glastonbury, and he was consecrated bishop by William, the archbishop of Canterbury, on the fifteenth of the kalends of December [17th Nov.]. This same year departed pope Honorius. Before he was well dead, there were chosen two popes: the one was named Peter; he was a monk of Cluny, and he was of the family of the richest men in Rome; and with him held the people of Rome and the duke of Sicily. The other was named Gregory. He was a clerk; and he was driven out of Rome by the other pope and by his kinsmen. With him held the emperor of Saxony, and the king of France, and the king Henry of England, and all those on this side of the mountains [the Alps]. Now this became so great a prodigy in Christendom as had never been seen before. May Christ give counsel for his wretched people! In this same year, on the night of the festival of St. Nicolas [6th Dec.], a little before day, there was a great earthquake.

A.D. 1130. On this year was the minster of Canterbury hallowed by the archbishop William, on the day of the 4th of the nones of May [4th May]. There were there these bishops: John of Rochester, Gilbert Universalis of London, Henry of Winchester, Alexander of Lincoln, Roger of Salisbury, Simon of Worcester, Roger of Coventry, Godefreith of Bath, Eovrard of Norwich, Sigefrid of Chichester, Bernard of Saint David's, Audoenus of Evreux, of Normandy, John of Saeis. On the 4th day after this [8th May], the king Henry was at Rochester; and the town was nearly consumed; and the archbishop William hallowed St. Andrew's minster, and the aforesaid bishops with him. And the king Henry went over the sea into Normandy, in autumn. In this same year came the abbat Henry of Angeli, after Easter, to Peterborough, and said that he had entirely abandoned that minster. After him came the abbat of Cluni, named Peter, to England, by the king's permission, and was well received, wheresoever he came, with great worship. He came to Peterborough, and there the abbat Henry promised him that he would obtain for him the minster of Peterborough, that it should be in subjection to Cluni. But it is said, as a proverb, "The hedge remains, and separates the fields." May God Almighty bring to nought evil counsels! And soon thereafter went the abbat of Cluni home to his country.

[1] This year was Anagus slain by the army of the Scots, and there was a great multitude slain with him. There was God's justice executed upon him, for that he was entirely forsworn.

A.D. 1131. This year, after Christmas, on a Monday night, at the first sleep, was the heaven on the north half all as if it were burning fire, so that all who saw it were so afraid as they never were before; this was on the 3d of the ides of January [2][11th Jan.]. In this same year was so great a disease among the cattle as never was before in the memory of man, over all England. It was upon neat-cattle and on swine; so that on the town where were ten ploughs or twelve going, there was not one left; and the man who had two hundred or three hundred swine, to him there remained not one. After that died the hens, then the flesh-meat grew short, and the cheese and the butter. May God amend this when it shall be his will! And the king Henry came home to England before autumn, after the former mass of St. Peter.[3]

In this same year went the abbat Henry, before Easter, from Peterborough over the sea to Normandy, and there spoke with the king, and told him that the abbat of Cluni had desired that he should come to him and deliver to him the abbacy of Angeli, and after that he should come home by his leave; and so he went home to his own minster, and their resided even to Midsummer day [24th June]. And the day next after the Festival of St. John [25th June], the monks chose an abbat from among themselves, and brought him into the church with procession; they sang "Te Deum laudamus!" they rang the bells, they set him on the abbat's throne, and they paid him all the homage which they ought to do to their abbat; and the earl and all the chief men and the monks banished the other abbat, Henry, out of the minster. And they had need; for during twenty-five winters they had never expected one good day. Here failed him all his great crafts; now it behoved him that he should creep in his great codde into every corner, if there were at least any worthless trick by which he might even yet once more betray Christ and all Christian folk. Then he entered into Cluni, and there he was so held that he could move neither east nor west. The abbat of Cluni said that they had lost St. John's minster through him, and through his great stupidity. Then he knew no better remedy for himself; unless he promised them and swore oaths upon the relics of the saints, that if he might return to England, he would obtain for them the minster of Peterborough, so

[1] This passage is from a latter addition, on a blank page inserted in D. Compare Fordun. A.D. 1130; i. 295, 448.

[2] In A.D. 1131 the 11th January fell on a Sunday. Ingram rejects Gibson's version, which is the same as that given above, and renders, "On a Monday night," which is untenable.

[3] . . . . "æfter S. Peteres messe the firrer." This passage has been variously dealt with. Gibson says, very honestly, in reference to the expression, "*the firrer*," "vocis hujusce significationem plane nescio." Manning, in his supplement to Lye, gives another interpretation. Ingram says that it means the feast of St. Peter ad vincula, "en la ferrure" in French. The meaning however seems to be plainly this, that the king returned after the former festival of St. Peter, that, namely, on June 29, and before autumn. And hence we find Florence stating that he returned in June. There are two festivals, one which has been just mentioned, the other on 1st August.

that he should there place the prior of Cluni, and a guardian of the church, and a treasurer, and a keeper of the vestments, and that he would give them all the things which were within the minster and without. Thus he went into France, and there he remained all that year. May Christ counsel for the wretched monks of Peterborough, and for that wretched place; now they have need of the help of Christ, and of all Christian people.

A.D. 1132. This year came Henry the king to this land; and then came Henry the abbat, and betrayed the monks of Peterborough to the king, because he wished to bring the minster under subjection to Cluni, so that the king was well nigh cajoled and sent after the monks. And [yet] through God's mercy, and through the bishop of Salisbury, and the bishop of Lincoln, and the other powerful men who were there, the king knew that he was proceeding with treachery. When he could do nothing more, then he decreed that his nephew should be abbat in Peterborough; but Christ would not permit it. It was not long after this that the king sent after him, and caused him to give up the abbacy of Peterborough, and go out of the land; and the king gave the abbacy to a prior of St. Neot's, who was named Martin, and he came on St. Peter's mass-day [29th June], with great honour, into the minster.

A.D. 1133, 1134.

A.D. 1135. In this year went the king Henry over the sea at the Lammas [1st Aug.], and on the second day, when he lay asleep in the ship, the day grew dark over all the land, and the sun became as it were a three-night-old moon, and stars about him, at mid-day. People became very much astonished and afraid, and said that a great incident should happen after this. And so it did, for that same year the king died, the second day [1st Dec.] after St. Andrew's mass-day, in Normandy. There was sorrow soon in the land, for every one who was able soon plundered the other. Then his son and his friends took his body and brought it to England, and buried it at Reading. He was a good man, and great awe there was of him; no one dared misdo against another in his time. Peace he made for man and beast. Whosoever bore as his burden gold or silver, no one durst say to him anything but good. In the midst of this was his nephew come to England, Stephen de Blais, and he came to London, and the London-folk received him, and sent after the archbishop, William Curbuil, and hallowed him to king on Mid-winter day [25th Dec.]. In this king's time was all dissension, and evil, and rapine; for against him soon arose the powerful men who were traitors; first of all Baldwin de Redvers, and held Exeter against him, and the king besieged it, and then Baldwin accorded. Then the others took and held their castles against him; and David, king of Scotland, began to war against him; yet, nevertheless, messengers passed between the armies; and they came together and became reconciled, though it lasted but for a little.

A D. 1136.

A.D. 1137. This year went the king Stephen over the sea to Normandy, and there was received, because that they thought that

he would be just such an one as the uncle was, and because he had obtained his [uncle's] treasure; but he divided it and scattered it foolishly. King Henry had gathered much gold and silver; but no good was done for his soul therewith. When king Stephen had come into England, then he made his gathering at Oxford; and there he took the bishop Roger of Salisbury, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, and the chancellor Roger, his nephew, and threw them all into prison, until they gave up their castles. When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man, and gentle, and good, and did no execution, then did they all wonder. They had done him homage and sworn oaths; but they kept no troth, they were all forsworn, and broke their troths, for every powerful man made castles for himself, and held them against him, and filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle-works. When the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. They took the men whom they supposed to have any property, both by night and by day, males and females, and put them into prison for their gold and silver, and tormented them with unspeakable torments; for there were never martyrs so tormented as they were. They hung them by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke; they hung them by the thumbs, or by the head, and hung coats of mail on their feet. They put knotted strings about their heads, and twisted till it went to the brains. They put them into dungeons in which were adders, and snakes, and toads; and killed them thus. Some they put in a crucet house, that is, in a chest which was short, and narrow, and shallow, and put sharp stones therein, and thrust the man therein, so that they broke all the limbs. In many of the castles were things loathly and grim; there were chains which two or three men had enough to do to bear one, which was thus made, that is, fastened to a beam; and they put a sharp iron about the man's throat and his neck, so that he could in no direction either sit, or lie, or sleep, but he must support all the iron. Many thousands they killed with hunger. I neither can nor may tell all the wounds nor all the pains which they did to the wretched men of this land; and this lasted the nineteen years while Stephen was king, and always it was worse and worse. They laid contributions on the towns every now and then, and called it tenserie; and when the wretched men had nothing more to give, then they plundered and burned all the towns: and you might easily go a whole day's journey and never find a man remaining in a town, nor the land tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter, for there was none in the land. Wretched men died of hunger. Some went a-begging who formerly had been rich men; some fled out of the country. There had never yet been greater wretchedness in the land; nor ever did heathen men worse than they did; for, after a time, they spared neither church nor churchyard, but took all the goods which were therein, and then burnt the church and all together. Neither did they spare the bishop's land, nor the abbat's, nor the priest's; but they plundered monks and clerks, and every one plundered another, if he could. If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled on account of them; they thought that they were

robbers. The bishops and the clergy constantly cursed them, but that was nothing to them; for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and lost. Whatever men tilled, yet the earth bore no corn, for the land was entirely destroyed with such doings; and people said openly that Christ and his saints slept. Such, and more than we can say, we suffered nineteen winters for our sins. During all this evil time, abbat Martin held his abbacy, twenty winters, and a half-year, and eight days, with much labour, and provided for the monks and the guests whatever they required, and held much indulgence in the house; and nevertheless he laboured on the [building of] the church, and added thereto lands and rents, and benefited it much, and caused it to be roofed over, and brought them into the new minster, on St. Peter's mass-day [29th June], with great worship; that was in the year 1140 from the incarnation of our Lord, and the twenty-third from the burning of the place. And he went to Rome and was well received by the pope Eugenius, and there obtained privileges, one for all the lands of the abbacy, and another for all the lands which belonged to the sacrist; and had he lived longer, he intended having done the same for the treasurer. And he obtained some lands, which powerful men had [held back] by violence; of William Malduit (who held the castle of Rockingham), he won Cotingham and Estun; and of Hugo of Waltevile, he won Hyrtlingbury and Stanewig, and sixty shillings of Aldewingle each year. And he made many monks, and planted a vineyard, and raised many buildings, and altered the town better than it was before; and he was a good monk and a good man, and therefore God and good men loved him.

Now will we tell some part of what happened in king Stephen's time. In his time the Jews of Norwich bought a christian child before Easter, and tortured him with all the same torments with which our Lord was tortured; and on Long Friday they hanged him on the rood for our Lord's love, and afterwards buried him. They thought that it would be hidden, but our Lord manifested that he was a holy martyr; and the monks took him and buried him honourably in the minster, and he performs, through our Lord, wonderful and manifold miracles, and he is called Saint William.

A.D. 1138. In this year came David, king of Scotland, with an immense army to this land; he wished to win this land. And against him came William, earl of Albamar, to whom the king had entrusted York, and to other good men, with a few men, and fought with them, and routed the king at the Standard, and slew very many of his company.

A.D. 1139.

A.D. 1140. In this year the king Stephen wished to capture Robert, earl of Gloucester, the son of king Henry, but he could not, for the other was aware of it. After this, during Lent, the sun darkened, and the day, about the noontide of the day, when people were eating, so that they lighted candles to eat by; and that was on the 13th of the kalends of April [20th March]. Men were very much astonished. After this William, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and the king made Theobald archbishop, who had

been abbat at Bec. After this there grew very great strife between the king and Randolf, earl of Chester, not because that he did not give him all that he could ask him, (as he did all the others,) but always the more he gave them, the worse they were to him. The earl held Lincoln against the king, and deprived him of all that he ought to have; and the king went thither and besieged him and his brother William de Romare in the castle, and the earl stole out and went after Robert, earl of Gloucester, and brought him thither with a great army, and they fought furiously on Candlemas-day [2d Feb.] against their lord, and took him, for his men betrayed him and fled, and they led him to Bristol, and put him in prison there, and . . . . . Then was all England excited more than it had been before, and all evil was in the land. Thereafter came the daughter of king Henry who had been empress in Germany, and now was countess in Anjou, and she came to London, and the London-folk would have taken her, and she fled and lost thus much. Afterwards Henry, bishop of Winchester, the brother of king Stephen, spoke with earl Robert and with the empress, and swore oaths to them that he would never more hold with the king, his brother, and he cursed all those who held with him; and he told them that he would give Winchester up to them, and he caused them to come thither. When they were within, then came the king's wife, with all her strength, and besieged them, so that there was great hunger within. When they could endure it no longer, then stole they out and fled; but those who were outside were aware, and followed them, and they took Robert, earl of Gloucester, and led him to Rochester, and put him there in prison, and the empress fled into a minster. Then the wise men mediated (the king's friends and the earl's friends), and so agreed that the king should be let out of prison for the earl, and the earl for the king, and so they did. After this, the king and Randolph the earl agreed at Stanford, and swore oaths and plighted troth that neither of them would deceive the other. But it did not last, for the king afterwards took him at Hamptun, through wicked counsel, and put him into prison; and presently he let him out, through worse counsel, on the condition that he swore on the relics, and found hostages that he would surrender all his castles. Some he gave up, and some he gave not, and did worse than he before had done. Then was England very much divided; some held with the king, and some with the empress; for when the king was in prison, then the earls and powerful men thought that he should never more come out, and they accorded with the empress, and brought her into Oxford, and gave her the town. When the king was out [of prison], then he heard say of that, and he took his army and besieged her in the town; and they let her down by night from the tower with ropes, and she stole out and fled, and went on foot to Wallingford. After this she went over the sea; and they of Normandy turned all from the king to the earl of Anjou, some with their will, and some against their will; for he besieged them until they gave up their castles, and they had no help of the king. Then went Eustace, the king's son, to France, and took the sister of the king of France

to wife; he thought to obtain Normandy thereby, but he sped little, and by good right, for he was an evil man, for wherever he was, he did more evil than good. He plundered the lands, and laid great contributions on them. He brought his wife to England, and put her in the castle of . . . . bury. Good woman she was, but she had little happiness with him; and Christ willed not that he should long reign; and both he and his mother died. And the earl of Anjou died; and his son Henry took the kingdom. And the queen of France separated from the king, and she came to the young earl Henry, and he took her to wife, and all Poitou with her. Then went he with a great army into England, and won castles; and the king went against him with a much greater army, and yet they did not fight; but the archbishop and the wise men went between them, and made this agreement, [namely,] that the king should be lord and king while he lived, and after his day Henry should be king, and that he would hold him [Stephen] as a father, and he would hold him [Henry] as a son, and that peace and concord should be between them and in all England. This, and the other covenants which they made, the king and the earl swore to hold, and the bishop, and the earls, and all the noblemen. Then was the earl received at Winchester and at London with great worship, and all did homage to him, and swore that they would keep the peace; and soon there was very good peace, such as never was here [before]. Then was the king stronger than he ever was here; and the earl went over the sea, and all the people loved him, for he did good justice, and made peace.

A.D. 1141—1153.

A.D. 1154. In this year died the king Stephen, and he was buried where his son and his daughter were buried, at Favresfeld; they had made that minster. When the king died, the earl was beyond sea; and no man durst do but good to other, for the great awe of him. When he came to England, he was received with great worship; and he was consecrated as king in London on the Sunday before Midwinter day [19th Dec.]; and there he held a great court. The same day that Martin, abbot of Peterborough, should have gone thither, he sickened, and died on the 4th of the nones of January [2d Jan.], and the monks, within a day, chose another of themselves, one named William de Wattevile, a good clerk and a good man, and well beloved of the king and of all good men; and all the monks buried the abbat worshipfully; and soon the abbat elect, and the monks with him, went to Oxford to the king; and the king gave him that abbacy; and he went soon to Peterborough, and was there with the abbat before he went home; and the king was received with great worship at Peterborough [and] with great procession, and so was he also at Ramsey and at Thorney, and at T . . . and at Spalding, and at . . . . . beres, and . . . . . abbat, and . . . . . had begun . . . . .

THE END OF THE SAXON CHRONICLE.

THE CHRONICLE OF FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

PREFACE TO FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

§ 1. The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester has a double claim upon our attention. It is valuable historically, as a record of events, and critically, as contributing to a knowledge of the condition of the Saxon Chronicle at the time when that document supplied the monk of Worcester with the basis of the history which passes under his name. It is in the former of these capacities only that it claims our notice upon the present occasion.

§ 2. Of Florence himself we know very little. He is said to have been an inmate of the great Benedictine monastery of Worcester; and not only is there nothing in his Chronicle which militates against this statement, but there is much which establishes its credibility. The Continuation of this history states, that "upon the nones of July, Florence, the monk of Worcester, died; by whose skill, learning, and studious industry this Chronicle has the preeminence over all others."[1] In the preparation of this work, Florence adopted for his basis the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus,[2] into which he has interwoven a large body of information respecting England. The earlier portion of his work is borrowed from the Saxon Chronicle and the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Beda, interspersed, however, with a few extracts from the Lives of the English Saints. From 849 to 888 Asser's Life of Alfred forms the staple; but the narrative is slightly abridged, and occasionally transposed. After this last date he returns to the Saxon Chronicle once more; and from it by far the larger portion of the remainder of his work is derived. These several materials he employs with care and discretion; and although his narrative is without the slightest claim to artistic skill, it tells its tale simply and intelligibly.

[1] See also Wharton's Angl. Sacr. i. 475, for a note to the same effect.

[2] This Marianus, an Irishman, was born about A.D. 1028, and, like many of his countrymen, he spent the larger portion of his life upon the continent, residing successively at Cologne, Fulda, and Mentz. He died about 1082 or 1083, leaving behind him a Chronicle which extends from the creation of the world to his own time. The notices of British affairs which it contains are few and unimportant. The copy of Marianus which was used by Florence appears to have very closely resembled that in the Cottonian Library, marked Nero, C. v. An admirable edition has lately appeared in the fifth volume of Pertz's collection of German Historians, the text of which is founded upon a MS. in the Vatican, which claims to be the autograph of the author.

§ 3. The most important manuscripts of Florence which remain are the following:—

One in the library of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, written in folio, upon parchment, in double columns, about the middle of the twelfth century. It appears to have formerly belonged to the church of Worcester, and may be considered the most valuable copy which we have. It breaks off in the year 1140, having suffered mutilation at the end.

§ 4. One in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, in large folio, written upon vellum, in double columns. It contains the Continuation, ending in 1131. From the fact of it presenting some interpolated passages respecting the monastery of Abingdon, it is supposed, not unreasonably, to have formerly belonged to that foundation.

§ 5. One in the Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 297, in folio, on vellum, written in double columns, towards the end of the twelfth century. It also contains the Continuation, ending in 1131. It apparently belonged to the monastery of Bury St. Edmund's.

§ 6. One in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, marked XCII. in Nasmith's Catalogue, in folio, on vellum, written in double columns, towards the end of the twelfth century, or perhaps the beginning of the thirteenth. This copy formerly belonged to the monastery of Peterborough. It also contains the Continuation as far as 1131; and then a third annalist, named John de Taxter (of whom more hereafter), carries on the narrative to 1295.

§ 7. One in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford, number XXXVI., on vellum, in folio, written in the thirteenth century. It has the Continuation as far as 1131.

§ 8. One in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, in small quarto, on vellum, written in the thirteenth century, with a Continuation to 1137.

§ 9. A second in the same library, in duodecimo, on vellum, written in various hands. It is continued as far as the year 1141, where it concludes abruptly, being mutilated at the end.

§ 10. The Cottonian manuscript, Vitellius A. XIII., and that numbered CLXXXV. in the library of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, may be here mentioned, since they both contain copies of Florence of Worcester, although they are erroneously described as manuscripts of the Chronicle of Walter of Coventry.

§ 11. Three editions of the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester have appeared.

The first edition is that edited in quarto, at London, in 1592, from two manuscripts which then were in the possession of Lord William Howard, of Naworth,[1] and which afterwards became the property of Archbishop Ussher, and are now, with the rest of the collections of that eminent prelate, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. (See §§ 8 and 9.) This edition was very carelessly reprinted at Frankfort in the year 1601.

§ 12. Mr. Petrie's first volume of the Materials for the History of Britain contains a carefully executed edition of the Chronicle of

[1] Dugd. Bar. ii. 281.

Florence as far as the year 1066. The text is revised by collation with the more important of the copies which we have described above.

§ 13. In 1848 and 1849 the English Historical Society published an edition of this work, which was edited by B. Thorpe, Esq. It is based upon the manuscript belonging to Corpus Christi College at Oxford, but with collations from some other copies. It also contains the several Continuations which we have specified in the course of our remarks upon the different manuscript copies of this author.

§ 14. The Continuation, which extends from the period of the death of Florence of Worcester to the year 1141, next claims our notice, since a translation of it into English is contained in the present volume. It would seem that this narrative was, in the first instance, carried no further than 1131, at which date it ceases in several copies, while in others it ends at various years between the last-mentioned period and 1141. These Continuations are certainly the productions of contemporary[1] writers, one of whom was called John;[2] and this portion of the work is entitled to especial notice as recording much valuable information upon the history of our nation during the period which it embraces.

§ 15. Prefixed to all the manuscript copies of Florence of Worcester, and probably compiled by himself, are lists of the archbishops and bishops of the several English sees, together with the succession of the sovereigns of the various kingdoms into which this realm was formerly divided. These are founded upon some very ancient lists still remaining. Translations of these have been appended to this edition. The text of Florence which has been used for this purpose, and for the Chronicle as far as 1066, is that of Petrie; from 1066 to the end of the work, the edition of the English Historical Society has been employed.

[1] He speaks of Henry, bishop of Winchester, as papal legate at the time when he wrote, (see A.D. 1134,) and from that prelate he had some information which he records A.D. 1137. Stephen is mentioned in the following year, as being upon the throne when the passage was written, (see also A.D. 1139.) In one place (A.D. 1139), an expression is employed which would seem to lead to the inference that it was written by a monk of the abbey of Gloucester: but when narrating the pillage of the city of Worcester, which occurred in the same year, the author speaks of himself as engaged, along with the other monks, in performing divine service within the quire of that cathedral. In 1141 he tells us that some of his information respecting the empress Matilda was derived immediately from Milo, earl of Hereford.

[2] See A.D. 1138.

Leighton Buzzard,
17*th November*, 1853.

THE CHRONICLE

OF

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

In the year of our Lord 450, in the time of the emperor Martian, as Beda[1] testifies, the Anglo-Saxons came over to Britain in three long ships; they who came were of the three most powerful nations of Germany, that is to say, the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. From the Jutes descend the inhabitants of Kent and the Isle of Wight; from the Saxons spring the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons; and from the Angles (that is, from the country which is called Angulus) have come the East Angles, the Mid-Angles, the Mercians, all the Northumbrian race, and the rest of the English people. Their two first leaders are said to have been two brothers named Hengst and Hors. They were the sons of Wictgisl, whose father was Witta, whose father was Wecta, whose father was Woden; from whose stock the royal families of many provinces deduce their origin.

A.D. 451—454.

A.D. 455. Hengst and Hors fought against Wyrtgeorne, king of the Britons, at a place which is called Aegelesthrep; and although Hors was slain in that battle, yet Hengst gained the victory: and after that, he began to reign with his son Aesc.

A.D. 456.

A.D. 457. Hengst and Aesc fought a battle with the Britons at a place called Creccanford, and slew four thousand of their men with the edge of the sword; the remainder entirely deserted Kent, and fled in great terror to London.

A.D. 458—464.

A.D. 465. Hengst and Aesc fought with the Britons near Wippedesfleote, that is, Wipped's passage; and slew twelve chiefs, and many others of the enemy, and only one of their own thanes named Wipped was killed.

A.D. 466—472.

A.D. 473. Hengst and Aesc fought for the fourth time against the Britons, and, gaining the victory, carried off booty beyond measure. In this battle the Britons fled from the Angles as from fire.

A.D. 474—476.

[1] Eccl. Hist. I. xv.

A.D. 477. Aelle and his three sons, Cimen, Wlencing, and Cissa, came over to Britain with three ships, and landed at a place called Cymenesore, and there slew many of the Britons, and drove the others into the forest called Andredeslea.

A.D. 478—484.

A.D. 485. Aelle, in a battle with the Britons near Mearcredes-Burn, that is, Mearcred's Brook, slew many of them, and put the rest to flight.

A.D. 486, 487.

A.D. 488. Hengst died, after having vigorously governed the kingdom of Kent for thirty-four years. His son Aesc succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned twenty-four years.

A.D. 489, 490.

A.D. 491. Olibrius the younger was consul. In the same year the emperor Zeno died. Saint Patric, archbishop of Ireland, died in perfect peace, aged 122 years. Aelle and his son Cissa took Andred-cester after a long siege, and exterminated its inhabitants down to the very youngest.

A.D. 492—494.

A.D. 495. In this year, two chiefs, namely Cerdic and his son Cynric, came over to Britain with five ships, and landing at a place called Cerdicsore, fought on the same day against the Britons, defeated them, and put them to flight.

A.D. 496—500.

A.D. 501. Port, and his two sons, Bida and Meagla, arrived in Britain with his two ships, at a place called Portesmuth, and slew many Britons, among whom was a young man of very high birth.

A.D. 502—507.

A.D. 508. Cerdic, and his son Cynric, slew Natanleod, king of the Britons, and five thousand of his men with the edge of the sword; all the region, as far as Cerdicsford, was called Natanleod after his name.

A.D. 509—513.

A.D. 514. The West Saxons came over to Britain with three ships, and landed at a place called Cerdicsore. Their chiefs, Stuf and Wihtgar, were the nephews of Cerdic. They shortly afterwards attacked the Britons, and slew some, and put the rest to flight.

A.D. 515—518.

A.D. 519. Cerdic and Cynric began to reign, and in the same year they fought against, and overcame the Britons at the place called Cerdicsford.

A.D. 520.

A.D. 521. Simmachus and Boetius were consuls. Saint Brigid, the Scotch virgin, died in Ireland.

A.D. 522—526.

A.D. 527. Cerdic and Cynric fought for the fourth time against the Britons at the place called Cerdicsleage.

A.D. 528, 529.

A.D. 530. Cerdic and Cynric took the Isle of Wight and gave it to their nephews Stuf and Wihtgar, and slew a few men at Wihtgarabirig [Carisbrook].

A.D. 531—533.

A.D. 534. Cerdic, the first king of the West Saxons, died, and his son Cynric reigned after him by himself for twenty-six years.

A.D. 535—537.

A.D. 538. An eclipse of the sun took place on the 14th of the kalends of March [15th Feb.], and lasted from the first until the third hour.

A.D. 539.

A.D. 540. An eclipse of the sun took place on the 12th of the kalends of July [20th June], and the stars showed themselves full nigh half-an-hour after the third hour of the day.

A.D. 541—543.

A.D. 544. Wihtgar, the nephew of Cerdic, king of the West Saxons, died, and was buried in Wihtgarabirig, that is, the city of Wihtgar.

A.D. 545, 546.

A.D. 547. Ida began to reign in the province of Bernicia, and he reigned twelve years. He had, by his queens, six sons, namely, Adda, Baelric, Theodric, Aethelric, Theodher, and Osmer; and six by his concubines, namely, Occ, Alric, Ecca, Oswold, Sogor, and Sogether. From these descended the royal line of the Northumbrians. Ida was the son of Eoppa, who was the son of Esa, who was the son of Ingui, who was the son of Angenwit, who was the son of Aloc, who was the son of Benoc, who was the son of Brand, who was the son of Bealdeag, who was the son of Woden, who was the son of Frithelaf, who was the son of Frithulf, who was the son of Finn, who was the son of Godulf, who was the son of Geata.

A.D. 548—551.

A.D. 552. Cynric, king of the West Saxons, fought against the Britons, at a place called Searesbirig, and put them to flight. His father was Cerdic, who was the son of Elesa, who was the son of Esla, who was the son of Gewis, who was the son of Wig, who was the son of Freawine, who was the son of Freothegar, who was the son of Brand, who was the son of Bealdeag, who was the son of Woden.

A.D. 553—555.

A.D. 556. Cynric and Ceaulin fought against the Britons at Beranbyrig and put them to flight.

A.D. 557, 558.

A.D. 559. Aelle began to reign in the province of Deira, and he governed it vigorously for nearly thirty years. When Saint Gregory saw some English youths set for sale in the market-place at Rome, he said, in allusion to the name of this province, "Alleluiah, the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts." During Aelle's lifetime, Adda, the eldest son of Ida, reigned over the Bernicians seven years; Clappa, five years; Theoduulf, one year; Freothulf, seven years; Theodric, seven years; and Aethelric, two years: the latter, on the death of Aelle, and the expulsion from the kingdom of his son Edwin, reigned five years over both provinces. Aelle was the son of Iffi, whose father was Wuscfrea, whose father

was Wilgels, whose father was Westorwalcna, whose father was Seomel, whose father was Suearta, whose father was Saefugel, whose father was Seabald, whose father was Siggeot, whose father was Suuebdeag, whose father was Siggar, whose father was Weagdeag, whose father was Woden.

A.D. 560. Ceaulin, the son of Cynric, began to reign over the West Saxons, and he reigned thirty-three years.

A.D. 561. Aethelbriht, king of Kent, began to reign, and according to Beda,[1] he reigned fifty-six years.

A.D. 562—564.

A.D. 565. Columba, priest and abbot, came from Ireland into Britain, the most potent king Bridius being king of the Picts, and converted the Northern Picts to Christianity. Hence he obtained from them the Island of Hii, for the purpose of building a monastery.

A.D. 566, 567.

A.D. 568. While Aethelbriht, king of Kent, was waging war against Ceaulin, king of the West Saxons, and Cutha his brother, he was driven by them into Kent; and Oslaf and Cnebba, two of his ealdormen, were killed at Wibbandun.

A.D. 569, 570.

A.D. 571. Cuthulf, the brother of king Ceaulin, fought with the Britons, at a place called Bedanford; and gaining the victory, took from them four royal vills, namely, Liganburh, Egelesburh, Bensingtun, and Eignesham; and he died in the same year.

A.D. 572—576.

A.D. 577. Ceaulin, king of the West Saxons, and his son Cuthwine, fought with the Britons at a place called Deorham, and slew their three kings, Conmeail, Condidan, and Farinmeil, and many other men; and took from them three cities, namely, Glauwecester, Cirenceaster, and Bathanceaster.

A.D. 578—583.

A.D. 584. Ceaulin, king of the West Saxons, and his son Cutha, fought with the Britons at a place called Fethanleah. In this battle Cutha fell, fighting bravely in the thickest of the strife. But king Ceaulin gained the victory, and took from them much booty and many vills.

A.D. 585—587.

A.D. 588. Aelle, king of Deira, died in the thirtieth year of his reign, and after him, Aethelric, the son of Ida, reigned five years over both provinces.

A.D. 589. The holy father Columba,[2] with Saint Gall and other tried disciples, came from Ireland, the island of saints, into Burgundy; and there, by the permission of king Theodoric, he built the monastery of Luxeu. Driven thence by Brunihilda, he went into Germany, and left Saint Gall there: but he himself passed over into Italy and founded the monastery of Bobbio, where he became the head of a large congregation of monks.

A.D. 590.

[1] Eccl. Hist. II. v.

[2] On the history of St. Columba and his various ecclesiastical foundations, see Mabill. Annal. Ord. S. Bened. lib. viii. § 1.

A.D. 591. Ceol, the son of Cuthulf, who was the brother of king Ceaulin, began to reign, and he reigned five years over the West Saxons.

A.D. 592. There was a battle at a place called Wodnesbeorh, that is, Woden's Mount, and king Ceaulin was driven from his kingdom with great slaughter in the thirty-third year of his reign.

A.D. 593. Ceaulin, Cuichelm, and Crida perished. Aethelric, king of Northumbria died: Aethelfrith, his son, assumed the reins of government and held them twenty-four years: he had seven sons, namely, Eanfrith, Oswald, Oslaf, [1] Oswiu, Offa, Osuudu, and Oslac, and one daughter, named Aebbe.

A.D. 594, 595.

A.D. 596. In the 147th year after the arrival of the Angles in Britain, and the fourteenth indiction, pope Gregory, moved by divine inspiration, sent Augustine, the servant of God, and several God-fearing monks with him, to preach the word of God to the English nation.

A.D. 597. The aforesaid teachers arrived in Britain this year, as Beda[2] testifies, and converted Aethelbriht, king of Kent, to Christianity, in the thirty-fifth year[3] of his reign. It was not long before the king advanced his teacher Augustine to the episcopal see of Canterbury, the metropolis of his kingdom. Supported by the king, Augustine obtained possession of a church which had been formerly built there by the Roman Christians, and consecrated it in the name of the Saviour. Ceolulf, son of Cutha, who was the brother of king Ceaulin, succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons, and he held it fourteen years: he was always at war either with the Angles, or Britons, or Picts, or Scots. He was the son of Cutha, who was the son of Cenric, who was the son of Cerdic.

A.D. 598, 599.

A.D. 600. Ivo, the apostolic doctor, and truly an ambassador from heaven, and a renowned prelate, died; born, like the Star of the East, in Persia, he was destined by God for the western limits of Britain.

A.D. 601. In the nineteenth year of the reign of the emperor Mauritius, the fourth indiction, Gregory, in a letter to Augustine, decided that the bishops of London and York should alike receive the pall from Rome and be metropolitans.

A.D. 602.

A.D. 603. Aethelfrith, a very brave king, and most greedy of glory, did more damage to the Britons than any former English ruler. Large tracts of their country, the natives being either exterminated or subdued, he either made tributary to, or fit for the habitation of the Angles. Indignant at these successes, Aedan, king of the Scots, came with an immense army against him, but was defeated, and fled with only a few survivors. Aethelfrith put an end to this war at a place called Degsastan, in the eleventh year of his reign, and the first of that of the emperor Phocas.

[1] See the Royal Genealogies.
[2] Eccl. Hist. I. xxv. and xxvi.
[3] We should perhaps rather read xxxvii.

A long time [1]afterwards he collected an army at Chester, called by the Britons Carlegion, and by the just judgment of God, and in accordance with the prophecy of the archbishop St. Augustine, he slew 1,200 of the British priests who had met to offer up prayers for the success of the enemy. And thus he destroyed the remainder of their wicked army.

A.D. 604. Augustine ordained as bishops Mellitus and Justus. Mellitus was to preach to the province of the East Saxons. When the East Saxons, with their king Sebert, the nephew of king Aethelberht, had received the word of truth by the preaching of Mellitus, the said king Aethelberht built the church of the apostle in London, which city was his metropolis. As for Justus, Augustine ordained him bishop in the city of Dorubrevum, called by the English Hroveceaster. He also consecrated the presbyter Laurence to be archbishop in his stead; and shortly afterwards, to wit, on Tuesday, the 7th of the kalends of June [26th May], he departed to the heavenly kingdom.

A.D. 605. The blessed pope Gregory, apostle of the Angles, and pride of the Romans, after having most gloriously governed the see of the Roman and Apostolic Church for thirteen years, six months, and ten days, was translated to the eternal see of the kingdom, on Friday, the 4th of the ides of March [12th March].

A.D. 606.

A.D. 607. Ceoluulf, king of the West Saxons, waged war against the South Saxons.[2]

A.D. 608—610.

A.D. 611. King Ceoluulf died. Cynegils, the son of his brother Ceol, succeeded him, and reigned thirty-two years. He was the son of Ceol, who was the son of Cutha, [3]who was the son of Kenric, who was the son of Cerdic.

A.D. 612, 613.

A.D. 614. Cynegils and his son Cuichelm marched against the Britons at Beandune, engaged with them, and slew two thousand and forty-six of them.

A.D. 615.

A.D. 616. Aethelbert, king of Kent, the son of Irmenric, whose father was Octa, whose father was Oric, surnamed Oisc, whose father was Hengst, entered on the joys of the heavenly kingdom, on the twenty-fourth day of February, in the fifty-sixth year of his reign, and the twenty-first of his conversion to the faith. He was succeeded by his son Aedbold, who not only refused to embrace the Christian faith, but even married his father's widow. Redwald, king of the East Angles, slew Aethelfrid, king of Deira and Bernicia, in a battle near the river called Idle. Edwin, in accordance with the prediction which he had received, succeeded him, and drove out the seven sons of Aethelfrid. Sebert, king of the East Saxons, departing to the heavenly kingdom, left his three sons,

[1] According to the Annals of Cambria, in 613. See the Saxon Chron. A.D. 607.

[2] A later hand here inserts in A. the following passage:—"St. David, also called Dewi, bishop of St. David's in Wales, departed to the Lord."

[3] This link in the pedigree is omitted in B.

who obstinately remained pagans, to inherit his earthly kingdom. They immediately began to profess idolatry, and drove Mellitus, bishop of London, from their kingdom: he, however, went to Kent, and, after consulting with archbishop Laurence, withdrew into Gaul with Justus, bishop of Rochester. But the kings who had driven from them this messenger of truth did not long exercise their devilish rites unpunished; for, going out to battle against the Gewissi, [West Saxons,] they and all their army perished. When Laurence was about to follow Mellitus and Justus, Peter, the chief of the apostles, appeared to him by night, and inflicted severe stripes on him. The next morning he repaired to king Eadbald, and showed him the heavy flagellation which he had received. When the king saw it, great fear came upon him; he forbad all idolatrous worship, renounced his unlawful marriage, embraced the faith of Christ, and sent over into Gaul, and recalled Mellitus and Justus.

A.D. 617—620.

A.D. 621. During the reign of Eadbald, and on the 4th of the nones of February [2d Feb.], the blessed archbishop Laurence departed to the Lord. Mellitus, bishop of London, succeeded him in the see of Canterbury, and was the third archbishop from Augustine. Cedd, the brother of Ceadda, succeeded Mellitus in the bishopric of London.

A.D. 622—624.

A.D. 625. On the 8th of the kalends of May [24th April], Eadbald being king, archbishop Mellitus died, having ruled over the church for five years. He was succeeded by Justus, bishop of Rochester, who consecrated Romanus to be bishop of that see in his own stead.

A.D. 626. Paulinus,[1] a man beloved of God, who had been sent with others by the blessed Gregory to preach the Gospel in England, and who was the third bishop of Rochester, was by archbishop Justus consecrated archbishop of the Northumbrians, and was sent to Edwin, the king of that province, with his intended wife, a daughter of king Aethelbert, by king Eadbald, brother of the said virgin.

A.D. 627. An[2] assassin named Eomer, sent by Cuichelm, king of the West Saxons, came to king Edwin on the first day of Easter, and drawing a dagger from under his garment, made a stab at the king. But a certain guard named Lilla, who was most devoted to the king, interposed his body to the blow; yet so fierce a thrust had the assailant made, that he wounded the king through the body of this soldier, whom he slew. On the night of that Easter-Sunday, the queen bore to the king a daughter, who was baptized (the first among the Northumbrians to be so) by bishop Paulinus, on the day of Pentecost, and was named Eanfled.

In the fiftieth year of his age, Penda succeeded to the Mercian kingdom, and he reigned thirty years: he was the son of Pibba, who was the son of Crida, who was the son of Cynewald, who was the son of Cnebba, who was the son of Icel, who was the son of

[1] A.D. 625. Beda, Eccl. Hist. II. ix.

[2] A.D. 626. Beda, *ibid.*

Eomer, who was the son of Angengeat, who was the son of Offa, who was the son of Weremund, who was the son of Wightleag, who was the son of Waga, who was the son of Wothelgeat, who was the son of Woden.

A.D. 628. [1]In the sixteenth year of the emperor Heraclius, and the fifteenth indiction, Edwin, the most renowned king of the northern Trans-Humbrian nation, and all his people, accepted the message of salvation through the preaching of bishop Paulinus, whom archbishop Justus had sent from Kent. This took place in the eleventh year of his reign, and about the two hundred and thirtieth year after the arrival of the Angles in Britain. It was he who gave to Paulinus the episcopal see of York. This king received an increase of temporal power in anticipation of his approaching conversion, and as an earnest of his share in the heavenly kingdom: for he, first of all the Angles, subjected to his power the whole of Britain, Kent only excepted.

At this time pope Honorius refuted by his epistle the error of the Quartodecimans concerning the observance of Easter, which had originated with the Hibernian Scots. John, also, who succeeded his (Honorius's) successor, Severinus, contested the same point with them; for before he was elected pope, he wrote to them on the subject of Easter, and on the Pelagian heresy, which had revived among them.

Kinegils and his son Cuichelm, kings of the West Saxons, fought with Penda, king of the Mercians, near Cirenceaster, and afterwards, having made peace and confirmed it, retired.

A.D. 629[2]—631.

A.D. 632. Eorpwald, son of king Redwald, whose father was Titell, whose father was Vuffa, was prevailed on by king Edwin to renounce idolatry, and with all his province received the Christian faith and sacraments; but a short time afterwards he was slain by a pagan named Ricbert.

A.D. 633. On the 4th of the ides of October [12th Oct.], the noble king Edwin, after reigning gloriously for seventeen years over the Angles and the Britons, was, in the forty-eighth year of his age, slain by that very brave man, Penda, the pagan king of the Mercians, and by Cedwal, king of the Britons, a still worse pagan, in a very fierce battle fought at Heathfeld. The affairs of the Northumbrians falling into confusion, Paulinus, in company with queen Aethelburge, returned by sea to Kent, and was honourably received by archbishop Honorius and king Eadbald.

A.D. 634. Ceadwala, king of the Britons, destroyed king Osric, the cousin of king Edwin, with his whole army, and then slew king Eanfrith, the son of king Ethelfrith, as he was coming to him to sue for peace: on whose death, his brother Oswald advanced with an army, small indeed, but strong in their faith in Christ, and slew the infamous British chief, together with his immense army,

[1] A.D. 627. Beda, Eccl. Hist. II. xiv.

[2] In A. a different hand has added the following passage:—"Pope Honorius sent the pall to Paulinus, who afterwards, in the province of Lindissi, consecrated Honorius, the successor of Justus, as archbishop of Canterbury."

which he boasted nothing could resist, and assumed the government of both kingdoms; and he afterwards received the submission of all the nations and provinces of Britain. At that time the nation of the West Saxons, Cinegils being their king, embraced Christianity, the word of God being preached to them by bishop Birin. Saint Wilfrid was born.

A.D. 635. King Oswald sent to the elders of the Scots, requesting that they would send bishops to him. Bishop Aidan was sent; by whom, and the said most renowned and holy king Oswald, the church of Christ was first founded and established in the province of Bernicia. By means of the preaching of Birin (who was sent into England for that purpose by pope Honorius) in the West-Saxon province, king Cinegils and all his people became believers: the most victorious king Oswald was his sponsor at the baptismal font. From those kings the said bishop received the city of Dorcic [Dorchester] for the purpose of making it an episcopal see.

A.D. 636. Sigebert, brother of Eorpwald, king of the East Angles, a man in all respects most christian and most learned, soon after he began to reign, was careful to make his whole province participate in the faith and sacraments. Bishop Felix, a Burgundian, who had become very intimate with Sigebert, king of the East Angles, while he was an exile in Gaul, and had come over to England with him after the death of Eorpwald, and was made bishop of the East Angles, encouraged his designs, and brought the province over to the faith of Christ; and receiving an episcopal see in the city of Dummoc [Dunwich], presided for a long time over that race.

At that time there came from Ireland to the province of the East Angles a most holy man named Fursey, who, being honourably entertained by the aforesaid king, preached there the word of life, and turned many unbelievers to Christ; and he afterwards built a splendid monastery.

Meanwhile, the king, having abandoned the cares of state to his kinsman Egric, retired to the monastery which he had prepared for himself, and receiving the tonsure, was for a long time a devout soldier of the eternal King. But when Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, marched to battle against the East Angles, he was most reluctantly drawn out of the monastery, and against his will led to the engagement, where, with a staff in his hands, he was slain, as was also king Egric. They were succeeded in the kingdom by Anna, the son of Eni. Quichelm, the son of king Cinegils, was baptized by bishop Birin, in the city of Dorcic [Dorchester], and died in the same year.

A.D. 637, 638.

A.D. 639. Bishop Birin baptized Cuthred, the son of king Cuichelm, in the city of Dorcic [Dorchester], and stood sponsor for him at the font of regeneration.

A.D. 640. Eadbald, king of Kent, departed this life in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, leaving his kingdom to his son Erconbert. He was the first of the English kings who ordered the idols to be abandoned and destroyed throughout his kingdom, and the fast of Lent to be observed. His daughter Ercongota,

by his queen, Saint Sexburg, was a virgin of pre-eminent virtue.

A.D. 641.

A.D. 642. The most Christian king Oswald, nephew[1] of king Edwin, and son of king Aethelfrith, was slain in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and the ninth of his reign, by Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, in a severe battle fought at a place called Maserfeld: he was humble and courteous, and generous to strangers and the poor.

A.D. 643. His brother Osuiu, a young man about thirty years of age, succeeded to his kingdom shortly afterwards, and by dint of great exertion, retained it for twenty-eight years. In the same year, Cenwalch, son of king Cinegils, assumed the government of the West-Saxon kingdom, and retained it for thirty-one years. He built the cathedral church at Winchester.

A.D. 644. On the 6th of the ides of October [10th Oct.], Paulinus, who had been formerly bishop of York, but was then bishop of Rochester, died, having held the bishopric eighteen years, two months, and twenty-one days. Ithamar was ordained in his place by archbishop Honorius, the successor of Justus.

A.D. 645. Cenwalch, king of the West Saxons, being attacked and dethroned by Penda, king of the Mercians, for having repudiated his wife, who was Penda's sister, fled to Anna, king of the East Angles. In this year, too, king Oswine, son of Osric, who was Edwin's cousin, began to reign in the province of Deira, and he reigned seven years. He was of a handsome countenance, and tall, pleasant of speech, courteous in his manners, openhanded to all; as a king most humble, and beloved of all men.

A.D. 646. King Cenwalch was baptized by bishop Felix in East Anglia.

A.D. 647. Felix, the first bishop of the East Angles, died. His deacon, Thomas, was ordained in his stead, by archbishop Honorius. On the death of Thomas, in the fifth year of his bishopric, his place was filled by Boniface.

A.D. 648. King Cenwalch returned from East Anglia to West Saxony, and in the same year made a grant of a large portion of his territory to his nephew, Cuthred, son of king Cuichelm.

A.D. 649.

A.D. 650. Aegelberht, a Gaul by birth, was on the death of Birin made bishop of the West-Saxon province by king Cenwalch, and he presided over it as bishop for many years.

A.D. 651. Saint Cuthbert entered the monastery of Mailrose, being received by the most holy man Eata, abbot of that church. On the 13th of the kalends of September [20th Aug.], in the seventh year of his reign, Oswine, king of Deira, a man of the deepest humility and great piety, having been betrayed by earl Hunwald, whom he had considered a trustworthy friend, was slain in a detestable manner by order of king Osuiu, and by the hands of his ealdorman Aethelwin. He was succeeded by Aethelwald, son of king Oswald. After Oswiu's death, and on the 2d of the kalends of September [31st Aug.], bishop Aidan died. Cuthbert, an

[1] See the genealogy of the Northumbrian kings.

ingenuous youth, saw his spirit borne to heaven by angels. Finan, who was ordained and sent by the Scots, was made bishop in his stead.

A.D. 652.

A.D. 653. In the twenty-fifth year of his age, Benedict, surnamed Biscop, an Englishman of noble birth, and minister of king Oswiu, leaving his home, his kindred, his possessions, and his native country, went to Rome and returned full of learning. Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, died on the 2d of the kalends of Oct. [30th Sept.] A year and six months afterwards, Deusdedit, the sixth from Augustine, succeeded him in the archbishopric, being ordained thereto by Ithamar, bishop of Rochester, on the 7th of the kalends of April [26th March], and ruled over the church for nine years, four months, and two days. The Midland Angles, under their prince Peada, son of Penda, king of the Mercians, received the faith and sacraments of Christ; the prince himself first of all, with his attendants who had come with him, being baptized by bishop Finan, in Northumbria, in the presence of king Oswiu. Afterwards, on his return home, the rest of his people were baptized by Cedd, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, four priests whom he had brought with him from that province. At that time, Sigebert, king of the East Saxons, successor of Sebert, surnamed the Little, was baptized by Finan, bishop of the Northumbrians, having been converted to Christianity by the arguments of king Oswiu, while on a visit to him in the province of Bernicia. On his departure home, king Oswi sent with him that man of God, Cedd, the priest, to preach the word to the East Saxons. There he gathered together a large church to the Lord. Afterwards, on the suggestion of bishop Finan, he went home and was ordained bishop by him, and then returned to the province [of the East Saxons], and carried out with more ample authority the work which he had begun. Once when he was on a visit to the Northumbrian province for the purpose of preaching, Aethelwald, king of Deira, son of king Oswald, requested him to accept a grant of land for the purpose of building a monastery. In accordance with the king's wish, he chose a site for a monastery in a place now called Leastingaig, and when it was built he furnished it with religious institutions. In the meantime, king Sigebert, at the instigation of the enemy of all good men, was slain by his own kindred; the reason given being that he was too much in the habit of sparing his enemies, and ready on their own petition easily to forgive their offences. He was succeeded by Suithelm, the son of Sexbald.

A.D. 654. Anna, king of the East Angles, was slain by king Penda, and was succeeded by his brother Aethelhere. St. Botulph built a monastery at a place called Ikanho.

A.D. 655. Penda, the perfidious king of Mercia, the slayer of Sigebert, Egric, and Anna, kings of the East Angles, and also of Edwin and Oswald, kings of the Northumbrians, invaded Bernicia at the head of thirty legions, commanded by as many noblemen, for the purpose of crushing king Oswiu. With only one legion, but

trusting in Christ as their leader, Oswiu and his son Alhfrid met them at a place called Winwidfeld. The battle commenced, and the pagans were routed and cut to pieces, and nearly all the thirty auxiliary chiefs were slain: among these was Aethelhere, brother and successor of Anna, king of the East Angles, who was the mover of the war: his brother Aethelwald succeeded to the kingdom. King Oswiu having obtained the victory, made an offering to God of endowments for building twelve monasteries, and also of his daughter Aelfleda, devoting her to perpetual virginity. She entered the monastery of Heortesig, whereof Hild was then abbess. King Oswiu fought this battle in the district of Loidis, on the 17th of the kalends of December [15th Nov.], in the thirteenth year of his reign, and he converted the Mercians to Christianity. In his reign Diuma, whom we have mentioned before, was made first bishop of the province of Mercia, and of the Lindisfaras and the Middle Angles; the second was Ceollach, a Scot. Oswiu reigned three years over this nation [the Mercians], and the other people of the southern provinces. He brought the Picts under the dominion of the Angles, and gave the kingdom of the southern Mercians to his kinsman, Peada, the son of king Penda.

A.D. 656. At the feast of Easter, king Peada was foully slain by the treacherous connivance of his wife.

A.D. 657.

A.D. 658. Cenwalch, king of the West Saxons, fought against the Britons, at Peonn, and drove them defeated as far as Pedrida [the Parret]. The blessed abbess Hild began to build a monastery at a place called Streoneshalh [Whitby]: the daughter of king Oswiu was a nun there, and afterwards became superior thereof. Her mother, queen Eanfleda, built a monastery known as In Getling, on the spot where king Oswine, the son of her cousin king Osric's father, was unrighteously slain, and made the godly Trumhere, who was a relative of the deceased king, abbot thereof.

A.D. 659. Immin, Eaba, and Eadberht, ealdormen of the Mercians, rebelled against king Oswiu, setting up as king Wulfer, the son of Penda, a youth whom they had kept in concealment; and so together with their king they joyfully became servants of Christ. This king's first bishop was the aforesaid Trumhere, the second was Jarumann, the third was Cedd, and the fourth Winfrid.

A.D. 660. King Cenwalch divided the West-Saxon province into two dioceses, and gave the city of Winchester as bishop Wina's episcopal see. Bishop Agelbert was grievously offended at this, and retiring into Gaul, was made bishop of Paris. King Egfrid, son of king Oswiu, married Atheldritha, daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles.

A.D. 661. Cuthred, son of king Cuichelm, and grandson of king Cinegils, and also nephew of the kings Cenwalch, and Centuuin, and the under-king Cenbriht, who was the great grandson of king Ceaulin, and father of king Ceadwala, died. Wulfer, king of the Mercians, laid waste Ascesdun, and afterwards took the Isle of Wight. The latter he gave to his godson Aethelwold,

king of the South Saxons, and also the province of the Mavori [Meanvara] in the nation of the West Saxons. Finan, bishop of the Northumbrians, died, and was succeeded by Colmann, who was also sent from Ireland.

A.D. 662, 663.

A.D. 664. In the thirtieth year from the foundation of the Scotch bishoprics which existed in the Northumbrian province, and in the twenty-second year of the reign of king Oswiu, a controversy having arisen in that province concerning Easter, and the tonsure, and other ecclesiastical affairs, it was arranged that a synod should be held in the monastery of Streoneshealh, of which Hild was then the abbess. The following persons came to the synod:—King Oswiu and his son Alhfrid, who succeeded king Aethelwald, the son of king Oswald, bishop Colman and his clerks, Agelbert, bishop of the West Saxons, with the elders Agatho and Wilfrid, Cedda, bishop of the East Saxons, and the abbess Hild with her attendants. The debate between them was long, but at last all, both high and low, renounced the less accurate observances of the Scots, and hastened to conform themselves to what they had ascertained to be better. The dispute being ended, and the differences being determined, Agelbert returned home, and Cedda, forsaking the observances of the Scots, returned to his see. Colman, whom all the orthodox considered as vanquished, returned to Scotland to his own people. On his departure homewards, Tuda was made bishop of the Northumbrians in his place, but he held the office only for a short time. Eata, a most reverend man, abbot of the monastery of Mailrose, and who at the request of king Alhfrid had founded the monastery of Ripon, was made abbot of the brethren of Lindisfarn, and removed the blessed Cuthbert from the monastery of Mailrose to the island of Lindisfarn. In this year, about the tenth hour of the third day of May, occurred an eclipse of the sun. A sudden pestilence followed, which snatched from the world Tuda, the priest of the Lord. King Alhfrid, with the advice and consent of his father, king Oswiu, sent the venerable presbyter Wilfrid, abbot of the monastery of Ripon, to the king of France, requesting that he might be ordained a bishop, he being at that time about thirty years of age. But the king sent him to be ordained by Agelbert, who had left Britain and been made bishop of Paris; and Agelbert and eleven other bishops met together for the purpose of consecrating him a bishop, and performed the ceremony with great honour. Deusdedit, sixth archbishop, counting from Augustine, died on the second of the ides of July [14th July]. Erconbert, king of Kent, died on the same day of the same year, leaving the kingdom to his son Egbert. The holy Ceadda, brother of the holy bishop Cedda, and abbot of the monastery of Leastingaeig, was by command of king Oswiu consecrated bishop of York by Wine, bishop of Winchester, Wilfrid being still absent beyond sea. On the [1]fifth of the ides of October [11th Oct.], Athelburg, the God-beloved mother of the monastery of Bercing, subsequently first abbess of the same place, was

[1] This date does not occur in Beda.

delivered from the bondage of the flesh: she was the sister of the wonderfully holy man, Erconwald, afterwards bishop of London; her conversation was such that no one who knew her could doubt that when she departed this life she entered into the heavenly kingdom. Heldilith, a handmaid well beloved of God, succeeded her as abbess. A short time after this, Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons, went to his monastery of Leastingaig, and falling ill there died on the seventh of the kalends of November [26th Oct.]. Aethelwald, king of the East Angles, having died, was succeeded by Aldulf, whose mother was Hereswith, sister of St. Hild the abbess: their father was Hereric, whose father was Eadfrith, whose father was Edwine. Bosilius, abbot of the monastery of Mailrose, a monk of exalted virtue, a man of prophetic spirit, and a priest beloved of God, borne down by a deadly disease, entered on the splendours of eternal day. Sigere, king of the East Saxons, and a portion of his people, apostatised from the faith. When Wulfere, king of the Mercians, heard this, he sent bishop Jarumann, Trumhere's successor, to correct the error. However, Sebbi, the king's associate, and coheir in the kingdom, together with all his people, preserved the faith which he had embraced.

A.D. 665. Benedict, surnamed Biscop, went again to Rome in the time of pope Vitalian, and some months afterwards came to the island of Lerins. He devoted himself to the monks, received the tonsure, and under the guidance of the abbot served God for two years according to the regular discipline.

A.D. 666. Saint Aldelm was ordained abbot of Malmsbury, in the church of the apostles Peter and Paul, by the blessed Leutherius, fourth bishop of the West Saxons. Wina, bishop of Winchester, was driven from his see by king Cenwalch, and retiring to Wulfer, king of the Mercians, was by him made bishop of London, and he remained so during the rest of his life.

A.D. 667. The most noble English kings, Oswiu, of the province of Northumbria, and Ecgberht, of Kent, with the approbation of the holy English church, sent a priest named Wihard, one of the clergy of archbishop Deusdedit, to Rome for the purpose of being ordained bishop. But on his arrival at Rome, death snatched him away before he could be consecrated to the episcopate. Ceadda, bishop of York, governed the church with power for the space of three years. He afterwards withdrew to the superintendence of his monastery at Leastingaig, and Wilfrid was appointed to the bishopric of the entire province of Northumbria.

A.D. 668. Biscop, surnamed Benedict, went to Rome for the third time. There was at that time in Rome a monk named Theodore, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, a man well versed both in secular and ecclesiastical learning, thoroughly conversant in Greek and Latin, of unspotted character, and sixty-six years old; having been ordained archbishop on Sunday[1] the 7th of the kalends of April [26th March], he was by pope Vitalian sent into Britain, in company with abbot Adrian, and under the care of Biscop, the latter being a wise and energetic man.

[1] Namely, the fifth Sunday in Lent.

A.D. 669. On Sunday the 6th of the kalends of June [27th May] archbishop Theodore arrived in Kent, and committed the abbatial care of the abbacy of the monastery of St. Peter the apostle to Benedict, surnamed Biscop. Soon afterwards he made a progress through the whole island, ordained bishops in proper places, and at length completed what was defective in Ceadda's ordination after the catholic manner. In the city of Rochester, where the see had been long vacant by the death of Damianus, he ordained Putta, a man skilled in ecclesiastical discipline; and on the death of Jarumann not long afterwards, he, at the request of king Wulfer and with the consent of king Oswiu, appointed Ceadda to be bishop over the Mercians and the Lindisfaras; Ceadda obediently undertook the office, and devoted himself to the administration of it in rectitude of life. Moreover, king Wulfer gave him fifty hides of land for the purpose of building a monastery at a place called At Bearuwe.

A.D. 670. Oswiu, king of the Northumbrians, fell sick, and died on the 15th of the kalends of March [15th Feb.], in the fifty-eighth year of his age, leaving his son Egfrid heir to the kingdom. King Cenwalch and the West Saxons requested Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, to consecrate as their bishop Leutherius, nephew of Agilbert, bishop of Paris; he was accordingly consecrated at Winchester, and was sole bishop for seven years.

A.D. 671. There was a very great destruction amongst the birds. The venerable abbot Benedict, surnamed Biscop, having been for two years abbot of the monastery of St. Peter the apostle, went for the third time from Britain to Rome, with the permission of archbishop Theodore. He was succeeded in the government of the monastery by abbot Adrian (whom we have before noticed), an African by birth, deeply versed in sacred literature, and a perfect master of Latin and Greek.

A.D. 672. Cenwalch, king of the West Saxons, died in the thirtieth year of his reign, according to the English Chronicle; his wife queen Sexburg reigned after him for the space of one year; but according to [1]Beda "subreguli" held the kingdom, which was divided between them for about ten years. Aetheldrith, queen of the Northumbrians, for a long time earnestly importuned king Egfrid to allow her to abandon the cares of the world, and to serve Christ her King in some monastery; her request being at last, though with difficulty, complied with, she entered the monastery[2] of the holy abbess Aebba, sister of kings Oswald and Oswiu, and aunt of king Egfrid, and received the veil at the hands of bishop Wilfrid. Bishop Ceadda, being much debilitated, but prepared for death by receiving the Body and Blood of our Lord, entered his eternal rest on the 6th of the nones of March [2d March], having presided over the church in the province of Mercia with great glory for two years and a half. As he was passing out of the world, the most reverend father Egberht, who had been his fellow-scholar in Ireland, saw the spirit of bishop Cedd, Ceadda's brother, descend from heaven with a company of angels, and

[1] See Eccl. Hist. IV. xii. [2] Namely, at Coldingham, in Berwickshire.

return thither, bearing with them his spirit. His deacon, Winfrid, was ordained by Theodore to be bishop in his stead. Benedict Biscop returned from Rome, and on his arrival in Britain went to his own province and native place. He visited Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, who immediately granted him seventy hides of land, in order that he might build a monastery at the mouth of the river Wir.

A.D. 673. Egbriht, king of Kent, died in the month of July, in the ninth year of his reign; he was succeeded by his brother Hlothere, who reigned eleven years and seven months. On the 24th day of September, the first indiction, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, convened a council at a place called Heortford. To this council Wilfrid, bishop of the Northumbrians, sent deputies; Putta, bishop of Rochester, Leutherius, bishop of the West Saxons, and Winfrid, bishop of the Mercian province, came in person; they were joined by Bisi, bishop of the East Angles, and successor of Boniface, whom we have mentioned before; he was a very holy and devout man, and had been ordained by Theodore not long previously; being prevented by his great infirmities from fulfilling the duties of his office, two bishops, Aecci and Badwine, were in his lifetime consecrated in his stead. Saint Aetheldrith was made abbess in the district called Elge [Ely], where having built a monastery, she commenced, as the virgin mother of virgins dedicated to God, a life of heavenly doctrine and practice.

A.D. 674. In this year, according to the English Chronicle, Aescuuine began to reign over the West Saxons; he was the son of Cenfus, who was the son of Cenferth, who was the son of Cuthgils, who was the son of Ceolwulf, who was the son of Cynric, who was the son of Cerdic. [1]Ireland, the island of saints, was considered to be entirely full of holy and remarkable men. Biscop [[2]built a monastery] at the mouth of the river Wir in the second indiction.

A.D. 675. Wulfere, king of the Mercians, and Aescuuine, king of the West Saxons, fought a battle at a place called Bidanheafd. In the same year, being the seventeenth of his reign, the said Wulfere entered the heavenly kingdom; he was the first of the Mercian kings who received the faith and the washing of holy regeneration; he abolished and thoroughly eradicated the worship of idols from all parts of his dominions, caused the name of Christ to be preached in every corner of his kingdom, and built churches in many places. His queen was Saint Eormengild, the daughter of Erconberht, king of Kent, and of his queen, Saint Sexburg, the latter being daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles, and sister of Saint Aetheldrith; by her he had a daughter, Saint Werburg, a virgin of exemplary virtues, who on her father's death renounced the world, and became a nun in the monastery of St. Aetheldrith, her mother's aunt, where by the help of God she wrought many miracles. When the report of her sanctity reached the ears of her uncle, king Aethelred, he made her abbess over several monas-

[1] This sentence is from Marianus Scotus.

[2] These words, necessary to complete the sense, are added from Beda.

teries of virgins devoted to God; living with and among these according to the rule, and devoutly providing for their necessities in all things, she passed the rest of her days as a good soldier of Christ; and dying in one of her monasteries called Triccingeham, as a sanctified virgin, she was thus embraced and espoused by the heavenly Bridegroom. Her corpse was taken, pursuant to her desire, to the monastery called Heanbirig, and there buried with great pomp; it remained uncorrupted up to the time when the pagan Danes with cruel slaughter barbarously depopulated and laid waste the English provinces. King Wulfer's brothers were, Aethelred, who succeeded to his kingdom; Peada, who (as we briefly mentioned) was king of the South Mercians; and Merewald, who reigned in the western division of Mercia. Merewald's queen was Saint Eormenburg, a daughter of king Ermenred; she bore him three daughters, namely Milburg, saint Mildrith, and saint Milgith, and one son named Merefin, a youth of transcendent piety.

Archbishop Theodore being offended with Winfrid, bishop of the Mercians, on account of some act of disobedience, deposed him from his bishopric, and appointed in his stead bishop Saxulf, the builder and abbot of the monastery of Burh, in the Girwian territory; the deposed Winfrid retired to his monastery of Bearuue, and there ended his days in a most exemplary manner. He then also appointed Erconwald to be bishop in the city of London over the East Saxons, at that time presided over by Saebba and Sighere; the see of his predecessor Wine was also in that same place. Erconwald's life and conversation, both before and after he was made bishop, are reputed to have been most saintly. He built two monasteries, one for himself and the other for his sister; his own was called Chertsey monastery, which with the generous assistance of the "subregulus" Frithewold, he filled with monks and richly endowed; his sister's was called Barking, and she was made its first abbess. Waldhere succeeded Erconwald, and he was succeeded by Inguald, who is the last bishop of London noticed by Beda[1] in his History of the Angles. Hildelith succeeded Aethelburg, the sister of saint Erconwald, to whom saint Aldelm addressed his book "On Virginity." In king Edgar's time Hildelith was succeeded by abbess Wulfhedis.

A.D. 676. Benedict Biscop went to Rome for the fourth time, accompanied by the monk Ceolfrid; at the request, and with the permission and consent of king Egfrid, he brought back with him a bull of privileges from pope Agatho, by which he secured for ever the security and immunities of his monastery. He also brought into Britain John, chief chanter of St. Peter the apostle, to teach in his monastery the course of singing for the whole year.

Escuuine, king of the West Saxons, died, and was succeeded by Centuuine, the son of Cynegils, who was the son of Ceol. Aethelred, king of the Mercians, devastated Kent, and involved the city of Rochester in the general destruction; when Putta, its bishop, heard thereof, he went to Saxulf, bishop of the Mercians, and

[1] See Eccl. Hist. V. xxiii.

being presented by him to a certain church, ended his days there in peace. Theodore consecrated Quichelm to be bishop in Putta's place, but on Quichelm leaving the bishopric shortly afterwards on account of its poverty, he substituted Gebmund as its bishop. Leutherius, bishop of the West Saxons, dying, Haeddi was consecrated by Theodore in the city of London, and succeeded him as bishop. Saint Cuthbert betook himself to an anchoret's life of meditation.

A.D. [1]677. In the month of August, in the eighth year of Egfrid's reign, a comet appeared. The same year a dissension arose between king Egfrid and the most reverend bishop Wilfrid, and the bishop was expelled from his see; and two bishops were appointed in his place; namely Bosa, a reverend monk of the monastery of the abbess Hild, to preside over the province of Deira; and Eata, the venerable abbot of the monastery of Mailrose, to preside over the province of Bernicia; the former having his episcopal seat in the city of York, and the latter in the church of Hagustald [Hexham], or else of Lindisfarne; they were both promoted from their monasteries to the dignity of the episcopate. Eathed also was ordained with them to be bishop in the province of the Lindisfaras, of which king Egfrid had very lately obtained possession, having defeated and put to flight Wulfere; he was the first separate bishop which this province had; the second was Aethelwine; the third was Eadgar; the fourth Cynebert: before Eathed its bishop was Saxulf, who was at the same time bishop of the Mercians and Midland Angles; so that after his expulsion from Lindsey, he continued to preside over those provinces. Eathed, Bosa, and Eata, were ordained at York by archbishop Theodore.

On his expulsion from the bishopric, Wilfrid set out on his journey to Rome, but while at sea the west wind drove him over to Friesland, where he was the first to preach the Gospel, and converted many thousand barbarians to the faith, passing the winter there to his great satisfaction in the midst of God's newly acquired subjects.

A.D. 678. The holy Beda was born.

A.D. 679. A severe battle was fought near the river Trent, between Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, and Aethelred, king of the Mercians; and king Alfwine, brother of king Egfrid (whose sister Ostrith was king Aethelred's wife), was killed there.

Bishop Wilfrid left Friesland and went to Rome; and having been by the sentence of pope Benedict and several bishops declared innocent, and worthy of his bishopric, he returned to Britain and converted the province of the South Saxons to Christianity. On the 9th of the kalends of July [23d June] the holy virgin Aetheldrith, abbess of the monastery of Ely, was taken away to the Lord, while she was in the midst of her flock; her sister Sexburg succeeded her in her office.

A.D. 680. In the sixth year of the reign of Aethelred, king of the Mercians, and the eighth indiction, archbishop Theodore convened an assembly of very many bishops and learned men at a

[1] According to Beda (Eccl. Hist. IV. xii.) this occurred in 678.

place called Haethfeld, in order that he might become acquainted with their several doctrines; this he did in obedience to the commands of pope Agatho, transmitted by John the chief chanter, who was present at the synod. Under this king, Mercia was divided into five dioceses, and Tadfrith, a very learned man, belonging to the monastery of the abbess Hild, was chosen bishop of the province of the Hwiccas, but he died suddenly before he could be ordained; wherefore the reverend man Bosel was shortly afterwards ordained bishop of that province. Hild, the devout servant of Christ, abbess of the monastery of Streoneshalh [Whitby], and daughter of king Edwin's grandson Haereric, having finished her heavenly labours upon earth, was removed from this world to receive the reward of eternal life; she passed from death to the Lord on the 15th of the kalends of December [17th Nov.], in the sixty-sixth year of her age. She was the builder of the two monasteries of Streoneshealh [Whitby] and Hacanos [Hackness], wherein she inculcated the observance of justice, piety, chastity, and other virtues; but especially peace and charity. In this abbess's monastery dwelt Cedmon, that celebrated monk, who was a poet, not through human instruction, but by God's inspiration. The "subregulus" Oshere, by the permission of his lord Aethelred, the renowned king of the Mercians, gave to Frithewald, a monk under bishop Winfrid, whom we have mentioned before, thirty manors at a place called Rippel, in order that he might there build a monastery according to ecclesiastical discipline.

A.D. 681. When the ingenious boy Beda was seven years of age, he was delivered by his relations to the reverend abbot Biscop, for the purpose of being educated. Three years after the removal of Wilfrid, archbishop Theodore ordained Tunbert to the church of Hexham (Eata remaining at that of Lindisfarne), and Trumwine in the territory of the Picts. Eathed having returned from Lindsey, because king Aethelred had recovered possession of that province, he appointed him to the church of Ripon.

A.D. 682. Centwine, king of the West Saxons, drove the West Britons at the sword's-point as far as the sea. The most reverend abbot Benedict Biscop selected from his monastery his cousin Easterwini, a priest of great holiness, and appointed him to be abbot of the said monastery. For the redemption of his soul, king Egfrid gave forty more hides of land to abbot Benedict. Twenty-two monks being sent there under the government of abbot Ceolfrid, who was in everything his firm coadjutor, he, at the king's command, built the monastery of St. Paul the apostle at a place called Girvum [Jarrow].

A.D. 683.

A.D. 684. Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, sending his general Berht into Ireland with an army, cruelly pillaged that harmless nation. At a synod, assembled in the presence of king Egfrid, at a place called Twiford, near the river Alne, archbishop Theodore presiding, Cuthberht was unanimously chosen to the bishopric of the church of Hexham; but inasmuch as he preferred the appointment to the church of Lindisfarne, he was permitted to

assume it, Eata returning to Hexham. For the fifth time, Benedict Biscop left Britain for Rome.

A.D. 685. Lothere, king of Kent, was wounded in a battle against the South Saxons, and died while his wounds were being cured, on the second day of the week, on the eighth of the ides of February [6th Feb.], in the twelfth year of his reign. He was succeeded by Eadric, his brother Ecgbert's son, who reigned one year and a half. Britain was visited by a wide-spreading and very deadly pestilence; on the nones of March [7th March], it carried off abbot Easterwini, beloved of God; in whose stead, the brethren, under the advice of abbot Ceolfrid, chose for their abbot Sigefrid, deacon of the said monastery, a man of wonderful piety, and deeply versed in the knowledge of the Scripture. Biscop returned from Rome, laden, as usual, with presents of things to be used in the ceremonies of the church, and with foreign acquisitions. At the feast of Easter [26th March], the ordination of St. Cuthberht was completed at York, in the presence of king Ecgfrid; seven bishops, with archbishop Theodore at their head, assisting at his consecration. On Saturday, the 13th of the kalends of June [20th May], in the fortieth year of his age, and fifteenth of his reign, king Ecgfrid was slain, while rashly leading an army to lay waste the territory of the Picts. He was succeeded by his brother Alhfrid, a man deeply read in the Scriptures: the most holy bishop Eata dying at the commencement of this reign, John, a man of holiness, was appointed to the bishopric of Hexham. Bishop Trumwine, one of the holiest of God's servants, retired with his people from the territory of the Picts, and took up his abode at Streoneshealh [Whitby], where he resided many years, to the great benefit not only of himself, but of many others: there too he died and entered the kingdom of heaven. Ceadwalla, a very brave youth of the royal race of the Gewissi [West Saxons], came unexpectedly with his army upon [1]Aethelwalh, king of the South Saxons, and slew him; but was shortly afterwards driven back by the king's generals, Berthun and Aethelhun, who thenceforth ruled the province. Centwine, king of the West Saxons, departed this life, and was succeeded in the kingdom by the aforesaid Ceadwalla, who was the son of Cynebriht, who was the son of Cedde, who was the son of Cutha, who was the son of Ceaulin, who was the son of Cynric, who was the son of Cerdic.

A.D. 686. Bishop Wilfrid, after having been long exiled, resumed his see and bishopric of the church of Hexham, at the invitation of king Alhfrid. On the death of the holy and humble Bosa, John succeeded him as bishop of York. Ceadwalla, king of the Gewissi [West Saxons], slew Beorthun, leader of the South Saxons, and reduced that province to a state of servitude; afterwards, he and his brother Mul devastated Kent. The same king Ceadwalla afterwards took the Isle of Wight, which, up to that time, had been wholly and entirely given up to idolatry; and although he himself was not yet regenerated in Christ, yet he gave one-fourth part of the island, consisting of three hundred hides of

[1] This is the reading of A.; the printed editions and B. read Æthelwald.

land, to bishop Wilfrid for the Lord's service; Wilfrid accepted the donation, and, entrusting the management of it to his nephew, [1]Berwin, appointed ministers of the Word in the island.

The godly bishop, Cuthbert, after having passed two years in his bishopric, returned to the island of Farne, by the direction of a message from God. On the death of Edric, king of Kent, that kingdom was for some time wasted by kings of doubtful title, or by foreigners.

A.D. 687. In Kent, the people of that province most inhumanly threw Mul, brother of Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons, and twelve of his soldiers, into the fire, and burnt them: thereat, king Ceadwalla being enraged, again devastated Kent. On the fourth day of the week, in the 13th of the kalends of April [Wednesday, 20th March], the fifteenth indiction, the most reverend father Cuthbert died in the island of Farne; but his body was taken to the island of Lindisfarne, and buried in the church; the duties of his episcopal office were performed by Wilfrid, bishop of Hexham, for the space of one year. The venerable Aethelwald succeeded the godly Cuthbert in his life of solitude: how worthy he was, and how excellent was his life, is shown by the numberless miracles wrought at his hands. [2]At this time flourished St. Kilian, bishop of Wurtzburg, a Scot of Irish birth.

A.D. 688. On the departure of Ceadwalla to Rome, he was succeeded in the kingdom by Ini of the royal race, [3]who built the monastery of Glaestingabirig [Glastonbury]. His father was Cenred, whose father was Ceolwald, whose father was Cutha, whose father was Cuthwine, whose father was Ceaulin.

Eadberht was ordained in the place of Cuthbert; he was a man remarkable for his acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures, and his obedience to the divine ordinances, and especially celebrated for his almsgiving. Abbots Benedict Biscop and Sigefrid, worn out by long-continued sickness, both became bed-ridden. Shortly afterwards, Benedict took counsel with the brethren, and summoned Ceolfrid, abbot of the monastery of St. Paul the apostle, and on the 4th of the ides of May [12th May], in the first indiction, made him abbot of both monasteries. On [4]Saturday, the 11th of the kalends of September [22d Aug.], in the same year, the venerable and God-beloved abbot, Sigefrid, was introduced into the enjoyment of eternal rest, and entered the mansions of the heavenly kingdom amid the sacrifices of perpetual praise.

A.D. 689. On the 2d of the ides of January [12th Jan.], Benedict Biscop, a repressor of vice, and a notable example of virtue, entered into the repose and splendour of eternal life, after having endured the purification of a long illness, during which he was always offering his thanksgiving to God. On the holy Saturday before Easter Sunday [10th April], Ceadwalla, king of the West

[1] An error for "Bernuin." [2] This passage is from Marianus.

[3] In the MS. B. the passage reads thus:—"Who completed the monastery called Abingdon, which had been begun by Cissa, a noble, and king Ceadwala."

[4] This word "Saturday," omitted in the editions, is now given from A. The dates correspond.

Saxons, was baptized, Sergius being then pope: and he died on the third day of the week [1][Tuesday], the [2]12th of the kalends of May [20th April], the second indiction, being about thirty years of age. His epitaph, written at the command of pope Sergius, runs in this wise:—

"Culmen, opes, sobolem pollentia regna, triumphos."[3]

A.D. 690. Archbishop Theodore, of blessed memory, died on the second [4]day of the week [Monday], the 13th of the kalends of October [19th Sept.], in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his bishopric.

[5] "Gladly he joined the spotless fellowship
Of angels, citizens of highest heaven."

Up to this time the archbishops of Canterbury were Romans, but from this time they were English.

A.D. 691. Wilfrid, bishop of Hexham, being again accused, was driven from his bishopric by king Alhfrid and several bishops: he withdrew shortly afterwards to Aethelred, king of the Mercians, and was by him appointed bishop of the Midland Angles. At this time, Bosel, bishop of the province of the Hwiccas, became so infirm, that he was unable personally to fulfil his episcopal duties; in consequence of which, Oftfor, a man of singular merit and great holiness, who, for a long time, had discharged the office of the priesthood in the monastery of the abbess Hild, but was afterwards a preacher of the Word in the aforesaid province, was unanimously elected bishop in his stead, and, at the king's command, was ordained by bishop Wilfrid of blessed memory; for archbishop Theodore was then dead, and no one had been ordained to the episcopate in his stead. Wihtred, son of Ecgbert, king of Kent, being settled in his kingdom, by his piety and zeal delivered his subjects from foreign invasion. Suebheard governed a portion of the kingdom conjointly with him.

A.D. 692. The venerable Ecgbert, an Englishman by birth, (whose name is always to be mentioned with the greatest reverence,) having led a pilgrim's life in Ireland, in order to obtain a country in heaven, was desirous of going to preach in Germany; but his wish not being granted by God, he sent over there holy and industrious men to propagate the word; among whom, the priest Willebrord deservedly shone preeminent, no less by office than by merit. Pepin the elder, chief of the Franks, received them joyfully, and sent them to preach in Hither Friesland. Following their example, two priests, named Hewald, English by birth, went to the province of Old Saxony, there, by preaching, to win souls to Christ. But when the barbarians found that they were of a different religion, they seized them, and on the 5th of the nones of October [3d Oct.], martyred them. Willebrord, having received from prince Pepin permission to preach, went to Rome, in order that he might obtain from pope Sergius leave to begin the work of

[1] The day of the week, omitted in B. and the editions, is given from A.
[2] B. The editions incorrectly give xiv. [3] See Eccl. Hist. V. vii.
[4] A. supplies the day of the week (correctly), which is not found in B. nor the editions. [5] See Eccl. Hist. V. viii.

preaching the Gospel: and having accomplished his object, he returned to preach.

Brihtwald, abbot of the monastery of Raculfe, situate near the northern mouth of the river Genlade, a man well versed in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and thoroughly acquainted with ecclesiastical and monastic discipline, was chosen bishop in the place of Theodore. Oftfor, bishop of the Hwiccas, dying, was succeeded by St. Ecgwin, who, in the course of a few years, with the permission and assistance of king Aethelred, began the building of the monastery which is called Eovesham.

A.D. 693. On Sunday, the 3d of the kalends of July [29th June], Brihtwald was ordained by Godwin, metropolitan bishop of France: among the many other bishops whom he ordained, was Tobias, whom, on the death of Gebmund, bishop of Rochester, he consecrated bishop in his stead. The monk, Beda, obtained the rank of the diaconate from John, bishop of York.

A.D. 694. The men of Kent made peace with Ina, king of the West Saxons, and paid [1]three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, because they had burned his brother Mull, as beforementioned.

A.D. 695. The body of the blessed virgin Aetheldrith, and the garment in which she was wrapped, were found uncorrupted, after having been buried sixteen years.

A.D. 696. On the anniversary of the nativity of the most blessed virgin Cecilia [22d Nov.], St. Willebrord, an Englishman born in Britain, was, at the request of Pepin, chief of the Franks, ordained archbishop of the Frisians by pope Sergius.

A.D. 697. St. Guthlac, at the age of twenty-four years, renouncing the pomps of the world, and abandoning all his property, entered the monastery of Hrepandun [Repton], and received the tonsure and clerical habit there under abbess Alfthrith. Ostrith, the queen of Aethelred, king of the Mercians, was slain by the South-Humbrians.

A.D. 698. The body of St. Cuthbert was, on the eleventh anniversary of his burial, found uncorrupted, as though he were just dead, and also the robe in which he was wrapped: so he was exhumed and put in a new shroud, and deposited in a new coffin on the pavement of the sanctuary. Shortly afterwards, bishop Eadbert, the friend of God, was attacked with a severe illness, and soon afterwards, to wit, on the 2d of the nones of May [6th May], he departed to the Lord: his body was deposited in the sepulchre of St. Cuthbert, on the top of the cist in which the corpse of that father had remained uncorrupted. The godly Eadfrid succeeded Eadbert in the bishopric.

A.D. 699. On the 8th of the kalends of September [25th Aug.], the most holy Guthlac came to the island of Cruland, and there began to lead an anchoret's life.

A.D. 700—702.

A.D. 703. [2]Beda, in his book "De Temporibus," thus writes,

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 694, (p. 25,) and the note there.

[2] This extract is from Marianus.

in the year in which he composed it: "If you wish to know how many years, according to the computation of Dionysius, have elapsed since our Lord's incarnation, take the number of indictions since the fifth year of Tiberius, which in this present year will be forty-six; multiply that number by fifteen; the product is six hundred and ninety; always add the regular number twelve, (because, according to Dionysius, our Lord was born in the fourth indiction,) and also the indiction of the year for which you are making your calculation, which in the present year is one; the total result is seven hundred and three. This is the year of our Lord according to Dionysius." These are Beda's words.

A.D. 704. Ethelred, king of the Mercians, turned monk in the thirtieth year of his reign, and gave up the kingdom to his nephew Cynred. The venerable monk Beda, in obedience to the command of his abbot Ceolfrid, took priest's orders at the hands of the holy John, bishop of York.

A.D. 705. On the 19th of the kalends of January [14th Dec.], Alhfrid, king of the Northumbrians, died at Driffeld, having reigned not quite twenty years. His son Osred, a boy about eight years old, succeeded him, and reigned eleven years. At the commencement of his reign, Haedda, bishop of the West Saxons, departed to the life which is in heaven; and thereupon, the bishopric of that province was divided into two sees, one of which was assigned to Daniel, and the other to Aldelm, abbot of the monastery of the city of Maildulf [Malmesbury]; both men well versed in ecclesiastical matters and in the Scriptures. Saxulf, bishop of the Mercians, departed this life. St. Aldelm was ordained bishop by the holy Brihtwald, archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 706.

A.D. 707. In the thirtieth year of his age, Beda, having taken priest's orders, began to write his books, in the composition of which he spent twenty-nine years.

A.D. [1]708. Cynred, king of the Mercians, and Offa, king of the East Saxons, son of king Sigher, leaving their wives, their lands, their kindred, and their country, for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, went to Rome, and received the tonsure, and became monks there: they spent their whole lives at the seat of the apostles, in prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, and thus joined the company of the saints in heaven, for which they had so long sought. At their request, St. Ecgwin, bishop of the Hwiccas, accompanied them to Rome, and asked for and obtained from pope Constantine a bull, whereby the monastery which he had built in the Worcestershire territory was secured from spoliation of wicked persons.

A.D. 709. Cynred was succeeded in the kingdom by Ceolred: he was the son of king Aethelred, and had preceded Cynred in the government of the kingdom. St. Aldelm, bishop of the West-Saxon province, an universally learned man, departed to the Lord: he was succeeded in the bishopric by Forthred, who was also very learned in the Scriptures.

[1] See Eccl. Hist. V. xix.

"Wilfrid, renown'd in name and saintly life,
Through many years endured the world's fierce strife;
Thrice fifteen years he fill'd a bishop's place,
Then full of joy beheld his Maker's face."

His remains were buried with great ceremony in the church of St. Peter the apostle, in his original monastery of Ripon. After his death, Acca his priest was made bishop of the church of Hexham: he was a man of great energy, praised of God and of men; a most skilful singer; of consummate biblical learning; most correct in his confession of the catholic faith; of unblemished chastity; intimately acquainted with the rules of ecclesiastical life. He had been formerly a pupil of the God-favoured Bosa, bishop of York.

A.D. 710. Berhfrid, the prefect of king Osred, fought against and overcame the Picts. Ine, the warlike king of the Gewissi [West Saxons], and his [1]kinsman Nun, waged war against Gerent, king of the Britons, routed and put him to flight. The very reverend father Adrian, abbot of the monastery of St. Peter the apostle, died, and was buried in the same monastery. He was succeeded by his disciple Albinus, who was as perfect in Greek and Latin as in English, which was his native language.[2]

A.D. 711—713.

A.D. 714. On the 3d of the ides of April [11th April], being the fourth day of Easter, the twelfth indiction, Guthlac, that most laudable anchoret, and most faithful priest of God, brother of Christ's dear virgin, Pegia, and exhibitor of countless virtues, died; his spirit becoming a partaker of the joys of everlasting happiness: he was succeeded by Cissa, who was for a long time an idolater, but who had afterwards been baptized in Britain.

A.D. 715. [3]Gregory, the eighty-eighth pope, succeeded to the papacy, and held it for seventeen years and ten months. He was a chaste and learned man, and ordained as bishop of Mentz Boniface, an [4]Englishman by birth, from whom Germany received the word of salvation. Ine, king of the West Saxons, and Ceolred, king of the Mercians, fought a battle, at a place called Wodnesbeorh.

A.D. 716. The godly Egbert (whom we have mentioned before) brought over the monks of Hii to the catholic mode of observing Easter, and to the adoption of the ecclesiastical tonsure. Osred being slain, Cenred, son of the renowned Cuthwin, succeeded to the government of the Northumbrian kingdom. Ceolred, king of the Mercians, died, and was buried at Licetfeld. He was succeeded as king, in accordance with St. Guthlac's prophecy, by his cousin Aethelbald, who was the son of Alweon, who was the cousin of his father, king Aethelred. Aethelred, formerly king of the Mercians, but afterwards abbot of the monastery of Bardney, which he had built, departed this life, and entered on the joys of everlasting happiness, purity, and day. On the sixth day of the

[1] This reading is from B.; the editions read "his neighbour."
[2] A. here adds, "On the death of Tyrhtell, bishop of Hereford, he was succeeded by Forhtere."
[3] From Marianus.
[4] "An Irishman," N.

week [Friday], the 7th of the kalends of October [25th Sept.], the eminently holy and religious abbot Ceolfrid died, while on a pilgrimage, at the city of Langres, in Burgundy, and was buried in the church of the holy fellow-martyrs, Speusippus, Eleusippus, and Meleusippus: he was seventy-four years old when he died, and had been a priest for forty-seven years, and thirty-five years an abbot.

A.D. 717. On the fifth day of the week [Thursday], the 3d of the kalends of January [30th Dec.], the fifteenth indiction, St. Ecgwin, the third bishop of the Hwiccas, died. Wilfrid, a man of great piety, succeeded to the bishopric of Worcester, having been elected thereto in Ecgwin's lifetime.

A.D. 718. Coenred, king of the Northumbrians, died, and Osric was exalted to the throne. Ingels, brother of Ina, king of the West Saxons, died. His sisters were Saints Quenburg and Cuthburg, the latter of whom built a monastery for holy virgins at a place called Winburn. Aldfrid, king of the Northumbrians, married Cuthburg; but before her death, both renounced connubial intercourse for the love of God.

A.D. 719, 720.

A.D. 721. Daniel, bishop of Winchester, went to Rome. In the same year king Ine slew Cyneulf the etheling. The holy John, bishop of York, not being able to fulfil the duties of his bishopric, by reason of his great age, ordained his priest Wilfrid to succeed him, and retired to his monastery which was called In Derewood, and died there on the nones of May [7th May], having passed his life in godly conversation. Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and was succeeded by Aethelwald, priest and abbot of Mailrose.

A.D. 722. Queen Aethelburg utterly destroyed the castle called Taunton, which had been previously built by king Ine: the latter in the same year fought a battle with the South Saxons.

A.D. 723, 724.

A.D. 725. On the 9th of the kalends of May [23d April], Wihtred, king of Kent, son of Ecgbert, died, leaving three sons, Aethelbert, Eadbert, and Alric, heirs to his kingdom, which he had held thirty-four years and a half. King Ine fought again with the South Saxons, and slew the etheling Aldbriht, whom he had previously driven from West Saxony. [1]In this year the chronologist Beda composed his smaller book of computation; for he thus writes: "If you wish to know the epact for any given year, take the year of our Lord, according to Dionysius, as, for instance, in the present eighth indiction, seven hundred and twenty-five, and divide by nineteen: nineteen multiplied by thirty produces five hundred and seventy, and nineteen multiplied by eight produces one hundred and fifty-two: subtracting these, there remain three: multiply the three by [2]nineteen; the produce is thirty-three: subtract thirty, and three remain: three is the epact for the present year." These are Beda's own words.

A.D. 726. Tobias, bishop of Rochester, died: he had studied Greek and Latin so well as to understand and employ them as

[1] This passage is from Marianus. [2] Read "eleven."

easily as his native English. He was succeeded in the bishopric by Alduulf, who was consecrated thereto by Berhtwald, archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 727.

A.D. 728. King Ine having abdicated, and transferred his throne to Aethelhard, one of the descendants of king Cerdic, went to Rome during the time of pope Gregory [II.], being desirous of spending some portion of his pilgrimage upon earth in the vicinity of the holy places, so that he might thereby earn a better reception of the saints in heaven. In the same year, king Aethelhard and Oswold the etheling fought a battle: Oswold was the son of Aethelbald, who was the son of Cinebald, who was the son of Cuthwin, who was the son of Ceaulin.

A.D. 729. In the month of January, two comets appeared near the sun, and remained nearly two weeks. On Easter-day of the same year, which fell on the 8th of the kalends of May [24th April], the holy Egbert, whom we have often noticed before, departed to the Lord. When Easter was over, that is to say, on the 7th of the ides of May [9th May], Osric, king of the Northumbrians, died, having appointed that Ceoluulf, brother of his predecessor, king Kenred, should be his heir. To Ceoluulf, Beda, the servant of Christ, a priest and monk, addressed his Ecclesiastical History of the English nation. Ceoluulf was the son of Cutha, who was the son of Cuthwin, who was the son of Ecgwald, who was the son of Aldhelm, who was the son of [1] Occa, who was the son of Ida, who was the son of Eoppa.

A.D. 730. This year died the etheling Oswald, a very brave man.

A.D. 731. On the 5th of the ides of January [9th Jan.], archbishop Brihtwald died, worn out with extreme old age. Pope Gregory died on the 3d of the ides of February [11th Feb.]. On Sunday[2] the 10th day of the month of June, Tatwine, a priest of the monastery of Briudun, in the province of Mercia, was by bishops Daniel of Winchester, Inguald of London, Aldwin of Litchfield, and Adulf of Rochester, consecrated at Canterbury, to be archbishop in the place of Brihtwald. He was a religious and prudent man, and eminently well read in sacred literature. In about the two hundred and eighty-second year from the arrival of the Angles in Britain, Tatwine and Aldulf were bishops over the Kentish churches. Moreover, Inguald was bishop of the province of the East Saxons; Eadbert and Hathulac were bishops of the province of the East Angles; and Daniel and Forthere of the province of the West Saxons: Aldwine was bishop of the Mercian province; Walhstod of those people[3] who live westward beyond the river Severn; Wilfrid of the Wiccian province,[4] and Kynebert of the province of the Lindisfari. The bishopric of the Isle of Wight belongs to Daniel, bishop of Winchester. The province of the South Saxons having been now for some years without a

[1] So MS. A. The editions read "Osca."
[2] Namely, the second Sunday after Trinity.
[3] Of Hereford. [4] Of Worcester.

bishop, requested the bishop of the West Saxons to exercise the episcopal office over them. These and the other southern provinces, as far as the river Humber, with their respective kings, were all subject to Aethelbald, king of the Mercians. But in the province of the Northumbrians, of which Ceolulf was king, there were four bishops, to wit, Wilfrid in the church of York, Athelwold in that of Lindisfarne, Acca in that of Hexham, and Pectelm in that which is called Candida Casa [Whiterne]. The Britons were to a great extent brought in subjection to the Angles.

A.D. 732.

A.D. 733. On the [1]18th of the kalends of September [14th Aug.], about the third hour of the day, the sun was eclipsed to such an extent that nearly the whole of its disc seemed to be covered with a dreadful deep black shield. Acca, bishop of Hexham, was driven from his bishopric.

A.D. 734. On the [2]2d of the kalends of February [24th Jan.], at about cock-crow, the moon became of a blood-red colour, and remained so for fully an hour, then turned black, and afterwards returned to its natural colour. On the 3d of the kalends of August [30th July], Tatwine, archbishop of Canterbury, died. His successor in the archbishopric was Nothelm, a priest of the church of London. On the fourth day of the week [Wednesday], before Ascension Sunday, that is, on the 8th of the kalends of June [25th May, 735], about the tenth hour of the day, the most holy Beda, a venerable priest, a monk praiseworthy in all things, and a wonderful calculator, breathed his last sigh, and thus in joy entered the kingdom of heaven. His death took place in this year according to the English chronicles; but in the following year, according to his disciple Cuthbert, who has given an account of his death, and who with many others was present at his departure. He composed an elegant and extensive history of his own people down to this period, and concluded his life and his history at the same time. And we, by God's assistance, have thought that events which have occurred subsequently to his happy departure, both as we find them recorded in the English chronicles, and as we have heard from trustworthy authority, as well as the undoubted facts which we have heard and seen, being chronicled from this period, are worthy of being bequeathed to the memory of the men of veracity who shall come after us.

A.D. 735. Pectelm, bishop of Whitherne, died, and was succeeded in the bishopric by Frithowald.

A.D. 736. Nothelm, archbishop of Canterbury, received the pall from Gregory [the Third], who was the eighty-ninth pope.

A.D. 737. Forther, bishop of Shireburn, and Frithogith, queen of the West Saxons, went to Rome.

A.D. 738. Ceolulf, king of the Northumbrians, became a monk, having abdicated his kingdom and bestowed in it Eadbriht, his cousin-german, son of Eata.

[1] We should here read "the nineteenth."
[2] Here also is an error; we should read "the ninth."

A.D. [1]739. Athelwald, bishop of Lindisfarne, and Acca, bishop of Hexham, paid the debt of nature. Cyneulf succeeded Aethelwald, and Acca was succeeded by Frithebert.

A.D. 740.

A.D. 741. Aethelhard, king of the West Saxons, died, and was succeeded by his kinsman Cuthred, who perpetually harassed in war Aethelbald, king of the Mercians. Nothelm, archbishop of Canterbury, dying on the 16th of the kalends of November [17th Oct.], Cuthbert, the fifth bishop of Hereford, succeeded as archbishop.[2] Aldulf, bishop of Rochester, also died, and Dunn was consecrated in his stead.

A.D. 742.

A.D. 743. Aethelbald, king of the Mercians, and Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, fought against the Britons. Wilfrid, bishop of the Hwiccas died, and Milred succeeded. [3] St. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, flourished. Stars[4] were seen falling as it were from heaven.

A.D. 744. [5]St. Boniface began to build the monastery of Fulda, in the desert of Bochon. Wilfrid the younger,[6] archbishop of York, died on the 3d of the kalends of May [29th April], and Ecgbert, brother of king Aedbert, was raised to the dignity of the archbishopric. Daniel, bishop of Winchester, venerable for his great age, voluntarily gave up his office, and came to reside in that city, and Hunfrid was appointed bishop in his stead.

A.D. 745. Daniel, in the forty-third year from his appointment to the office of the bishopric, and after many battles as a heavenly soldier, entered on his everlasting reward.

A.D. 746. Selred, king of the East Saxons, was slain.

A.D. 747.

A.D. 748. Kenric, the etheling of the West Saxons, was slain. Eadbert, king of Kent, died, and his brother Aethelbert was made king.

A.D. 749.

A.D. 750. [7]Pepin, by order of pope Zachary, was anointed emperor by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, in consequence of which the bishop of Mentz is considered as next in dignity to the pope. Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, fought a battle with that very fierce earldorman Aethelhun.

A.D. 751.

A.D. 752. In the twelfth year of the reign of Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, he and Aethelbald, king of the Mercians, fought a severe battle near Beorhtford.

A.D. 753. King Cuthred fought again with the Britons, and slew many of them.

A.D. 754. Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, died, and his

[1] A.D. 738, A. See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 737.
[2] "Podda succeeded him in the bishopric of Hereford." A., in another hand.
[3] This sentence is from Marianus. [4] See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 744.
[5] From Marianus.
[6] Here is an error, arising from a confusion between Wilfrid of Worcester and Wilfrid the second, archbishop of York. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 734, 766.
[7] This sentence is from Marianus.

kinsman Sigebert, son of Sigeric, succeeded him. On the death of Hunferth, bishop of Winchester, Kinehard took his place as bishop. Canterbury was destroyed by fire.

A.D. 755. [1]On the nones of June [5th June], St. Boniface, the archbishop, while preaching the word of God in Friesland, suffered martyrdom in company with many other martyrs. Kineulf, who was descended from the line of king Cerdic, with the aid of the West-Saxon nobles, drove their king Sigebert from his dominions on account of the multitude of his evil deeds, and reigned in his stead; but he granted to Sigebert one province called Hampshire, which he continued to hold until he had unjustly slain Cumbra, the earldorman, who had followed him longer than any other person. After that he was attacked by king Kineulf himself and was driven into a wood which the English call Andred. After remaining there for a long time, a certain herdsman ran him through with a spear, in revenge for the death of the aforesaid earldorman, at a place called Privet's-flood. The same king Kineulf very frequently and utterly routed the Britons in severe battles. Aethelbald, king of the Mercians, was slain at Segeswalde, and his corpse was taken to Repton and there buried. His kingdom was usurped by the tyrant Beornred, who held it for a short time with neither peace nor comfort, and then lost his throne and life together. Beornred was succeeded in the kingdom by Offa, grandson of a cousin of Aethelbald, king of the Mercians, being a son of Thingferth, who was the son of Eanulf, who was the son of Osmod, who was the son of Eoppa, who was the son of Pybba,[2] the father of king Penda.[3]

A.D. 756. Lullus succeeded as archbishop [of Mentz] after Boniface, and held the see for thirty-two years.

A.D. 757. Eadbert, king of the Northumbrians, abdicated his kingdom out of love for the heavenly country, and received the tonsure of St. Peter the apostle; and his son Osulf assumed the government of the realm, and after a reign of one year was slain by the Northumbrians on the 9th of the kalends of August [24th July].

A.D. 758. On the 7th of the kalends of November [26th Oct.], Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, died. At this period Swithred was king of the East Saxons, Osmund of the South Saxons, and Beorn of the East Angles.

A.D. 759. Breogwin, Cuthbert's successor, was ordained archbishop on the festival of Michaelmas-day [29th Sept.]. Moll Aethelwold succeeded to the kingdom of Northumbria.

A.D. 760. Aethelbert, king of Kent, died; and that most religious monk Ceolulf, formerly the most glorious king of Northumbria, entered on the joys of eternal day.[4]

A.D. 761. This year the winter was very severe; and on the

[1] This first sentence is copied from Marianus.

[2] So A. The editions read "Wibba."

[3] A. here adds, "On the death of Wita, bishop of Litchfield, he was succeeded by Hemele."

[4] "On the death of Hemele, bishop of Litchfield, Cuthfrid succeeded." A., addition.

8th of the ides of August [6th Aug.], Moll, king of the Northumbrians, slew a most noble etheling named Oswin, near Edwinscliff.

A.D. 762. Breogwin, archbishop of Canterbury, died on the 9th of the kalends of September [24th Aug.]. He was succeeded by Jainbert, abbot of St. Augustine's monastery.

A.D. 763. On the feast-day of the purification of St. Mary [2d Feb.], Jainbert was advanced to the archbishopric. On the nones of May [7th May], in the same year, Frithewold, bishop of Whiterne, died. Pechtwine succeeded him as bishop, being consecrated on the 16th of the kalends of August[1] [17th July], in the district called Aelfete.

A.D. 764. Archbishop Jainberht received the pall from pope Paul, brother of his predecessor pope Stephen.

A.D. 765. Moll abdicated the kingdom of Northumbria, and was succeeded by Alhred, son of Eanwin, who was the son of Birnhom, who was the son of Bofa,[2] who was the son of Bleocman, who was the son of Ailric,[3] who was the son of Ida.

A.D. 766. Ecgbert, archbishop of York, died on the 13th[4] of the kalends of December [19th Nov.], at York, and was succeeded by Aethelbert. Frithobert, bishop of Hexham, died, and was succeeded by Alhmund.

A.D. 767.

A.D. 768. That exquisitely pious monk, Eadbriht, formerly the most noble king of Northumbria, died on the 13th of the kalends of September [20th Oct.], and was buried in the same porch in which his brother archbishop Egbert lies.

A.D. 769[5]—773.[6]

A.D. 774. A red figure like a cross appeared in the sky after sunset. The Mercians and the men of Kent fought a battle at Otford. Frightful and exceeding wonderful serpents appeared in the province of the South Saxons. On the feast of Easter [3d April], the Northumbrians expelled their king Alhred, who had succeeded king Moll, from York, and raised Moll's son, Aethelbert, to the throne.

A.D. 775. Milred,[7] bishop of the Hwicca's, died, and was succeeded in the office of bishop by Weremund.

A.D. [8]776. Pechtwine, bishop of Whiterne, died [9]on the 13th of the kalends of October [19th Sept.].

A.D. 777.

A.D. 778. Alfwold succeeded to the kingdom of Northumbria, after the natives had expelled Aethelbert therefrom. Kineulf,[10] king

[1] This date, indicating the seventh Sunday after Trinity, is probably correct.
[2] So A. B. The editions read "Bosa." [3] Ealric, A.; Earic, B.
[4] So A. The editions read "xiv."
[5] "On the death of Cuthfrid, bishop of Litchfield, Berhtun succeeded." A., an addition by another hand.
[6] "A.D. 772. Sigga, bishop of the church of Sealsey, having died, Alubriht succeeded." An addition in A. by a second hand.
[7] See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 772.
[8] The date is from B. A.D. 777, edd.
[9] This date is from A. B., and does not occur in the editions.
[10] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 777.

of the West Saxons, and Offa, king of Mercia, fought a great battle near Bensington; but Offa gained the victory, and took and kept possession of the town. Weremund, bishop of the Hwiccas, died, and was succeeded by abbot Tilher. Aethelbert was ordained bishop of York at Whiterne on the 17th of the kalends of July[1] [15th June].

A.D. 779. Alhmund, [2]bishop of Hexham, died on the 7th of the ides of September [7th Sept.], and on the 6th of the nones of October [2d Oct.], Tilbert was ordained in his stead: and Higbald was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne, at Soccabury, in the place of Kineulf. King Alfwold sent messengers to Rome to ask pope Adrian for the pall for Eanbald.

A.D. 780.

A.D. 781. Tilher, bishop of the Hwiccas, died, and Heathored succeeded him in the bishopric. Aethelbert, archbishop of York, Egbert's successor, died, and was succeeded by Eanbald.[3] A synod was held at Aclea [Ockley?]: and Kineulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, and Wereburg, queen of Ceolred, formerly king of the Mercians, died.

A.D. 782,[4] 783.[5]

A.D. 784. As Kineulf,[6] king of the West Saxons, was meditating the expulsion from his kingdom of the etheling Cynehard, brother of king Sigebert, he came to a vill, called by the English, Meretun, for the purpose of visiting a certain woman, and, as it happened, accompanied with very few attendants. On hearing this, the etheling assembled his friends from all quarters, and with great glee hastened to the town. On his arrival he found that every one was sound asleep; and he caused the chamber where the king lay sleeping to be closely surrounded. When the king was made aware of this, he rose up in haste from his couch, seized his arms, opened the door of the chamber, and fought manfully against his assailants. Catching sight at length of the etheling, he rushed headlong at him and wounded him very severely: seeing this, all the etheling's soldiers made a simultaneous attack on the king, and, having disabled, slew him. The woman cried out with fear and grief, and filled the room with her lamentations. The king's few guards rushed to the spot; and found the king, whom a short time previously they had left alive, lying dead. At this they became furious, and drawing their swords, made a fierce slaughter on his murderers. But the etheling addresses them in a most specious manner, promises a large sum of money to each, and also to spare their lives, if they will desist: they, however, reject his offers, and still press on; but all perish except one British hostage, who was

[1] As the 15th of June fell upon a Sunday in A.D. 777 (and not in 778), we may conclude that the chronology of Florence is here faulty by one year.

[2] See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 780.

[3] "He was the scholar of Alchwin, the master of the emperor Charles." A., addition.

[4] "On the death of Herewald, bishop of the church of Sherburn, Ethelmod succeeded." A., from William of Malmesbury.

[5] Totta, bishop of Middle-Anglia, having died, Eadberht succeeded." A., in a second hand.

[6] See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 755.

seriously wounded. The next morning the king's ealdorman, Osric, with whom he was most intimate, and Wiverth, a most trusty thane, hastened to the place, with all those whom the king had left behind the day before; but they find the gates all barred. While they are endeavouring to break in, the etheling comes out boldly, and promises that he will willingly grant to each person whatever he may desire, gold, silver, and honours, if they will exalt him to the regal throne; he hints, too, that very many of his relations are with him, who will on no account abandon, but are ready to live and die with him. But they too disdain his offers, and peremptorily summon his relations to quit their lord, and depart unharmed to their homes as soon as possible. The latter replied thus: "What you offer to us is the same as that which we previously offered to the king's companions, who were slain with him; but as they would not acquiesce in our request, so we too in this matter will not attend to yours." On hearing this the king's party advance, force open the gates, break through the enclosures, and slay the etheling and all his men, to the number of eighty-four, save only the etheling's little son, who was nevertheless dreadfully wounded. The king's corpse was carried to Winchester to be buried; that of the etheling was buried in the monastery of Axminster.

A.D. 785. A very boisterous synod was held at a place called in the English tongue Cealchithe, and thereby archbishop Iainbert lost a small portion of his diocese. Berthun, bishop of Dorchester, dying, Higebriht was chosen by Offa, king of Mercia, to succeed him in the bishopric; and Offa's son, Egferth, was consecrated king.

A.D. 786.[1]

A.D. 787. Brihtric, king of the West Saxons, married Eadburg, daughter of king Offa: in his time the Danish pirates came to England with three ships. When the king's reeve heard of their arrival, he advanced hastily against them with a small company. Being entirely ignorant who they were, or whence they came, he endeavoured to drive them against their will into the king's town; but they presently slew him. These were the first Danes who came to England.[2]

A.D. 788. On the 4th of the nones of September [2d Sept.], a synod was held at Pincanhale, in Northumbria.[3]

A.D. 789. On the 9th of the kalends of October [23d Sept.], Alfwold, king of the Northumbrians, was wickedly slain by a man named Siga, and was buried in St. Peter's church, at Hexham. A brilliant celestial light frequently appeared at the spot where he was slain. He was succeeded in the kingdom by his nephew, Osred, son of king Alhred.

A.D. 790. On the 2d of the ides of August [12th Aug.], Iainbert, archbishop of Canterbury, died; and abbot Aethelhard

[1] "On the death of Podda, bishop of Hereford, Ecca succeeded." A. in another hand.

[2] "On the death of Higberht, bishop of Litchfield, Aldulf succeeded." A. in a second hand.

[3] "Kynehard, bishop of Winchester, dying, was succeeded by Aethelhard, abbot of Malmesbury." A. in another hand.

was elected to succeed him. The Northumbrians drove Osred from his kingdom, who was succeeded therein by Aethelred's brother, Alfwold.

A.D. 791. On the 16th of the kalends of August[1] [17th July], Beadwulf was ordained bishop of Whiterne.

A.D. 792. Osred, whom the Northumbrians had driven from his kingdom, was taken captive, and on the 18th of the kalends of October [14th Sept.], unrighteously put to death, and was buried in the monastery at the mouth of the river Tine.

A.D. 793. Aegelbriht,[2] the most glorious and holy king of the East Angles, courteous of speech to all, and acceptable to Christ, the true King, by reason of his virtues, lost at once his kingdom and his life, being beheaded by the detestable commands of Offa, the very potent king of the Mercians, and the wicked incitement of his wife, queen Cynethrith: but, although wickedly deprived of his kingdom and slain, the martyr-king entered the courts of the blessed angels amid the great rejoicings of holy spirits. The ordination of archbishop Aethelhard took place on the 12th of the kalends of August [21st July].[3]

A.D. 794. On the 3d of the kalends of May [29th April], Aethelred, king of the Northumbrians, was slain by his subjects; wherefore Ceolulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, and bishop Aedbold, left that kingdom. Eadbert, also called Pren, began to reign over the Kentish people. Offa, king of the Mercians, dying on the 4th of the kalends of August [29th July], his son Egferth succeeded to his splendid kingdom, and died in the same year, having reigned one hundred and forty-one days. The glorious Kenulf, happy in a saintly progeny, succeeded him, and governed the kingdom in peace, justice, and piety.

A.D. 795.[4]

A.D. 796. Kenulf, king of the Mercians, laid waste nearly the whole of Kent, took captive its king Pren, and carried him in chains to Mercia.[5]

A.D. 797.

A.D. 798. The body of the holy virgin Wihtburg[6] (daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles, and sister of the holy virgins, Sexburg, Aethelburg, and Aetheldrith) was found uncorrupted, near fifty-five years having elapsed since it had been buried in the town of Dirham. Heathored, bishop of the Hwiccas, died, and Denebert was chosen and consecrated in his stead.

A.D. 799. Aethelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, and Kinebert, bishop of Winchester, went to Rome.

A.D. 800. Brihtric, king of the West Saxons, died, and was succeeded by Ecgbert. In the year when king Brihtric died, Aethelmund, ealdorman of the Mercians, led out his men and crossed over the ford, which is called in English Cymeresford.

[1] This falling on the eighth Sunday after Trinity, is probably correct.
[2] See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 792. [3] The seventh Sunday after Trinity.
[4] "Alubriht, bishop of Selsey, having died, was succeeded by Bosa," &c. A. from William of Malmesbury.
[5] "On the death of Eadbert, bishop of Middle Anglia, Unwona succeeded to the bishopric." A. in another hand. [6] See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 797.

On hearing of his advance, Weolhstan, ealdorman of Wiltshire, went up against him with the men of that county: a stubborn engagement ensued, many on both sides were slain, and both the leaders fell, but the men of Wiltshire gained the victory. Alhmund, son of Alhred, king of the Northumbrians, was slain.

A.D. 801.

A.D. 802. Higebald, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and Egbert, who was chosen to succeed him, was consecrated by Eanbald, archbishop of York, on the 3d of the ides of June [11th June]. Weremund, bishop of Rochester, dying, Beornmod was consecrated in his stead.

A.D. 803. Aethelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by Wulfred.

A.D. 804. Archbishop Wulfred received the pall from pope Leo.

A.D. 805. Cuthred, king of Kent, and Heabriht the earldorman, and Ceolburg, [1]abbess of Berkeley, died.

A.D. 806—811.

A.D. 812. Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, and Wibert, bishop of Sherborne, went to Rome.

A.D. 813. Archbishop Wulfred, having received the benediction of the holy pope Leo, returned to his see. In the same year Ecgbert, king of the West Saxons, laid waste [the territory of] the West Britons [2]from the eastern boundary.

A.D. 814, 815.

A.D. 816. The English school at Rome was burned.[3]

A.D. 817, 818.

A.D. 819. St. Kenulph, king of the Mercians, after a life spent in good deeds, passed away to the everlasting joys of heaven, leaving his son [4]Kenelm, then seven years of age, the heir to his kingdom. But after the lapse of a few months, he was, through the traitorous contrivance of his sister, Quendrith, whose fierce mind was swayed by an outrageous lust for supreme power, and by the hand of his barbarous tutor Ascebert, cruelly and secretly slain under a thorn-tree, in a vast and darksome wood: but as heaven alone was witness to his murder, so heaven afterwards revealed the deed by means of a column of light. Milk-white in innocence, and pure as when born, fell the head of Kenelm: from it a milk-white dove, with golden pinions, soared to heaven. After his blessed martyrdom, Ceolulf succeeded to the Mercian kingdom. Egbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and was succeeded by Heathored.

A.D. 820.

A.D. 821. Ceolulf, king of the Mercians, was driven from his kingdom; and was succeeded in the realm by Beornulf.

A.D. 822. The stalwart ealdormen Burhelm and Muca were slain, and a synod was held at a place called Clovesho. Denebert, bishop of the Hwiccas, died, and was succeeded by Heaberht.

[1] Her designation, wanting in the editions, is supplied from A.

[2] Supplied from A. and B., and wanting in the editions.

[3] "On the death of Wigberht, bishop of Salisbury, Alhstan succeeded." A. in another hand.

[4] B. designates him "Saint" Kenelm.

A.D. 823. The Britons were slaughtered at a place called Gafulford, by the men of Devonshire. Ecgbert, king of the West Saxons, and Beornulf, king of the Mercians, fought a battle at Ellandune, that is, Ealla's hill; and, after a great slaughter, Ecgbert gained the victory. This induced him soon afterwards to send his son Aetheluulf, and Alhstan, bishop of Sherborne, and his ealdorman Wulfhard, with a large army into Kent. Immediately on their arrival they drove Baldred, king of that province, from his dominions. After these events, the inhabitants of Kent and Surrey, and the South Saxons and East Angles, submitted spontaneously to king Ecgbert: they had been previously violently withdrawn from the dominion of his kindred, and had been for some years most unwilling subjects of foreign kings. The East Angles with their king sent ambassadors to Ecgbert, king of the West Saxons, intreating him to be their supporter and strong defence against the inroads and attacks of the Mercians; he acceded to their request, and promised that he would willingly assist them in all things. But Beornulf, king of the Mercians, counted this promise for nought, and collecting a large army, entered their territories in a hostile manner, and began to put all the chief inhabitants to death. Their king opposed him with his forces, and joining battle, slew him and almost all his army: his relation Ludecan succeeded him in the kingdom.[1]

A.D. 824.

A.D. 825. Ludecan, king of the Mercians, mustered his forces and led an army into the province of the East Angles, for the purpose of taking vengeance for the death of king Beornulf, his predecessor. He was quickly met by the natives and their king, who in a severe battle slew him and five of his ealdormen, and very many of his troops, and put to flight the remainder. Wiglaf succeeded to his splendid kingdom.

A.D. 826.[2]

A.D. 827. On the holy night of the day of our Lord's Nativity [25th Dec. 828], there was an eclipse of the moon. In the same year Ecgbert, king of the West Saxons, brought the Mercian kingdom under his own rule, its king, Wiglaf, having been driven out. Then he led an expedition beyond the river Humber. The Northumbrians met him at a place called Dore in a peaceful manner, and tendered their alliance and humble submission; so both parties separated, being mutually very well pleased. This Ecgbert was the eighth king of the English nation who ruled over all the southern provinces, and those which are separated from the northern by the river Humber.

[3]For the first whose kingdom extended so far was Aelle, king of the South Saxons; the second was Celin, king of the West Saxons, called in their dialect Ceaulin; the third was Aethelbert, king of Kent; the fourth was Redwald, king of the East Angles, who in

[1] "On the death of Aldulf, bishop of Lichfield, Herewin succeeded." A. in a second hand.

[2] "Ceadda succeeded to the bishopric of Hereford on the death of Ecca." Id.

[3] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. II. v.

Aethelbert's life-time was ealdorman of that people; the fifth was Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, that is, those who dwelt north of the river Humber, the most powerful of all the inhabitants of Britain—he ruled over all the English and British, the natives of Kent only excepted—he also brought under the English sway the Mevanian British Islands [Man and Anglesey], which are situated between Ireland and Britain; the sixth was Oswald, also the most Christian king of the Northumbrians, who kept up to their full extent the boundaries of the kingdom; the seventh was Oswiu his brother, who for some time kept up the kingdom to nearly the same magnitude—he, also, to a very great extent subdued the Picts and Scots, who inhabit the northern extremities of Britain, and made them tributary to himself; the eighth, as we have said, was king Ecgbert. In his time (as is reported) was born St. Swithun, of noble ancestry: he, when his years of youth were passed, was invested with holy orders by St. Helmstan, bishop of Winchester. Moreover king Ecgbert entrusted his son Aethelwulf to his care, for the purpose of instructing him in sacred literature.

A.D. 828. King Wiglaf succeeded to the Mercian kingdom. Heathored, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and was succeeded by Ecgred. Ecgbert, king of the West Saxons, led an army into the territory of the Northern Britons; and, notwithstanding their resistance, brought them under his dominion.

A.D. 829. Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, died.

A.D. 830. Ceolnoth was chosen and consecrated archbishop.

A.D. 831. Archbishop Ceolnoth received the pall from pope Gregory.

A.D. 832. The Danish pirates, those vultures of prey, plundered Sheppey.

A.D. 833. Ecgbert, king of the West Saxons, attacked thirty-five of the pirates' ships at Carrum; but after a great carnage, the Danes got the victory.

A.D. 834.

A.D. 835. The Danes, with a large fleet, made a descent upon the territory of the West Britons, which is called Curvalia [Cornwall]; the Britons made a treaty with them, and in conjunction with them laid waste the boundaries of king Ecgbert's dominions. When that king heard of it, he collected his forces in haste, and engaged with the enemy at a place called Hengestesdune, which means Hengst's mount; he slew many of them, and put the rest to flight.[1]

A.D. 836. Ecgbert, king of the West Saxons, died. Before he became king, Offa, king of the Mercians, and Brihtric, king of the West Saxons, drave him out of England; whereupon he went over to France, and there remained for three years: then he returned to England, and on Brihtric's death, succeeded to the government of the kingdom, as we have before mentioned. After his death, his son Aethelwulf began to reign in West Saxony, and made his own

[1] "On the death of Unwona, bishop of Chester, Warenberht succeeded." A. in a second hand.

son Aethelstan king over the men of Kent, the East Saxons, the inhabitants of Surrey, and the South Saxons.

A.D. 837. Wulfhard, the ealdorman, attacked thirty-four of the pirates' ships at Hamton [Southampton], made great havoc among them, and gained the victory: he died shortly afterwards. Athelm, the ealdorman, assisted by the people of Dorsetshire, attacked the Danes in the district called Port, and compelled them to make a long-continued retreat; he, however, received a wound from them in the course of the retreat, and died in consequence, and the Danes got the victory. During the reign of king Aetheluulf, St. Helmstan the bishop departed this life, and St. Swithun was appointed by the king to succeed him.

A.D. 838. Herebriht the ealdorman, and with him very many of the Mercians, were slain by the pagan Danes. In the same year many were slain by the same horde, in the province of Lindsey, in East Anglia, and in Kent. Wiglaf, king of the Mercians, died: Beorhtulf succeeded to his kingdom.

A.D. 839. Between the eighth and ninth hour of the 3d of the nones of May,[1] being the vigil of our Lord's ascension, there was an eclipse of the sun. The Pagans, whom we have so often mentioned, slew great numbers in London, and in Cwentawic, and in the city of Rochester.

A.D. 840. Aetheluulf, king of the West Saxons, engaged thirty-five of the Danish ships at Carrum, but the Danish good-fortune overthrew the Saxons.

A.D. 841—[2]844.

A.D. 845. Eanulf the ealdorman, with the people of Somersetshire, Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne, and Osric the ealdorman, with the men of Dorsetshire, fought at the mouth of the river Parret against the Danish army, made great havoc among them, and obtained the victory. Ecgred, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and was succeeded by [3]Eanbert.

A.D. 846, 847.

A.D. 848. [4]Heaberht, the bishop of the Hwiccas, died; and Athun succeeded.

A.D. 849. [5]Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, was born at the royal town of Wanating [Wantage], in the region called Berkshire, so called from the wood of Berroc, where the box-tree grows in abundance. His [6]genealogy is thus deduced. Alfred was the son of king Aethelwulf, who was the son of Ecgbert, who was the son of Alhmund, who was the son of Eafa, who was the son of Eoppe, who was the son of Ingils; Ingils and Ine, that famous king of the West Saxons, were brothers; Ine went to Rome, and closing there in glory his earthly life, departed to the heavenly country, there to reign with Christ. Those two were the sons of Coenred, who was

[1] 5th May, A.D. 840.

[2] "A.D. 843. On the death of Herewin, bishop of Lichfield, Oethelwald succeeded." A. in a second hand.

[3] A. Eadbert, B. Egbert, edd.

[4] Eanbert, edd.

[5] From this point to A.D. 887, compare Asser's Life of King Alfred.

[6] The proper names are corrected by A., whose readings are here followed.

the son of Ceolwald, who was the son of Cutha, who was the son of Cuthwin, who was the son of Ceaulin, who was the son of Kenric, [1]who was the son of Creod, who was the son of Cerdic, who was the son of Elis, who was the son of Esle, who was the son of Gewis, (after whom the Britons gave to the whole tribe the name of Gewis,) who was the son of Wig, who was the son of Freawine, who was the son of Freodegar, who was the son of Brand, who was the son of Bealdeag, who was the son of Woden, who was the son of Frithewald, who was the son of Frealaf, who was the son of Fritheulf, who was the son of Finn, who was the son of Godulf, who was the son of Gaeta, (which Gaeta the Pagans formerly worshipped as a god,) who was the son of Cetwa, who was the son of Beawa, who was the son of Sceldwa, who was the son of Heremod, who was the son of Itermod, who was the son of Hathra, who was the son of Wala, who was the son of Bedwig, who was the son of Seth, who was the son of Noa, who was the son of Lamech, who was the son of Matusala, who was the son of Enoch, who was the son of Jared, who was the son of Malaliel, who was the son of Cainan, who was the son of Enos, who was the son of Seth, who was the son of Adam. His mother's name was Osburg; she was a woman of exceeding piety, noble in disposition, and noble by descent, a daughter of Oslac, king Aethelwulf's celebrated cup-bearer, which Oslac was a Goth by nation. He was descended from the Goths and Jutes, through the two brothers and earls, Stuf and Wihtgar, who being put in possession of the Isle of Wight by their uncle Cerdic, and his son Cynric, their cousin, put to death the few native British whom they could find there, at a place called Wihtgarabirig. The rest of the natives of the island had previously either been slain or had fled into exile.

A.D. 850. On the eve of Pentecost, being the kalends of June [1st June],[2] Berhtferth, son of Berhtulf, king of the Mercians, unjustly put to death his kinsman, St. Wistan. He was the grandson of two of the Mercian kings; for his father, Wigmund, was the son of king Wiglaf, and his mother, Aelfled, was the daughter of king Ceoluulf. His corpse was carried to the monastery of Repton, which was then very celebrated, and was buried in the mausoleum of his grandfather, king Wiglaf. But miracles from heaven were not wanting at the place of his martyrdom; for, from the spot where he was slain in his innocence, a column of light shot up to heaven, and remained visible to the inhabitants of that place for thirty days.[3]

A.D. 851. Ceorl, earldorman of Devonshire, along with the men of that county, fought against the Pagans, at a place called Wiganbeorh, and the Christians gained the victory. In the same year, the Pagans wintered for the first time in the island called Sheppey, which means, the island of sheep. It is situated in the river Thames, between Essex and Kent, but nearer Kent than Essex,

[1] This link in the pedigree, here supplied from A. and B., is wanting in the editions. [2] This concurrence of dates indicates the year 849.

[3] "On the death of Waerenbert, bishop of Chester, Rethun succeeded." A. in another hand.

and contains a splendid monastery.[1] In the same year, too, a great army of the Pagans, with 350 ships, came to the mouth of the river Thames, and laid waste Dorubernia [Canterbury], that is, the chief city of Kent, and London, which is situated on the north bank of the river Thames, on the boundary of Essex and Middlesex, though, in fact, this city belongs to Essex; and put to flight Beorhtuulf, king of the Mercians, who with all his army had come up to war against them. After this the same pagan army advanced into Surrey, a district situated on the south bank of the river Thames, and to the eastward of Kent; and Aetheluulf, king of the West Saxons, and his son Aethelbald fought a long-contested battle with the whole of that army at a place called Ockley, which means Oak's field. After both sides had fought fiercely and courageously for a long time, the greater part of the pagan army was utterly routed and put to the sword, so much so that we have heard that there were never so many of them slain in that region in one day either before or after; and the Christians gained a splendid victory, and remained masters of the field of carnage. In the same year, king Aethelstan, and Ealhere, the ealdorman, destroyed a large army of the Pagans, at a place in Kent called Sandwich, and took nine of their ships; the remainder escaped by flight.

A.D. 852. Beorhtwulf, king of the Mercians, died, and Burhred succeeded him in the kingdom.

A.D. 853. Burhred, king of the Mercians, sent messengers to Aethelwulf, king of the West Saxons, entreating him to assist in bringing under his dominion the Western Britons, who dwell between Mercia and the western sea, and who were in high rebellion against him. Having received the embassy, king Aethelwulf quickly set his army in motion, and entered the territory of the Britons in company with king Burhred, and immediately thereon laid waste that people, and subdued them to Burhred's dominion: having done this he returned home.

In this year, king Aetheluulf sent his before-mentioned son Alfred, accompanied by a number of the nobles and also of the common people, in great splendour to Rome. Pope Leo, at his father's request, appointed him to all his dignities, anointed him king, received him as a son by adoption, and confirmed him.

In this year, also, Ealhere, the ealdorman, and the men of Kent, and Huda, with the men of Surrey, fought bravely and stubbornly against the army of the Pagans, in the island which is called in the Saxon language Tenet, but in the British, Ruim. At the first, the Christians were victorious. The battle lasted for a long time, and many on both sides were slain there, and driven into the water and drowned; and both of the ealdormen were killed there. In the same year, also, after Easter, Aethelwulf, king of the West Saxons, gave his daughter as queen to Burhred, king of the Mercians, in the royal vill called Cippenham, and the nuptials were very splendid.

A.D. 854. Eanbert,[2] bishop of Lindesfarne, died, and was succeeded by Eardulf.

[1] Namely, Minster.

[2] So the MSS. A. B.; the editions read "Egbert."

A.D. 855. A large army of the Pagans passed the whole winter in the aforesaid Isle of Sheppey. In this year, king Aetheluulf exonerated the tenth part of all his kingdom from all royal service and tribute, and by a charter, marked with the cross of Christ, dedicated it for ever to the indivisible and triune God, in order to obtain redemption of the souls of himself and his ancestors. Thus, with great honour, he went to Rome, taking with him again his favourite son Alfred, and remained there for a whole year. At the end of that period he returned to his own country, bringing with him Judith, daughter of Charles, king of the Franks. But in the meanwhile, during the short time that king Aetheluulf was absent beyond sea, a scandalous transaction, and contrary to all christian behaviour, occurred at Selwood, in the western part of the kingdom: for king Aethelbald and Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne, and Eanwulf, ealdorman of Somersetshire, are reported to have conspired to prevent king Aetheluulf from ever resuming his kingdom when he returned from Rome. This piece of mischief, unheard of in any former age, is by very many attributed to, and considered to have been concocted by, the bishop and the ealdorman only; but many say that the king's haughtiness alone caused it; for, as we have heard from certain persons, the king was very offensive, both in that respect and in many other pieces of frowardness, and the issue of the affair proves this. For when he returned from Rome, the before-named son of king Aetheluulf, together with all his advisers, or rather plunderers, were tempted to commit the great crime of repelling the king from his own dominions. But God did not permit it, nor would the Saxon nobles consent thereunto; for in order that there might not accrue to Saxony the irremediable danger of (as it were) a civil war, growing fiercer and more cruel day by day—the father and son fighting against each other, and, moreover, the whole nation in rebellion against both—the kingdom, hitherto entire, was by the unspeakable condescension of the father, and the consent of all the nobles, divided between the father and the son, the eastern parts being assigned to the father, and the western to the son. Where the father ought by lawful right to reign, there the wicked and aspiring son was to hold rule; for the western part of Saxony was always superior to the eastern. So, when king Aetheluulf returned from Rome, all that people were so rejoiced (and properly) at the return of the old man, that they were desirous, if he would permit it, to deprive his rebellious son Aethelbald and all his counsellors of any share of the kingdom. But he, as we have related, would not allow this—showing great clemency, and adopting prudent counsel, so that the kingdom might not be endangered: and he made Judith, daughter of king Charles, whom he had received in marriage from her father, to sit beside him on the throne of state as long as she lived, without any controversy or opposition on the part of his nobles, although this was done in contravention to a preposterous custom of that nation: for the West-Saxon nation does not allow the queen to sit by the king's side, or even endure to call her the queen, but only the king's consort. The origin of this contest (or rather indignity), which arose on

account of a certain froward and wicked queen of that nation, is thus related by our elders:—There was in recent times, in Mercia, a powerful king named Offa, whose daughter Eadburh was taken to wife by Brihtric, king of the West Saxons, as we have before mentioned. She very soon began to act tyrannically, committed all possible enormities against God and man, made accusations to the king against every person she could, and thus treacherously tried to deprive them of their life or their station; and when the king would not thereto consent, she endeavoured to take them off by poison. This is shown in the case of a youth who was a great favourite with the king, and whom, when she was unable to criminate him in the king's eyes, she poisoned. The said king, Brihtric, is reported to have drank some of this poison by mistake. She did not mix the poison for the king, but for the youth, but the king took the cup first, and so both perished. On account of this queen's atrocities, all the inhabitants of that country swore that they would never suffer any king to reign over them who would make his queen to sit beside him on the throne. On the death of king Brihtric, the queen, being no longer able to remain among the Saxons, went beyond sea with countless treasures, and came to Charles, that most renowned king of the Franks. As she was standing before the throne, offering many presents to the king, Charles said to her, "Choose, Eadburh, which you prefer—me or my son, who is standing with me on this royal seat." She returned a quick but foolish answer, saying, "If the choice is open to me, I take your son, because he is younger than you." Charles smiled, and replied, "If you had chosen me you should have had my son; but inasmuch as you have chosen my son, you shall have neither me nor him." However, he gave to her an extensive monastery of nuns, where she laid aside her secular dress, and assumed a nun's habit, but remained abbess thereof for only a very few years; for having committed fornication with a certain layman, and being expelled from the monastery by order of king Charles, she passed the remainder of her life in a state of poverty and misery.

King Aetheluulf lived two years after his return from Rome, during which period, among many other deeds of good intent with respect to this life, and having in contemplation the period when he should go the way of all flesh, he caused a testamentary epistle to be drawn up, lest his sons might causelessly quarrel after their father's death; and by this he divided his kingdom equally between his sons Aethelbald and Aethelbert, and his private domains between his sons and his daughter, and also his relations; and the money which he might leave behind him he disposed, in equal proportions, for the good of his own soul, and the benefit of his sons and his nobles. For the good of his soul, about which from the first bloom of youth he had been careful above all things, he enjoined that his successors should, from his death until the last day of doom, furnish, out of every tenth hide of his hereditary lands, one poor man, either native or a foreigner, with meat, drink, and clothing, provided that the land was inhabited and stocked with cattle, and not waste. He ordered, moreover, that the sum of 300 mancuses

in money should be annually carried to Rome, to be divided there in the following manner, that is to say—100 mancuses in honour of St. Peter specially, for the purpose of buying oil to supply all the lamps in his apostolic church on Easter eve, and likewise at cock-crowing; and 100 mancuses in honour of St. Paul the apostle, for the same purpose; and 100 mancuses to the catholic and apostolic pope.

After his death, which took place on the ides of January[1] [Jan. 13], and his burial at Winchester, his son Aethelbald invaded his father's marriage-bed, in defiance of God's commands and the dignity of Christians, yea, and of the customs of all pagan nations, and married Judith, the daughter of Charles, king of the Franks; and, for two years and a half after his father's death, he held with an unsteady hand the kingdom of the West Saxons.

Eadmund, a most holy man, and accepted of God, descended from the Old Saxons, a most exact observer of the Christian faith, affable and kindly-spoken to all, eminent for the grace of humility, a liberal entertainer of the needy, a most fostering parent to orphans and widows, obtained the kingdom of East Anglia.

A.D. 856, 857[2]—859[3].

A.D. 860. King Aethelbald died, and was buried at Sherborne; and Aethelbert, his brother, added Kent, Surrey and Sussex to his own kingdom, as was proper. In his days, a great army of the Pagans landed and assaulted Winchester, and laid it waste. As they were returning to their ships with great booty, they were manfully opposed by Osric, ealdorman of Hampshire, and his men, and by Aethelulf, the ealdorman, with the men of Berkshire. They joined battle, and the Pagans were cut down on all sides; and when they could no longer resist, like women they began to flee, and the Christians remained masters of the field of carnage.

Aethelbert having governed the kingdom for five years in peace, and love, and honour, went the way of all flesh, to the great grief of his people, and rests at Sherborne, being honourably buried by the side of his brother.[4]

A.D. 861.

A.D. 862. On the fifth day of the week, on the 6th of the nones of July [Thursday, 2d July], in the tenth indiction, St. Swithun passed away to heaven.[5]

A.D. 863.

A.D. 864. The Pagans wintered in the Isle of Thanet, and made a firm compact of peace with the people of Kent, who promised them money if they would observe the treaty. Nevertheless the Pagans, like foxes, stole out of their camp by night, and breaking

[1] In B. (erroneously) "June."

[2] "On the death of Ceadd, bishop of Hereford, Aldbert succeeded." A. in a second hand.

[3] "Oethelwald, bishop of Lichfield, having died, was succeeded by Hunberht." Id.

[4] He died, A.D. 866. The later hand in A. here adds, "On the death of Rethun, bishop of Chester, Aldred succeeded."

[5] "This pearl of God lay ingloriously hidden for nearly one hundred years; he was succeeded in the bishopric by Alfrith, Dunberht." A. from William of Malmesbury.

the treaty and contemning the promise of money (for they knew that they could obtain greater wealth by clandestine plunder than in peace), laid waste the whole of the eastern part of Kent.

A.D. 865.[1]

A.D. 866. Aethered,[2] the brother of king Aethelbert, succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons. In the same year a large fleet of the Pagans from the Danube arrived in Britain, and wintered in the kingdom of the East Angles (called in the Saxon tongue East Engle), where the greater part of their army was converted into cavalry.

A.D. 867. The aforesaid army of Pagans changed its quarters in East Anglia for the city of York, situate on the northern bank of the river Humber. At that time a very great discord among the Northumbrians had arisen by means of diabolical agency, as usually happens to a people which are under the wrath of God. For the Northumbrians had then, as we have related, expelled from the kingdom their lawful king, named Osbriht, and had elevated to the throne a certain tyrant named Aella, who was not of the royal race: but by divine counsel, and the cooperation of their nobles, that discord was on the arrival of the Pagans somewhat appeased, and Osbriht and Aella joined their forces, and with the united army marched to the town of York. When they arrived there, the Pagans immediately took to flight, and took care to defend themselves within the walls of the city. When the Christians saw their flight and fear, they began to pursue them even within the city walls, and to make breaches in the wall: this they effected, for that city had not then strong and well-built fortifications. When the Christians had, as they intended, made a breach in the wall, and a great number of them had entered the city along with the Pagans, the latter, driven to it by despair and necessity, made a ferocious attack upon them, slew, routed, and overthrew them, both within and without the city. Of the Northumbrian army the greater part, including the two kings, was slain: those who escaped made peace with the Pagans.

In that year, also, Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne, went the way of all flesh, after having held the bishopric with honour for fifty years, and was buried in peace at Sherborne.

A.D. 868. A comet was seen very distinctly in this year.

The venerable king Alfred, who then held the second place in the kingdom, obtained in marriage a Mercian lady of noble descent, she being the daughter of Aethelred, surnamed Mucil, ealdorman of the Gaini. His wife's mother was named Eadburh, descended from the royal race of the kings of the Mercians, a most venerable woman, who for many years after the death of his father, and until her own decease, remained a chaste widow.

In the same year, the before-mentioned pagan army left the Northumbrians, and came to Mercia, and marched to Nottingham, called in the British tongue Tigguocobauc, and in the Latin The house of caves, and there they passed the winter of that year.

[1] "On the death of Hunberht, bishop of Lichfield, Cineferth succeeded." A. in a later hand.

[2] Such is the constant orthography of A.; the editions read "Ethelred."

Immediately after their coming, Burhred, king of the Mercians, and all the chief men of that tribe, sent messengers to Aethered, king of the West Saxons, and to his brother Alfred, earnestly soliciting all the aid they could render in giving battle to the said army: and they easily obtained what they requested; for the two brothers, not slow to fulfil their promise, assembled from every part of their dominions an immense army, and came into Mercia, and went as far as Nottingham, being unanimous in desiring a battle. But as the Pagans, rendered strong by the defences of the citadel, declined the engagement, and the Christians could not make a breach in the wall, a peace was concluded between the Mercians and the Pagans, and the two brothers, king Aethered and Alfred, returned home with their troops. [1]The oratory of St. Andrew the apostle, at Kemsege, was built and dedicated by Alhun, bishop of Worcester.

A.D. 869. The aforesaid army of Pagans again rode into Northumbria, and came to the city of York, and remained there for a whole year.

A.D. 870. The above-mentioned army of the Pagans passed through Mercia into East Anglia, and wintered there, at a place called Thetford.

In the same year Eadmund, the most saintly and glorious king of the East Angles, was on [2]Sunday, the 12th of the kalends of December [20th Nov.], in the second indiction, martyred by king Inguar, a thorough pagan, as is related in the history of his passion. In this year, also, Ceolnoth archbishop of Canterbury died, and was buried in peace in that city. He was succeeded by the venerable Aethelred.[3]

A.D. 871. The pagan army, of detestable memory, quitted East Anglia, and marching into the kingdom of the West Saxons, came to the royal vill of Reading, situate on the southern bank of the river Thames, in the country called Berkshire; and on the third day after their arrival, two of their earls rode out to plunder, accompanied by a great number of their troops, while another portion made a trench on the right of the said royal vill, between the rivers Thames and Kennet. Aethelulf, ealdorman of Berkshire, and his men, went up against them, at a place called in the English tongue Englafeld, and in the Latin The field of the Angles: there the battle was contested stoutly on both sides. The two armies maintained their ground for a long time, when one of the pagan earls being slain, and the greater part of the army destroyed, and the rest running away, the Christians gained the victory, and remained masters of the field of carnage. Four days afterwards, king Aethered and his brother Alfred, joining their forces and marshalling the army, came to Reading. When they had succeeded in getting to the gate of the citadel, by slaying and putting to rout all the Pagans whom they found outside, the Pagans did not exert them-

[1] This passage occurs neither in Asser nor the Saxon Chronicle, and is one of those which Florence must have obtained from local information.

[2] These concurrents point to the previous year, A.D. 869.

[3] Here and elsewhere B. reads "Aethered."

selves the less, rushing out like wolves from all the gates, and doing battle with all their might; and both sides fought long and fiercely. But, oh misery! the Christians at last turned their backs, and the Pagans gained the victory, and remained masters of the field of death. The said ealdorman Aethelulf was among the number of the slain. Full of grief and shame at this defeat, the Christians, four days afterwards, with all their forces and with right good will, renewed the battle against the before-mentioned host, at a place called Aescesdun [Ashdown], the Latin interpretation whereof is "mons fraxini," or the hill of the ash. The Pagans divided their army into two bodies, and put both in battle array, for they had with them two kings and several earls, placing one-half of the army under the two kings, and the other half under the earls. When the Christians saw this, they too divided their army into two parts, and as quickly put them in battle array. Alfred brought up his men sooner and more promptly to the field: for his brother, king Aethered, was then praying and hearing mass in his tent, and positively declared that he would not depart thence until the priest had finished the mass, and that he would not leave his heavenly duty for earthly business; and he kept his resolution. This faith of the christian king prevailed much with God, as will be more fully displayed hereafter. So the Christians resolved, that king Aethered with his own troops should engage the two pagan kings; but his brother Alfred was to be informed that he was, with his troops, to try the fortune of war against all the pagan earls. Each side having thus settled its arrangements, and the king being still at his prayers, and the Pagans all equipped, having come in good time to the battle-field: Alfred being then the second in command, finding that he could no longer make head against the enemy, except he retired from the contest, or charged the enemy before his brother's arrival, at length manfully, and according to old custom, led the christian forces against the enemy's army in manner before agreed on, although the king had not yet arrived; and relying on God's counsel and trusting to his assistance, and closing up the ranks of his division, immediately advanced the standards against the enemy. At length, having concluded his devotions, king Aethered came up, and invoking the assistance of the world's mighty Ruler, joined the contest. But here we must inform those who do not know the spot, that the combatants were on unequal terms, as far as the ground was concerned; for the Pagans had taken possession of an acclivity, and the Christians had to move their forces up from below. There was on the spot a rather low thorn-tree, around which the hostile forces met together with great uproar, the former to gain their wicked ends, but the latter in defence of their lives, their dear ones, and their country. After the battle had been kept up for some time with a great display of courage and ferocity on both sides, God so ordered it that the Pagans were no longer able to withstand the attacks of the Christians, and having lost the greater portion of their army, began an ignominious retreat. Here fell one of the two pagan kings and five of their earls, and several thousands of their men were put to flight or slain, some in that place, and all

about the plain of Ashdown. So king Bagsegc was slain, and the old earl Sidroc, and earl Sidroc the younger, earl Osbern, earl Freana, and earl Harald: and the whole army of the Pagans kept up the flight until night, and even until the next day, when the fugitives reached the citadel.

Fourteen days after this, king Aethered and his brother Alfred, having again united their forces for the purpose of doing battle against the Pagans, arrived at Baseng: the armies met, and after a long struggle the Pagans gained the victory.

[1]After the lapse of two months, king Aethered and his brother Alfred again fought against the Pagans (who had divided their army into two bodies) at Merton, and for some time got the better of them, all the enemy retreating; but the latter returned to the charge, and after great slaughter on both sides, the Pagans gained the victory, and remained masters of the field of carnage.

After Easter in this year, to wit, on the 9th of the kalends of May[2] [23d April], king Aethered, having reigned for five years under trying circumstances, yet with energy, honour, and great credit, went the way of all flesh, and was buried at Winburne, where he awaits the coming of our Lord and the first resurrection of the just. On his death the before-named Alfred, who up to that period, as long as his brothers lived, had been second in authority, by God's permission at once succeeded to the entire kingdom, amid the great good-will of all the inhabitants. And here we think it proper to insert a brief notice of his infancy and boyhood.

Both his father and mother loved him dearly, and better than all his brothers; in fact, he was a great favourite with every one, and was brought up entirely in the king's court. As he grew up from childhood, he excelled all his brothers in beauty of shape and countenance, and in suavity of speech and disposition. But, alas! owing to the negligence of his parents and nurses, he did not know how to read until he was twelve years old; but day and night he eagerly listened to Saxon poems, and from the frequent recitation of them by others, easily committed them to memory. In all varieties of the huntsman's craft, his skill and success were unmatched, and it was the same with the rest of God's gifts.

It chanced that one day his mother, as she was showing to him and his brothers a volume of Saxon poetry which she had in her hand, said, "I will give this book to whichever of you shall first be able to learn it." Moved by this offer, or rather inspired and attracted by the beauty of the initial letter of the book, Alfred said to his mother, "Will you indeed give this book to such one of us as can first understand it and repeat it to you?" She smiled, and said, "To him will I give it." Thereupon he took the book from her hand and went to his master, and he read it; and when he had finished reading it, Alfred brought it back to his mother, and recited it to her. After this, by way of daily task, he learned some psalms and a number of prayers; and to the end of his life, day and night he carried in his bosom, for the purpose of prayer, a volume in which

[1] This clause does not occur in Asser; compare, however, the Saxon Chronicle.
[2] This date does not occur in Asser.

they were all collected. But, alas! he was never able to acquire what he chiefly wished for, namely, the liberal science [of grammar], because at that time there were no grammarians in any part of the West-Saxon kingdom.

While in the first flower of his youth, he was desirous that his heart should stand firm in God's ordinances, but yet perceived that he was not free from the lusts of the flesh: so, lest he should incur God's displeasure by doing anything opposed to his will, he frequently rose privately at cock-crow and early morn, and went to pray in churches and before the reliques of saints; and there, long prostrate, he was wont to pray that Almighty God would in his mercy strengthen his mind in the love of his service, by means of some infirmity which he might be able to bear, but so nevertheless that he might not thereby be rendered unworthy and unfit for his worldly duties. He entreated this very often with great earnestness, and a short time afterwards he was, by God's permission, afflicted with the piles. This complaint increased so much in the course of many years, that even his life was despaired of; but it providentially happened that, being in Cornwall, where he had gone for the purpose of hunting, he turned aside to offer up his prayers in a certain church, where lie Saint Guerur and Saint Niot, and prostrating himself for a long time in silent prayer, he entreated of God's mercy that, in his unbounded love, He would exchange the pressure of his present troublesome disease for a somewhat less grievous infirmity; provided only that his person should not be outwardly affected thereby, lest he should become an object of contempt, and unfit for active service. Having concluded his prayer, he resumed his journey; and shortly afterwards he perceived that God had cured him of the disease, according to the tenor of his prayer, so that the complaint was thoroughly eradicated. But, alas! when that was removed, another still more grievous seized him on the day of his marriage, and from his twentieth to his forty-fifth year, and beyond, preyed upon him incessantly day and night. By Ealhsuith, his wife, (who has been mentioned before,) he had the following sons and daughters:— Aegelfled, his eldest child, then Eadward, then Aethelgeovu, then Alfthrith, then Aethelward. Aethelfled, when she became marriageable, was united to Aethered, ealdorman of the Mercians; Aethelgeofu made a vow of chastity, and embracing the rules of monastic life, and becoming a nun, she passed her life in the service of God; Aethelward, the youngest of all, was by the wise counsel and admirable foresight of the king well provided with literary instruction: and all the nobility, in nearly every part of the kingdom, and very many of the common people, were put under the strict care of masters, in order that they might be instructed in the liberal arts, before they became strong enough for the occupations of the world. Eadward and Alfthrith were entirely brought up in the king's court, and liberally educated; with their other pursuits, they diligently applied themselves to the Psalms and Saxon books, especially Saxon poems. In the midst of wars and the manifold disturbances of this life, the inroads of the Pagans,

and the every day infirmities of his body, king Alfred, single-handed and diligently as far as his strength would allow, devoted himself to the government of his kingdom, hunting of all kinds, the superintendence of his goldsmiths and all his mechanics, the keepers of his falcons, hawks, and hounds, the construction (by means of machinery invented by himself) of buildings more wonderful and costly than any which his ancestors had erected, the reading of Saxon books, and especially the committing to memory of Saxon poems. He heard mass every day, also some psalms and prayers; kept the [canonical] hours day and night, and it was his constant custom to go by night, unknown to his attendants, into churches for the purpose of prayer. Never was there an almsgiver more bounteous, never was any one more affable or more pleasant; never any one more skilful in the investigation of unexplained subjects. Many of the nobility and commonalty of the Franks, Frieslanders, Gauls, Pagans, Britons, Scots, and Armoricans, came spontaneously to live under his rule; all of whom he treated in the same manner as he did his own people, governing, favouring, honouring, and advancing them to wealth and power, in accordance with their deserts. He was wonderfully kind to his bishops, all the clergy, his ealdormen and thanes, the officers of his court, and all his servants. He paid as much attention to the sons of those who were brought up in the royal family as to his own sons, and was continually inculcating on them virtuous habits, and amongst other things assisted personally in their education both by day and night.

Nearly a month after the commencement of his unwilling reign, (if we may use the expression,) he thought that he should not be able (unless supported by divine aid) to withstand alone the severe assaults of the Pagans; moreover, while his brothers were alive, and after he had sustained great losses, he with a small and very unequal force fought fiercely against the whole army of the Pagans at a hill called Wilton, situate on the south bank of the river Guilou, from which river the whole region takes its name. Now when both sides had kept up the fight in all directions, fiercely and perseveringly, for the greater part of the day, the Pagans began to see that their danger was imminent; and being unable any longer to sustain the attack of their enemies, they turned their backs and fled. But, oh misery! they took advantage of the overboldness of their pursuers, and again returned to the charge; and getting the victory remained masters of the field of carnage. Nor let any one be surprised that the Christians were only few in number at this battle; for the Saxons had been greatly thinned in the eight battles which they had fought in one year against the Pagans; in which eight battles one pagan king and nine earls were slain, with innumerable followers; not to mention the countless daily and nightly attacks on the Pagans which king Alfred and his generals and men, and also many of the king's thanes, had unceasingly kept up. Omitting those who were slain in the eight battles before mentioned, no one but God knows how many thousands of the pagan invaders were slain in those frequent irruptions. In this year the Saxons made peace with the Pagans on

condition that the latter should depart from them; which condition they observed.[1]

A.D. 872. [2]Alhun, bishop of the Hwiccas, having died, Werefrith, a man deeply read in the Scriptures, who had been brought up at the holy church of Worcester, was on the day of Pentecost,[3] being the 7th of the ides of June [7th June], ordained bishop by Aethelred, archbishop of Canterbury. At the command of king Alfred he made the first translation from Latin into Saxon of the books of Dialogues of the blessed pope Gregory, and he executed his task with great accuracy and elegance. The king invited Werefrith, and (in course of time) Pleigmund, a Mercian, archbishop of Canterbury, a venerable and erudite man, and also Aethelstan and Werulf, two very learned Mercian priests, to leave Mercia and come to him, and he advanced them to great honour and power, in order that they might assist him in his literary studies. Moreover he sent ambassadors to Gaul, and invited thence saint Grimbald, priest and monk, a venerable man, a perfect singer, one well skilled in ecclesiastical discipline and in the sacred writings, and of most accomplished manners; also John, who was both priest and monk, and a man of very great intellectual acuteness; Asser, too, he called out of the monastery of St. David, in the western extremity of Britain. By the wisdom and teaching of all these, the king's desire was so increased and fulfilled that in a short time he could understand any book.

The before-mentioned army of the Pagans went to London, and wintered there; and the Mercians made peace with them.[4]

A.D. 873. That oft-mentioned army evacuated London and went into Northumbria, and wintered there in the district called Lindsey; and the Mercians again made peace with them.[5]

A.D. 874. Quitting Lindsey, the aforesaid army marched into Mercia, and wintered at a place called Hreopedun [Repton]; it moreover compelled Burhred, king of the Mercians, to quit his kingdom against his will, in the twenty-second year of his reign, and go beyond sea and journey to Rome; he did not long survive his arrival there, but died in that city, and was honourably interred in the church of St. Mary, in the Saxon School, where in company with the just he waits for the coming of our Lord and the first resurrection. After his expulsion the Danish pirates subdued the whole Mercian kingdom; it was in a miserable condition, and they made over the government of it to a stupid thane named Ceoluulf, on condition that he should resign it peaceably to them whenever they desired. He gave hostages to them for the performance of the condition, and took an oath that he would in nowise act in opposition to their will, but be obedient to them in all things.

A.D. 875. The oft-named army quitted Hreopedun [Repton],

[1] "On the death of Cineferth, bishop of Chester, Tunberht succeeded." A. addition.

[2] This first sentence does not occur in Asser. [3] Therefore in A.D. 873.

[4] "Esne succeeded to the bishopric of Hereford, on the death of Aldberht." A. in a later hand.

[5] "On the death of Aldred, bishop of Chester, Ceolred succeeded." Id.

and divided itself into two bodies. One of them went with Halfdene into the Northumbrian district, and wintered there near the river called Tine, and reduced all the Northumbrian district under its dominion, and oppressed the Picts and people of Strathclyde. The other division, with Guthrun, Oskitell, and Amund, three kings of the Pagans, came to a place called Grantebrycge [Cambridge], and there wintered. In this year king Alfred fought a naval battle against six of the Pagans' ships, and captured one of them, the rest escaping.

A.D. 876. The oft-mentioned army of the Pagans left Grantebrycg [Cambridge] by night, and entered the castle called Werham [Wareham]: there, between the two rivers Fraw and Terente [Frome and Trent], and in the region which in Saxon is called Dornseta [Dorset], is a nunnery posted in a most secure situation, except only on the western and landward side. With this army king Alfred made a treaty, which was to be lasting, and bound them to quit his dominions, and the army gave him unhesitatingly as many hostages as he chose to select; moreover they swore upon all the reliques in which next to God they most put their trust, and upon which they had always refused to swear to any other people, that they would depart from his kingdom as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, acting deceitfully as usual, and regarding neither their hostages, nor their oath, nor their plighted faith, they violated the treaty, and one night killed all the king's horsemen. Turning thence, the army came unexpectedly to another place, called in Saxon Eaxancestre [Exeter], and in Latin the city of Exe, situate on the eastern bank of that river, and near the southern sea which lies between Gaul and Britain. [1]King Alfred assembled an army and followed them, but could not overtake them, because they had just entered the city; but he extorted from them as hostages whomsoever and as many as he chose, and made a firm treaty with them, which they observed faithfully for a considerable time; and they wintered at that place. In the same year the pagan king Halfdene divided the Northumbrian region between himself and his followers, and took up his residence there with his army. [2]On the 15th of the kalends of December [17th Nov.], Rollo and his forces entered Normandy.

A.D. 877. [3]The pagan army which had been left with the fleet at Wereham came to Exeter; but before reaching that city, one hundred and twenty of their ships were sunk by a tempest. When autumn arrived, a portion of the Pagans remained at Exeter, and part marched into Mercia, and gave a portion of it to Ceoluulf, to whose charge it had been committed, as before mentioned, and divided the remainder among themselves.

A.D. 878. The oft-named army, leaving Exeter, marched to Chippenham, a royal town, situate in the left-hand part of Wiltshire, and wintered there, and by force of arms compelled many of the inhabitants of those parts to go beyond sea in consternation

[1] This sentence is not in Asser. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 877.
[2] Not in Asser nor the Saxon Chronicle.
[3] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 887. This sentence is not found in Asser.

and poverty, and brought under their dominion nearly all the inhabitants. At that time king Alfred, with a few of his nobles and some vassals, led a most disturbed and sorrowful life in the marshy woods of Somersetshire; for he had no means of subsistence, except what in frequent forays he took either secretly or openly from the Pagans, or those Christians who had submitted to the Pagans.

In the same year, the brother of Inguare and of Halfdene came with twenty-three ships from Demetia[1] [West Wales], (where he had wintered, and made great havoc among the Christians,) to Devonshire, and there, in front of the citadel of Cynuit, he and twelve hundred of his followers were, in the midst of their wickedness, miserably slain by the king's thanes, many of whom had shut up themselves and their families in that fort for the sake of security. But the Pagans, seeing that the fort was unprepared for a siege, and wholly undefended, except by walls constructed in our usual mode, did not attempt to take it by storm, (because the place is by its position naturally very secure on every side except the east,) but made preparations for besieging it; thinking that as there was no water near the fort, hunger and thirst, and the consciousness of being in a state of siege, would soon compel its defenders to surrender. But they were disappointed in their expectations; for before being reduced to such extremities, the Christians, nerved thereto by divine inspiration, and preferring either to die or to conquer, made an unexpected sally upon the Pagans very early in the morning, and at the very first onset overthrew their king and the greater part of his army, only a very few of them escaping to their ships.

After Easter in the same year, king Alfred with a small force constructed a fortress at a place called Aethelingaeig [Athelney], and from that fortress, in conjunction with his Somersetshire vassals, kept up a continued and indefatigable war against the Pagans. Again, in the seventh[2] week after Easter, he rode on to Egbriht's Stone, in the eastern part of the forest called Sealuudu [Selwood], the Latin denomination of which is, The great wood; and there he was met by all the people of Somersetshire, Wiltshire and Hampshire whom the fear of the Pagans had not driven beyond sea; who, when they saw the king, come to life again, as it were, after so many troubles, were deservedly elated, and encamped there for one night. Early on the following morning, the king broke up the camp, and came to a place called Ecglea, and encamped there for one night. Moving thence on the next day, he came to a place called Ethandun: there he fought a tremendous battle against the entire and close-serried pagan army, and after keeping it up for a long time with great spirit, at length, by God's help, he gained the victory, and overthrew the Pagans with great carnage. He pursued the fugitives as far as their fortress, and captured everything which he found outside, whether men, horses, or sheep; put the men to death immediately, and then boldly encamped with all his army before the gates of the pagan fortress. After he had

[1] See Camd. Brit. col. 621, ed. 1695.

[2] B. reads "in the fourth."

remained there a fortnight, hunger, cold and fear drove the Pagans to the lowest depths of despair, and they sued for peace, consenting that the king should take as many hostages of his own selection as he pleased, and should give them nothing in return; terms of peace such as they had never before made with any one. After hearing their proposition, the king's compassion was moved, and he took as hostages as many as, and whomsoever he pleased. After they were delivered over, the Pagans swore in addition that they would depart as quickly as possible from his kingdom; and moreover, their king Guthrum promised to embrace Christianity, and receive baptism at the hands of king Alfred. He and his men performed all that they promised; for seven weeks afterwards, Guthrum, the king of the Pagans, with thirty of the most chosen men of his army, came to king Alfred at a place called Aalr [Aller], near Aethelingaeig [Athelney]: the king stood godfather to him at the font of holy baptism, and gave him the name of Aethelstan: his chrism-loosing took place eight days afterwards at the royal town of Weadmor [Wedmore]. For twelve days after his baptism, he lodged with the king, who generously gave to him and all his attendants several superb houses.

A.D. 879. The aforesaid pagan army removed, according to promise, from Cippanham [Chippenham], and came to Cirencester, which is situate in the southern part of the Wiccian territory, and remained there for a year. In the same year a great army of the Pagans sailed over from the parts beyond sea, and came to the river Thames, and united with the before-mentioned army; they wintered, however, at a place called Fullanham [Fulham], by the side of the river Thames.

In this year,[1] also, an eclipse of the sun occurred between nones and vespers, but nearer nones. [2]Dunbert, bishop of Winchester, died, and was succeeded by Deneulf. If report may be credited, he was, up to an advanced age, not only illiterate, but a herdsman: king Alfred, while retiring from the violence of his enemies and a fugitive in a forest, chanced to meet him as he was feeding swine. Finding that he was a man of talent, the king caused him to be educated; and, when he was sufficiently advanced, made him bishop of Winchester, thinking that he was indicated by God for the office.

A.D. 880. The oft-mentioned pagan army evacuated Cirencester, and went to East Anglia, and parcelled out and began to settle in that district. In the same year the pagan army which had wintered at Fullanham [Fulham] quitted Britain, and sailing again beyond sea, arrived at the eastern part of France, and remained for a year at a place called Gendi, that is, Gent.

A.D. 881. The oft-mentioned army of the Pagans arrived in France, and the Franks fought against it. At the end of the battle, the Pagans, having obtained horses, became an army of cavalry.

A.D. 882. The aforesaid army of the Pagans drew their ships up the river called Mese [Meuse] into the heart of France, and

[1] This eclipse happened on the 14th March, 880.
[2] Not in Asser; but see William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Pontiff.

wintered there for a year. In the same year king Alfred fought a naval battle against the pagan fleet: he captured two of them, and slew all who were in them; and the commanders of two others, with all their comrades, being grievously wounded in the engagement, laid down their arms, and on bended knees and with humble supplications surrendered themselves to the king.

A.D. 883. The aforesaid army drew its ships up the river called Scaldad [Scheld], against the stream, to the monastery called Candath [Condé], and remained there for a year. [1]Asser, bishop of Scireburne [Sherborne], died, and was succeeded by Suithelm, who was the bearer of king Alfred's alms to St. Thomas in India, and returned thence in safety.

A.D. 884. Marinus was pope. He, for the love that he bore to, and at the request of, Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, exonerated from all toll and tribute the School of the Saxons resident at Rome. He also sent over many presents to that king, and amongst others a large piece of the most holy cross on which our Lord Jesus Christ hung to obtain salvation for man. The aforesaid army of the Pagans entered the river Sunne [Somme], and sailing up as far as Amiens, remained there for a year.

A.D. 885. [2]The aforesaid army of the Pagans divided itself into two bodies, of which one went into Eastern France; but the other division, coming over to Britain, landed in Kent, and laid siege to the city which is called in Saxon Rochester, situate on the eastern bank of the river Medway. Opposite the gate of this city the Pagans, with great expedition, built up a strong castle; nevertheless, they were unable to take the city, because the citizens defended themselves manfully, until such time as king Alfred came up with a large army which he had collected for their assistance. On the sudden arrival of the king, the Pagans quitted their castle; and, abandoning all the horses which they had brought with them from France, and dismissing the greater proportion of their prisoners, fled in haste to their ships. The Saxons immediately took possession of the captives and horses which the Pagans had abandoned. So the Pagans, driven thereto by urgent necessity, returned that summer to France.

In the same year, Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, steered his fleet filled with warriors from Kent towards East Anglia, with the intention of pillaging. When they arrived at the mouth of the river Stour, sixteen ships of the Pagans immediately came out to oppose them. The battle began, and after sharp fighting on both sides the Pagans were all slain, and all their ships and money were captured. As the royal fleet was returning in triumph the pagan inhabitants of East Anglia collected ships from all quarters, and putting out to sea came upon it at the mouth of the river: an engagement took place, and the Pagans gained the victory.

As Carloman, king of the Western Franks, was boar-hunting he met with a miserable end, being torn by the horrid tusk of a huge beast which he had singly attacked. His brother Louis, who was also king of the Franks, had died three years previously. They

[1] The death of Asser finds no place in the Saxon Chronicle.
[2] See Asser, A.D. 884.

were both sons of Louis, king of the Franks, who died in the year above mentioned when the eclipse of the sun took place. The latter was son of Charles, king of the Franks, whose daughter Judith became, with her father's consent, the queen of Aethelwulf, king of the West Saxons.

In this year, also, a great pagan army came down from Germany into the country of the Old Saxons. The Saxons and Frieslanders united their forces, and fought valiantly against them twice in one year; in which two battles the Christians, by God's merciful assistance, gained the victory.

Moreover, in this year, Charles [the Fat], king of the Germans, succeeded by universal consent to the kingdom of the West Franks and all the kingdoms which lie between the Tuscan sea and the bay which lies between Old Saxony and Gaul, the kingdom of Armorica excepted. This Charles was the son of king Louis, who was the brother of Charles, king of the Franks, who was the father of the before-mentioned Judith: the two brothers were sons of Louis, who was the son of Pepin.

In this year, moreover, an army of the Pagans who dwelt in East Anglia disgracefully broke the peace which they had concluded with king Alfred.

A.D. 886. The pagan army so often mentioned, leaving Eastern France, came again unto the country of the Western Franks; and entering the mouth of the river Seine, and sailing up a great way, came to the city of Paris and wintered there. They besieged the city for the whole of that year, but, through God's merciful interposition, they were unable to force its defences.

In the same year, Alfred, the king of the Anglo-Saxons, after all this burning of cities and slaughter of people, rebuilt the city of London in a splendid manner, and made it fit for habitation, and then placed it under the government of Aethered, ealdorman of the Mercians. All the Angles and Saxons who previously had been either dispersed in all quarters, or were free servants in the hands of the Pagans, came to this king, and voluntarily placed themselves under his dominion.

A.D. 887. The aforesaid army of the Pagans, finding that they could not otherwise succeed in their enterprise, left the city of Paris untaken, and for a considerable time rowed their fleet up the river Seine until they came to the mouth of the river Materne [Marne]: they then left the Seine, and entered the mouth of the Marne. They made a long and distant voyage up this river, and at last, after much exertion, they came to a place called Caziei [Chezy], which means, The royal town, and passed the whole of the winter there. In the following year they entered the mouth of the river Iona [Yonne], doing great damage to the neighbourhood; and there they remained for a year. In this year Charles, king of the Franks, went the way of all flesh; but, six weeks before his death, he had been driven from the kingdom by Arnulf, his brother's son. Immediately after his decease, five kings were chosen, and the kingdom was divided into five parts; but nevertheless, the chief seat of the kingdom fell to the possession of Arnulf, and that rightly and

deservedly, if we except his sinful indignity to his uncle. The four other kings very properly promised fealty and obedience to Arnulf, for not one of those four had any hereditary right to the kingdom, as Arnulf alone had. So, on Charles's death, five kings were chosen; but the supreme dominion remained with Arnulf. The division of the kingdom was in this wise: Arnulf had the countries to the east of the river Rhine, Hrothulf [Rodolph] the interior part of the kingdom, Oda [Eudes] had the western [portion of the] kingdom, Beorngar [Berengar] and Witha [Guido] had Lombardy and the parts on that side of the mountains [Alps]. With such extensive and important kingdoms they nevertheless did not keep peace among themselves: for twice they fought general pitched battles, and mutually laid waste each other's kingdoms, and each in turn expelled the others from their dominions.

In this year Athelelm, ealdorman of the Wiltshire-men, carried the alms of king Alfred and the Saxons to Rome. In the same year, too, on the feast-day of St. Martin, bishop of Tours [11th Nov.], the oft-named Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, by God's direction, began for the first time to read, and at the same time to explain the meaning [of what he read]. Though enjoying regal power, that king was pierced through with many afflictions. For, as we have mentioned, he was, from his twentieth to his forty-fifth year, and beyond it, continually suffering from the severe attacks of an inexplicable disorder: so that he did not pass a single hour in which he was not either suffering from it, or in melancholy fear of it. Besides this, he was constantly disturbed by the unremitting invasions of foreigners, kept up both by sea and by land, without any interval of peace. What shall I say of his frequent expeditions against the Pagans, of his wars, of his unceasing attention to affairs of state, of his reparations of towns and cities, and his building others in places where none formerly existed, of buildings glittering with gold and silver, exquisitely constructed under his own immediate directions, of the royal halls and chambers of wonderful wood and stone work which he ordered to be built, of the royal vills built of stone, removed from their ancient sites, and by his royal mandate elegantly rebuilt in more suitable positions? True it is, that though he stood alone, yet, God being his helper, he did not suffer the helm of government to which he had once put his hand, to waver or become unsteady in passing through the billowy and manifold tempests of this present life. For, always, and with the greatest tact, he brought his bishops, ealdormen, the most noble and intimate of his thanes, and those who held command under him, to subserve his own will and the common weal of the whole kingdom; gently instructing, or advising, or commanding them, and at last, after long endurance, severely punishing the disobedient; for he held vulgar stupidity and obstinacy in utter abomination. If, when the king commanded, his orders were, by reason of the people's indolence, either neglected, or, attended to only after long procrastination, were not ready sufficiently early to be of use to those who required them in time of need; for instance, fortresses which he had ordered to be built, but which had not yet been begun, or from

having been begun too late, had not been completed, and the enemy's forces had broke in by sea and by land;—then the opponents of the royal decrees, touched with a too late repentance, were sorely troubled that they had not paid sufficient attention to the king's commands, vied in praising his wisdom, which they had denied before, and promised to strain every nerve to complete the works. This king, among his other good deeds, commanded two monasteries to be built, one for monks, at the place called Aethelingaeig [Athelney]; whereof, monks of different orders being collected, he made John, by birth an Old Saxon, and both priest and monk, first abbot. He also caused a monastery for nuns to be erected, in a convenient situation near the eastern gate of Shaftesbury, and made his own daughter, Aethelgeofu, who had taken the vow of virginity, abbess thereof: and these two monasteries he richly endowed with landed possessions and all manner of treasures. Moreover, he promised that he would piously and faithfully dedicate to God one-half of all his lawful and ordinary annual income: and he applied himself, heart and soul, to do it. Lastly, God moving him thereunto, he ordered his ministers to divide into two equal portions the fiscal revenues of each year. When this had been done, he caused one-half to be again subdivided into three parts: one of which he divided annually between his noble thanes, who were always by turns engaged in his service, taking the administration of different offices. For the king's attendants were wisely divided into three sections, one of which remained for a month, night and day, in his service; at the end of the month another section took its place, and the first returned home and remained there two months, attending to family affairs: when another month had ended, the third section arrived, and then the second returned home and remained there for two months; the third, their monthly term of service having expired, and the first section having again come round, likewise returned home and remained there for two months. In this mode was the king's administration conducted during the whole of his vicissitudinous life. Another third [he distributed] amongst the almost innumerable skilful builders whom he had collected and hired from different countries. The remaining third he joyfully and with admirable judgment apportioned between the foreigners who came to him from all countries, far and near, and asked for pecuniary assistance; aye, and even those who did not ask it. The second of these two portions of all his fiscal revenues he ordered his ministers to divide into four exactly equal portions, to the intent that one portion should be discreetly expended on the poor people who should come to him, of whatever country they might chance to be; another portion he gave to the two monasteries which had been built by his command, and to the servants of God therein; a third to the school which he had made up, with great pains, of the children of the nobility and also the lower orders of his people. The fourth portion he distributed among the neighbouring monasteries of Saxony and Mercia, and also in some years, by turns and as he was able, among the churches of Britain, Cornwall, Gaul, Armorica, Northumbria, and Ireland. Having made these orderly arrangements, he vowed that

he would strenuously devote to God half the powers of his mind and body, both by day and by night, so far as his infirmities, opportunity, and necessities would permit. So he began to devise some means whereby he might preserve his vow unbroken until death. At length, after sensible and careful consideration, he sent for a quantity of wax, and had it weighed against pennies: and when a weight of wax equivalent to seventy-two pennies had been measured off, he ordered his chaplains to make therewith six candles of equal size, each being twelve inches in length, and having the inches marked upon them. By this method those six candles kept burning day and night without intermission, for twenty-four hours, before the reliques of different saints, which always accompanied the king.

Moreover, as into other things, so into the administration of justice, the king was wont to make most careful inquiries. For he used to scrutinize with great sagacity the judgments which were given in his absence nearly all over the kingdom; considering of what character they were, whether just or unjust; and if he discovered any iniquity therein, he would mildly interrogate the judges, either by himself or by his confidants, why they gave such unrighteous judgments? whether it was by reason of ignorance or malevolence? if it was for the love, or fear, or hate of any person, or for the hope of pecuniary reward? If the judges asserted that they had so given judgment because they had been unable to arrive at a better conclusion, he discreetly and quietly rebuked their ignorance and foolishness, saying, "I marvel greatly at your insolence in having, by God's grace and mine, taken upon yourself the office and rank of men of wisdom, and yet neglected the study and practice of wisdom. Wherefore I command you, either at once to resign the exercise of the earthly power which you now hold, or to apply yourselves much more seriously than heretofore to the study of wisdom." Alarmed at these words, and as though they had suffered the greatest possible punishment, the ealdormen and governors strove to devote all their powers to the study of jurisprudence, so that almost all the ealdormen who had been illiterate from their infancy, and his governors and thanes, applied themselves in a wonderful manner to learn the study of learning, preferring to undergo the labour of such unwonted pupilage, rather than to lose their situations. If any one was not able to attain much proficiency in learning, by reason of old age or of the over-slowness of a hitherto unexerted intellect, he would make his son (if he had one), or some other relation, or in default thereof, one of his freemen or serfs, whom he had long previously employed to read to him, recite Saxon compositions to him, by day or by night, whenever he had leisure. Those old men sighed heavily, and heartily grieved, that in their youth they had not attended to such pursuits; thinking the youths of that present time fortunate in being able to study successfully the liberal arts, but considering themselves unfortunate in that they neither studied them while young, nor were able to acquire them in old age, though they most ardently desired to do so.[1]

[1] From the year 849 to this point, Florence has liberally used Asser; henceforward the Saxon Chronicle may be consulted with advantage.

A.D. 888.

A.D. 889. A noble ealdorman, named Beocca, carried the alms of king Alfred and the West Saxons to Rome. In the same year Aethelsuith, the king's sister, and queen of Burhred, king of the Mercians, died and was buried at Ticino [Pavia]. In this year too, and in the same month, died Aethelwold the ealdorman, and Aethelred archbishop of Canterbury; the latter was succeeded in the archbishopric by Pleigmund, a man of extensive literary acquirements.

A.D. 890.

A.D. 891. Abbot Beornhelm carried the alms of king Alfred and of the West Saxons to Rome. Guthrum, king of the Northmen, to whom, as we mentioned before, king Alfred stood godfather, and gave the name of Aethelstan, died this year. He dwelt with his people in East Anglia, and first took up his abode in, and possession of that province, after the martyrdom of the holy king Edmund. In the same year, the oft-mentioned pagan army left the Seine and went to a place called Santlaudan [St. Lo], situate between France and Armorica: the Britons fought against them, and gained the victory, some being slain with the edge of the sword, some put to flight, and some drowned in the river.

A.D. 892. The aforesaid pagan army left Eastern, and went to Western France: but before their fleet could join them, the emperor Arnulf, with the East Franks, Old Saxons, and Bavarians, attacked the land army and put it to flight. Three Scots, named Dusblan, Mahbethu, and Malmumin, desiring to lead a pilgrim's life for the service of God, took with them provisions for one week, fled secretly from Ireland, and, entering a canoe made of only two hides and a half, and although they were unfurnished with sails or other instruments of navigation, by wonderful chance they landed in Cornwall, after a voyage of seven days: they afterwards paid a visit to king Alfred. In the same year died Swifneh, the best teacher among the Scots. In this year, too, a star called a comet was seen about rogation week.[1]

A.D. 893. The land and sea forces of the Pagans, quitting Eastern France, came to Boulogne, and thence, with their horses, crossed over to Kent in two hundred and fifty ships, landed at the mouth of the river Limene [Lyme], which runs out of the great forest of Andred. From the mouth of that river they drew their ships four miles up into the forest, where they demolished a half-built fort, which was inhabited by a few villeins, and built for themselves a stronger one at a place called Apultreo [Appledore]. A short time afterwards the pagan king, Haesten, entered the mouth of the river Thames with eighty light barks, and built for himself a fortress in the royal vill called Middleton.

A.D. 894. The Pagans who inhabited Northumbria swore to a lasting peace with king Alfred: so did those who dwelt in East Anglia, and in addition gave six hostages. But they broke the treaty, and as often as the pagan army residing in Kent quitted their forts for the purpose of plundering, they too either joined

[1] "On the death of bishop Swithelm of Shirburn, Ethilwerd succeeded." A. by a second scribe.

with the latter, or went plundering on their own account wherever they could. When king Alfred heard of it he took a portion of his army with him, leaving part at home, as was his custom, and, placing some as garrisons in forts and cities, marched with great expedition into Kent, and encamped between the two pagan armies, in a place of great natural strength, inasmuch as it was surrounded on all sides by streams, whose waves ran high, and whose banks were steep, and woods jutted out on all sides: in order that if the enemy took the field for the purpose of plundering or fighting, he might engage them without delay. But they, going about robbing in bands, sometimes on horse, and sometimes on foot, took every opportunity of plundering in those places where they ascertained there were none of the king's forces. But nearly every one, not only in the king's army, but also in the cities, let no opportunity slip of slaughtering them day and night, when they were off their guard, and thereby so disquieted them, that, quitting Kent, which they had again ravaged, they all in a body deserted the place where they had settled: for they had all gone out together for the purpose of plunder, when they first took up their abode in those districts. But this time they took a larger and richer booty, and determined to cross the river Thames with it, reach East Saxony, and join their fleet, which they had sent on before. They were, however, prevented by the king's army, and, a battle being fought near Feornham, in which they lost not only their booty, but also the horses which they had brought from beyond sea, they were all put to flight, and retreated to an island formed by the windings of the river Colne, having crossed the Thames at a place where there was no ford. There they were kept in a state of siege for such a long time, that the king's army began to lack provisions, and the appointed period came as well for its return home, as for the advance of the other army. That army therefore returned home, and king Alfred with his division made all haste to arrive at the spot; but the Pagans, inasmuch as their king was grievously wounded, and they could not therefore carry him off with them, still kept their position. While king Alfred was yet on his march for the purpose of dislodging the enemy, behold, news came to him that the Pagans of Northumbria and East Anglia had collected two hundred and forty ships, and that some had sailed round to the south coast of England with a hundred ships, and others to the northern coast of [that part of] England with forty ships, and that the former were besieging Exeter, and the latter a certain fort in Devonshire, with a strong force. When he heard this, the king was moved, not to fear by reason of the audacity of the enemy, but to fury by reason of his subjects being besieged. He collected all his cavalry without delay, and rode to Exeter, leaving a small force behind to carry on the war against the enemy of whom he had previously been in pursuit. Then they marched to London, and [thence] in company with the citizens, and those who had come to their assistance from the western part of England, arrived at Beanflot [Benfleet]: for they heard that a large army which had been posted at Apultreo [Appledore] had assembled there, and that king Haesten and his

army had arrived from Middleton and had constructed a fort there, but had then again made a descent for the object of plunder. This Haesten had, a short time previously, on the occasion of the peace which he made with king Alfred, given very many hostages, and at king Alfred's request, had allowed his two sons to be baptized; king Alfred standing godfather for one, and the most noble ealdorman Aethered for the other. But on his arrival at Beanflot [Benfleet], king Haesten hastily threw up fortifications, and anon laid waste the confines of the kingdom of his son's godfather, Aethered. So a severe battle was fought with the Pagans, and the Christians put them to flight at the first onset, demolished their works, took whatever they found there, carried their wives and children to London, sunk some of their ships, burned others, and transported some to London and Rochester. They took king Haesten's wife and two daughters before he returned to Beanflot [Benfleet], from his plundering expedition, and brought them to king Alfred. He did no injury to them, for, as we have before mentioned, one of the boys was his own, and the other was earl Aethered's godson; but, again making peace and receiving hostages, he not only restored to the suppliant father his wife and children, but presented him with a large sum of money. Afterwards the king went to Exeter, at the earnest entreaty of his said subjects there; and then, the Pagans, terrified at his arrival, retired to their ships, and returning to their old place of abode, began plundering in the neighbourhood of the city called in the English tongue Cissaceastre [Chichester], situate in the province of the South Saxons. But being put to flight by the citizens, the greater number of them were either killed or wounded, and very many of their ships were captured. In the meantime, the pagan army which was routed by the Christians at Benfleet, as before mentioned, came to a city of East Saxony, called in the English tongue Sceobyrig [Shoebury], and there built themselves a strong fort. Being joined by numerous Pagans from Northumbria and East Anglia, they began plundering, first, on the banks of the Thames, and then on the banks of the Severn. The noble ealdormen, Aethered, Athelm, and Athelnoth, and others of the king's thanes, to whom he had entrusted the defence of different forts, towns, and cities, not only eastward of Pedreda [the river Parret], but also westward of Selwood, and not only on the north, but also on the south of the Thames, not being able to endure any longer this terrible annoyance, collected a great army against the enemy, and were joined by auxiliaries from the Welsh who dwelt west of the Severn. Uniting in one body, they marched in pursuit of the enemy, and came up with him at Buttingtun, on the banks of the Severn, and presently besieged from both sides of the river the fortress into which he retreated. After the lapse of some weeks, some of the Pagans died of starvation, and some, having been reduced to eat their horses, broke out of the fort, and engaged with the besiegers on the eastern bank of the river. After slaughtering many thousands of the Pagans, and putting all the rest to flight, the Christians remained masters of the field of carnage. In this

battle the most noble Ordeah and many of the king's thanes were slain. On the approach of winter the fugitive Pagans, after having retired to East Saxony, and reached their forts and ships, again collected a great army from East Anglia and Northumbria. Leaving their wives, their wealth, and their ships in East Anglia, and quitting their fortresses, they made a forced march, and entered the City of Legions [Chester], (which was at that time deserted,)[1] called in Saxon Legeceastre, before the lieutenants of the army of king Alfred and Aethered, who were in pursuit, could overtake them. However, they cut off and slew some of them, rescued the flocks of cattle and sheep which they had taken while pillaging, besieged the city for two days, burnt some of the corn-fields, and turned their horses into the others. These events occurred within the interval of one year after they [the Pagans] came from Gaul to the mouth of the river Limene.

A.D. 895. The oft-mentioned pagan army, having nothing whereon to subsist (for the Christians had deprived them of everything), invaded the territory of the North Britons, and laying it waste far and wide, carried off immense booty. Not daring to retrace their steps through Mercia, for fear of the Mercians, they marched first through Northumbria, and then through the country of the Middle Angles; and having rejoined their wives and ships in East Anglia, betook themselves to a little island in the sea, called Meresig [Mersey], off the eastern coast of East Saxony. In the same year they drew their ships up the river Thames, and after a while up the river Ligea [Lea], and began to build themselves a fort hard by that river, twenty miles from London.

A.D. 896. In the summer a great number of the citizens of London, assisted by many people from neighbouring places, endeavoured to demolish the fort which the Pagans had built: but the latter stoutly resisted the attack, and the Christians were put to flight, four of king Alfred's thanes being killed. In the autumn that king encamped not far from the city, in order to prevent the Pagans from forcibly carrying off the people's crops. One day, as he was riding along the banks, he looked out for a spot where he could block up the bed of the river, and so prevent the Danes from bringing out their ships: and without delay he caused impediments to be erected on both sides. When the Pagans heard this, they again left their wives in East Anglia, and abandoning their ships, fled swiftly, on foot, to a place called Quatbrieg; and building a fort, passed the winter there. The Londoners transported some of the ships to London, and broke up others.

A.D. 897. In the summer, a portion of the pagan army which had wintered at Quatbrieg went to East Anglia, and another portion to Northumbria; some of them remained in those places, but others procured ships and went over to the river Seine. Oh! with what incessant troubles, with what grievous trials, in what dreadful and lamentable ways was all England harassed, not only by the Danes who held possession of different parts of her, but also by

[1] The passage within parentheses does not occur in any copy of the Saxon Chronicle.

these children of Satan. Nevertheless, for the space of three years she suffered much more, from a murrain among the cattle, and a mortality among the nobility, many of whom, chiefly the king's thanes, died during that period. Among these were Suithulf, bishop of Rochester; Ealheard, bishop of Dorchester; Ceolmund, the Kentish ealdorman; Beorhtulf, the East-Saxon ealdorman; Eadulf, the king's thane in South Saxony; Beornulf, wic-reeve of Winchester; Ecgulf, the king's horse-thane, and very many others; but those above named were of the highest dignity. In the same year the army of the Pagans who inhabited East Anglia and Northumbria grievously annoyed the West Saxons, pillaged stealthily along the sea-coast, chiefly in long, swift ships, which they had constructed several years before. To oppose them, king Alfred ordered ships to be built, of twice the length and twice as deep, which were swifter and did not heel so much, so that by their weight they might destroy the enemy's ships. These were put to sea, with orders from the king to take as many prisoners as they could, and to kill such of the enemy as they could not take alive. So in that year twenty ships full of Danish pirates were taken, some of whom were slain, and the rest were brought to the king alive, and hung on gibbets.[1]

A.D. 898, 899.

A.D. 900. Healhstan, bishop of London, died, and was succeeded by Theodred. Eardŭlf, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and was succeeded by the pious Cuthard.

A.D. 901. Renowned, warlike, and victorious,—a careful provider for the necessities of widows, wards, orphans, and the poor,—the most skilful of Saxon poets,—adored by his subjects, and affable and most liberal to all,—a man of prudence, fortitude, justice, and temperance,—most patient under the infirmity which troubled him,—most discreet and persevering in enforcing the judgments [of his courts of law],—most watchful and devout in the service of God,—Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, son of the most pious king Aethelwulf, died on Wednesday, the 5th of the [2]kalends of November [28th Oct.], in the fourth indiction, having reigned twenty-nine years and six months; he was buried at the New Monastery in Winchester, and waits the robe of a blessed immortality and the glory of the resurrection with the just. He was succeeded by his son Eadward, surnamed the Elder, inferior to his father in the cultivation of literature, but his equal in dignity and power, and his superior in glory. For, as will be shown hereafter, he extended the limits of his kingdom much beyond what his father had done; moreover, he built many cities and towns, and rebuilt some which had been destroyed: he wrested from the hands of the Danes all East Saxony, East Anglia, Northumbria, and several Mercian provinces, which they had long possessed: after the death of his sister Aegelfled he obtained possession of, and retained, the

[1] "On the death of Æthelward, bishop of Shirburn, the see was vacant for seven years, in consequence of the pressure of the enemy." This addition in A. by another scribe, is copied from Malmesbury.

[2] See the Saxon Chronicle, which assigns a different date.

whole of Mercia: all the kings of the Scots, Cumbrians, Strathclyde Britons, and West Britons submitted to him: many were the kings and earls whom he conquered in battle and slew. By a woman of noble birth, named Egwina, he had Aethelstan, his first-born son; by his queen Eadgiva he had three sons, namely, Eadwin, Eadmund, and Eadred, a daughter named Eadburg, a virgin of the greatest piety, and three other daughters. Of the latter, Otto, the emperor of the Romans, married one; another was married to Charles, king of the Western Franks, whose aunt by the father's side, a daughter of the emperor Charles, was married to Aethelwulf, king of the West Saxons; Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, married the third daughter. The etheling Aethelwald, cousin-german of this king Eadward, took forcible possession of one of the king's towns, called Tuueoxbeam,[1] without the permission of the king or his magnates; he also took another, called Winburn,[2] (where, as we have before mentioned, St. Cuthburg, sister of king Ini, built a monastery for nuns,) and fortified it with gates and bars. On hearing this, king Eadward assembled an army, and encamped near Winburn, at a place called in the English tongue Baddanbyrig.[3] The king immediately commanded the etheling to evacuate the place without delay. He refused, saying that he would live or die there. But his boast was vain: for, affrighted at the numbers of the king's army, he fled away by night, and went to Northumbria, where he requested the Danes to allow him to join them, not so much in the capacity of a leader as of a comrade: they, very shortly afterwards, made him their king. The king complained much of the indignity of such a desertion, and sent men to pursue him with all speed: but finding it impossible to take him, he seized the nun whom he had married against her will and without the permission of the bishops, and ordered her to be taken back to her monastery at Winburn.

A.D. 902.

A.D. 903. The stout ealdorman, Aethulf, brother of queen Ealhsuith, the mother of king Eadward, and Virgil, a venerable Scotch abbot, died. The priest Grimbold also, a man of great holiness, and one of the masters of king Alfred, entered on the joys of the heavenly kingdom.

A.D. 904. The men of Kent fought a battle against a host of Danish pirates, at a place called Holme; [4]and they got the victory. The etheling Aethelwold returned to England from the parts beyond sea, with a numerous fleet, some of which he had purchased, and the rest whereof he had got together from East Anglia.

A.D. 905. [5]An eclipse of the moon occurred. The etheling Aethelwold invited the Danes who dwelt in East Anglia, by a promise of a large share in the spoil, to accompany him in a plundering expedition into the Mercian territory. They agreed; and

[1] Twynam, or Christchurch, in Hampshire.
[2] Wimborne, in Dorsetshire. [3] Badbury, in Dorsetshire.
[4] This clause of the sentence does not occur in the Saxon Chronicle.
[5] The Saxon Chronicle, and more correctly, assigns this eclipse to the previous year.

shortly afterwards, in company of king Eohric and king Aethelwold, burst into the Mercian territory, and, thirsting for prey, destroyed everything with fire and sword, and at last came to Creccanford [Cricklade], where, having crossed the Thames and marched through the wood which is called in Saxon Bradene, they attacked all the surrounding vills, destroying everything they could find. And now, enriched with immense booty, they prepared, in high spirits, to return home: but in vain; for the invincible king Eadward marched after them with an army which he had hastily collected, laid waste their territory, situate between the boundary of the possessions of the holy king Eadmund and the river Ouse, and then, being about to return from his expedition, ordered all the army to retire also. But the Kentish men scorned to obey, and remained there. The king sent seven messengers commanding them to retire; but they, nought fearing his hostility, boldly persisted in their resolution. Hearing this, the Danes quickly collected their forces into one body, came down upon them suddenly, and fought a severe battle, in which many fell on both sides. On the Kentish side there fell ealdorman Sigulf and his son Sigbriht, ealdorman Sigelm, Eadwold, one of the king's thanes, the abbot Kenulf, and many others. The Danes lost their king Eohric, the etheling Aethelwold, whom they had chosen for their king, and very many more than the English: nevertheless, they remained masters of the field of carnage. Queen Ealhsuith, mother of king Eadward, a devout handmaid of Christ, and foundress of a monastery of nuns at Winchester, departed this life.

A.D. 906. A star called a comet appeared. The pagan army from East Anglia and Northumbria, finding by experience that king Eadward was invincible, concluded a treaty of peace with him, at a place called in the English tongue Ittingaford.[1]

A.D. 907.

A.D. 908. [2]The city which is called in the British tongue Karlegion, and Legeceastre in the Saxon, was rebuilt, by the direction of ealdorman Aethered and Aegelfled.

A.D. 909. Denulf, bishop of Winchester, died.

A.D. 910. Denulf being dead, St. Frithestan succeeded him in the bishopric. [3]The bones of St. Oswald, king and martyr, were translated from Barthoneig [Bardney] to Mercia. The invincible Eadward, on the occasion of the Danes breaking the peace which they had concluded with him, sent an army of West Saxons and Mercians into Northumbria: when they arrived there, they ravaged the country incessantly for nearly forty days, slew many of the Danes, and took back with them many captives and immense booty, compelling their kings (whether they wished it or not) to renew with king Eadward the peace which they had broken.

A.D. 911. [4]A great battle was fought between the English and the Danes at Teottanhele, in the province of Stafford, and the English were victorious. In the same year the victorious king Eadward collected a hundred ships, and, selecting soldiers, ordered them on

[1] "Kyneferth, bishop of Lichfield, being dead, Tunbriht succeeded." A. in a second hand.
[2] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 907.
[3] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 909.
[4] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 910.

board, with instructions to meet him in Kent, whither he intended to go by land. In the meantime the army of the Danes who dwelt in Northumbria, having again broken the peace which they had concluded with him, and rejected all the civil rights which he and his nobles had offered to them, with rash boldness invaded the Mercian territory; for they thought that their great strength lay in their ships, and that they could go wherever they pleased without being obliged to hazard an engagement. When the king heard this, he sent an army of West Saxons and Mercians to drive them back. This army met with them on their return from the scene of their devastations, at a place called in the English tongue Wodnesfeld, and slew their two kings, Eowils and Halfdene, brothers of king Hinguar, two earls named Ohter and Scurfa,[1] nine of their chief nobles, and several thousand men besides; and putting all the rest to flight, they recaptured all the spoil. Aegelfled, the lady of the Mercians, built the city of Bremesbyrig.

A.D. 912. After a well-spent life, Aethered, a most honourable man, ealdorman and patrician, lord and subregulus of the Mercians, died: after whose death, his wife Aegelfled,[2] daughter of king Alfred, kept possession for some time, and with a strong hand, of the kingdom of the Mercians, with the exception of London and Oxford, which her brother king Eadward retained for himself.

A.D. 913. [3]Aegelfled, the lady of the Mercians, came on the 2d of the nones of May [6th May], with an army, to a place called Sceargete, and built a fortress there; and afterwards built another at a place called Bricge [Bridgenorth], on the western side of the river Severn. About the feast of St. Martin [11th Nov.] a city was built by king Eadward's order to the north of Hertford, between the rivers Memera, Ficcea, and Lyge [Lea].

A.D. 914. After Easter [17th April], a pagan army from Northampton and Leogereceastre [Leicester], went plundering in the province of Oxford, and slew very many people in the king's vill of Hokenertune, and in many other vills. Shortly after that one returned home, they equipped another composed of cavalry, and sent it towards Ligetun [Leighton?] in the province of Hertford. But the natives assembled in force to resist them, and after slaying many of them and putting the rest to flight, captured some horses and the greater part of their arms, and re-captured the booty which they had taken. Leaving a portion of the army to build a city on the south side of the river Lige [Lea], king Eadward marched, after the rogations [23d May], with the greater part of it into East Saxony, and encamped at Mealdune: he remained there until a city was built at Witham and fortified; and a great number of the people there, who were in subjection to the pagans, submitted themselves and all their property to him. In the beginning of the summer Aegelfled, the lady of the Mercians, went with the

[1] B. reads "Scrufa."

[2] The events concerning this lady appear to have been known to Florence in some copy of the Saxon Chronicle, which represented them in a more authentic state than any which has descended to our time.

[3] See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 912.

Mercians to Tomeweorthigina [Tamworth], and by God's help restored that city. Thence she went towards Stafford, and built a fort on the north side of the river Sowe. The winter of this year was very long and severe.[1]

A.D. 915. Wereferth, bishop of the Hwiccas, a man of great learning and piety, died, and was succeeded by Aethelhun, [2]abbot of Beorclea [Berkeley]. At [3]the beginning of summer Aegelfled, the lady of the Mercians, built the city called Eadesbyrig, and at the end of the autumn another called Werewic [Warwick]. The [4]pagan pirates, who nearly nineteen years before had quitted Britain and gone into Gaul, returned to England from the province called Lydwiccum [Armorica or Brittany], with two earls named Ohter and Rhoald, and sailing round by West Saxony and Cornwall, at length entered the mouth of the river Severn. They immediately invaded the territory of the northern Britons, and utterly destroyed everything at the river's side which they could lay hands on. They captured Cymelgeac,[5] bishop of the Britons, at a plain called Yrcenefeld, and carried him in great triumph to their ships: [however] king Eadward ransomed him not long afterwards for forty pounds of silver. Shortly afterwards, the whole army landed, and marched towards the aforesaid plain for the purpose of pillage; but the men of Hereford, and Gloucester, and very many from the neighbouring cities, went out suddenly to meet them, and fought a battle with them. Rhoald, one of the enemy's chiefs, and brother of the other chief, Ohter, and a great portion of the army were slain: the rest were put to flight, and were driven by the Christians into an enclosed field, where they were so long and closely beset that they gave hostages as a security for their departure as quickly as possible from king Eadward's territories. So the king posted different portions of his army in suitable places on the south side of the river Severn, from Cornwall to the mouth of the river Avon, in order to prevent the pirates from laying waste any portion of those provinces. But, leaving their ships on the strand, they plundered stealthily by night to the east of Weced [Watchet], and again at a place called Portlocon [Portlock-bay]; but on each occasion all were slain by the king's army, except such as fled like cowards to their ships. Overpowered by this defeat, they retired to an island called Reoric [Flat-holme], where they remained until a number of them died of starvation: so, driven by necessity, they sailed first to Deomede,[6] and afterward, in the autumn, to Ireland. After these events, the unconquered king Eadward went with an army to Buckingham, and there remained for thirty days, and caused fortresses to be built on each side of the river Ouse, by reason whereof Turketil one of the Danish chiefs, and all those of the higher class from Bedford, and many from Northampton, found

[1] "On the promotion of Athelm, bishop of Wells, to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, Wulfhelm succeeded." A. addition.

[2] These three words are supplied from A.; they do not occur in B. or in Howard's editions.

[3] See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 914.

[4] Id. A.D. 918.

[5] He was bishop of Llandaff.

[6] Demetia, or South Wales.

themselves obliged to surrender to the king. Cuthard, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and was succeeded by Tilred.

A.D. 916. Before the feast-day of St. Martin [11th Nov.] the unconquered king Eadward went to Bedford, which town and its inhabitants submitted to him; and, remaining there for thirty days, ordered a town to be built on the southern bank of the river Ouse. After our Lord's Nativity [25th Dec.], Aegelfled, the lady of the Mercians, built two cities, namely Cyricbyrig [Cherbury] and Weadbyrig: she also built a third called Runcofan [Runcorn]; but that was before the Nativity.

A.D. 917. Before the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist [24th June], the unconquered king Eadward went to Meldun [Maldon], and rebuilt the city there; and did not leave until he had strengthened it with a garrison. In this year the above-named earl Turketil was permitted and assisted by king Eadward to go over to Gaul with all his men. The venerable abbot Ecgbriht was unrighteously slain on the 6th of the kalends of July.[1] Three nights afterwards Aegelfled, the lady of the Mercians, sent an army into the territory of the Britons to take the castle of Bricenanmere [Brecknock], who having captured the castle, carried away captive, into Mercia, the wife of the British king, and thirty-four men besides. Rollo, first duke of Normandy, died, and was succeeded by his son William.

A.D. 918. By king Eadward's command the city called Towcester was built before Easter [5th April], and another was built after Easter, and another about the rogations, at Wigingamere [Wigmore]. After the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist [24th June] the Pagans of Northampton and Leogerecestre [Leicester] broke the peace, came to Towcester, and attacking it the whole day, endeavoured to take it by storm; but, the inhabitants resisting with all their might, and the people of the neighbourhood hastening to their assistance, they were all put to flight. They afterwards made frequent nocturnal attacks in the province of Buckingham on those who were unprepared for resistance, carrying away captive not only men but cattle, and slew many people between Birnwood and Aylesbury. About that time an army of the pagan inhabitants of East Anglia and Huntingdon left the strong fort which they had built at Huntingdon, and built a still stronger one at Temesford [Tempsford], thinking forsooth that they should be able to regain by battle the territory which they had lost. Thence they marched out to attack Bedford. But as soon as their arrival was known, the city guard went out to battle against them: an engagement took place, and the enemy was routed and put to flight, and very many of them were slain. After a short interval the Pagans again assembled from East Anglia, East Saxony, and Mercia, and came to the town called Winganmere [Wigmore], and passed the whole day in attacking it: but those within defended it stoutly, and the enemy retired; nevertheless as they retired they carried off much booty. After this, in the summer time, a multitude collected on all sides from the

[1] The Saxon Chronicle reads, on the 16th of the kalends of July [17th June].

neighbouring cities and districts under king Eadward's dominion, went to Tempsford, besieged, assaulted, took, burned, and rased it, and slew the pagan king, the earl Toglea, and earl Mannan his son, and also his brother, and all who offered any resistance; the remainder they took prisoners, and destroyed everything they could find. From that time the Danish power gradually decreased, and the English power increased from day to day. Just before the kalends of August [7th Aug.], Aegelfled, lady of the Mercians, took Derby by storm, and obtained possession of the province: four of its best thanes were slain while fighting bravely at the city gate. After this, in the autumn, a great multitude from Kent, Surrey, East Saxony, and the neighbouring cities and districts, united, and marched in a body to Colchester, and, laying siege to it, continued the assault until they took it. They slew all the inhabitants except a few who escaped, and pillaged everything they found inside. The Danes dwelling in East Anglia were very incensed thereat, and, burning to revenge their injuries, marched to Maldon, with pirates, whose assistance they had hired, and besieged and assaulted it, until such time as the people of the neighbouring places came to the aid of the English. When the Danes heard that aid had arrived, they raised the siege. The English, seeing this, pursued and attacked them fiercely, slew several thousands of the pirates and of the others, and put the rest to flight. Shortly afterwards, the invincible king Eadward led a West-Saxon army to Passaham, and remained until the city of Towcester was surrounded with a stone wall. In consequence, the Danish earl Thurferth, seeing that he could no longer make head against the energetic movements of the king, made his submission to the king, as did also the Danish and English citizens and natives of Northampton. After this the king returned home, and immediately sent another army to Huntingdon, to repair and renovate the city, and place a garrison therein. All which being achieved, such of the people of that province as had survived the cruelties of the Danes, thankful at having escaped from their hands, sought the peace and protection of the king, and tendered their submission to him. After a few days, the king, having assembled a West-Saxon army, marched to Colchester, put its walls in a perfect state of repair, and placed in it a stipendiary garrison. In the meantime, many of the English of East Anglia and East Saxony, who for nearly thirty years had been under the iron sway of the Pagans, joyfully placed themselves under the king's protection. The Danish inhabitants of East Anglia also presented themselves to him, and swore that neither by sea nor by land would they do anything to the king's prejudice. A Danish army from Cambridge came also, and made choice of him for their lord and master: moreover, at his request, they took oaths to the same effect.[1]

A.D. 919. At the beginning of this year, Aegelfled, the lady of the Mercians, by God's help, peaceably got possession of Leogereceastre [Leicester], and received the submission of nearly all the Danish army which was stationed there. Moreover, the Danes

[1] "On the death of Wustan, bishop of Sherburn, Aethelbald succeeded." A. addit.

stationed at York, some with promises, and the rest with oaths, engaged that they would in all things act according to her pleasure and by her direction. After the rogations [31st May], the most invincible king Eadward the elder marched with an army to Stanford, and fortified a strong tower on the south bank of the river Welund; and he received the submission of not only the Danes who were in possession of a fort on the northern bank of the said river, but also of all who belonged to it. During these transactions, that is to say, on the 19th of the kalends of June,[1] the king's sister, Aegelfled, lady of the Mercians, died; in the eighth year from the year when she commenced her firm but moderate undivided sway over the Mercians: she was a very virtuous woman, and renowned for her prudence and justice: she left an only daughter, named Aelfwinna, by the sub-regulus Aethered, heir to her kingdom. Her body was taken to Gloucester, and honourably buried in St. Peter's church. The king, on hearing of her death, hastened to Tomwrthigene [Tamworth], and reduced it to submit to him. Thence he moved his army, and went to Snotingaham [Nottingham], ordered the city, which had been captured, to be repaired, and stationed both English and Danes therein. In course of time he received the submission first of all the Mercians and the Danish inhabitants of Mercia, and then of three British kings named Howell, Clyttwic, and Juthwal, together with all their subjects.[2]

A.D. 920. In the autumn the most invincible king Eadward went to Thelwall, built a city there, and left some of the bravest of his army as a garrison. Moreover he sent an army of Mercians into Northumbria to repair the city of Mameceaster [Manchester], and stationed valiant soldiers therein. He afterwards entirely deprived his niece Aelfwinna of her Mercian kingdom, and ordered her to be taken into West Saxony.

A.D. 921. [3]Just before the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist [24th June], the most invincible king Eadward the elder went with an army to Nottingham and built a city on the southern bank of the river Trent, facing the city on the opposite bank, and ordered a strong bridge connecting both cities to be built. Thence he went with the army to Beadecanwealla [Bakewell], built a town not far off, and stationed powerful soldiers therein. At that time [Constantine] the king of the Scots and all his subjects, Reignald king of the Danes, with the English and Danes who dwelt in Northumbria, and the king of the Strathclyde Britons and all his subjects, adopted king Eadward the elder for their chief and lord, and made a lasting peace with him.

A.D. 922. On the 17th of the kalends of November [16th Oct.], Aethelward the etheling, brother of king Eadward, died, and was carried to Winchester and buried there. Aethelhun bishop of the Hwiccas died, and was succeeded by Wilferth.

A.D. 923.[4]

[1] Compare the Saxon Chronicle as to this date.

[2] "On the death of Adhelstan, bishop of Wilton, Odo succeeded." A. in a second hand.

[3] See the Saxon Chron. A.D. 924.

[4] "On the death of Bernech, bishop of Selsey, Kinred succeeded." Addit. in A.

A.D. 924. After accomplishing many signal achievements, Eadward the elder, that most invincible king of the English, who had ruled with the greatest glory over all the inhabitants of Britain, whether English, Scots, Cumbrians, Danes, or Welsh, departed this life at a king's vill named Fearndun, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign and the fifteenth indiction, leaving the helm of state to his son Aethelstan. His body was carried to Winchester, and buried, as was usual with kings, in the new monastery. His son Alfward shortly afterwards died at Oxford, and was buried in the same place with his father. Aethelstan was proclaimed king at Kingston, which signifies the king's town, and was crowned with due ceremony by Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury. In his time the energetic Dunstan was born in the West-Saxon territory.

A.D. 925. The energetic and glorious English king Aethelstan gave his sister, with great state and magnificence, in marriage to Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, who was of Danish descent.

A.D. 926. Fiery rays in the northern sky were seen throughout all England. Shortly afterwards Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, died; and king Aethelstan expelled Guthferth, his son and successor, from his kingdom, and added it to his own dominions. Moreover, he routed in battle and put to flight all the kings throughout Albion; namely, Huwal, king of the West Britons, then Constantine, king of the Scots, and Wer, king of the Wenti [people of Monmouthshire]. He also expelled Aldred, the son of Eadulf, from the royal town which is called in the English tongue Bebbanbirig [Bamborough]. Seeing that they could no longer withstand his power, they all sued for peace; and meeting at a place called Eamot, on the 4th of the ides of July [12th July], made a solemn treaty with him, ratifying it with an oath.

A.D. 927.

A.D. 928. Tilred, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and was succeeded by Wigred.[1]

A.D. 929. Wilferth, bishop of the Hwiccas, died, and was succeeded by Kinewold.

A.D. 930.

A.D. 931. Eadulf, bishop of Devonshire, died, and was buried at Cridiantune [Crediton].

A.D. 932. Frithestan, bishop of Winchester, a man of the most exalted piety, continued to reside at Winchester, after the holy man Birnstan had been ordained his successor in the bishopric. He was a saintly man; every day he sang mass for the repose of the dead, and at night went round the cemeteries, singing psalms for their souls' weal. Once, after having been thus engaged, and when by way of conclusion he had said, "May they rest in peace," he heard as it were a mighty host answer from out of the graves, "Amen."

A.D. 933. Saint Frithestan died.

A.D. 934. Aethelstan, the brave king of the English, went to Scotland with a powerful fleet and a large army of cavalry, and laid waste the greater part thereof, in revenge for Constantine, king of the Scots, having broken the peace which he had concluded with

[1] "On the death of Tunbriht, bishop of Lichfield, Aelle succeeded." A. add.

him. King Constantine was thereby forced to surrender his son as a hostage, and give suitable presents, to him [Aethelstan]: peace being restored, the king returned to West Saxony. In this year St. Birstan, bishop of Winchester, died.

A.D. 935. The pious monk Alfeag, surnamed the Bald, a relation of St. Dunstan, was appointed to the bishopric of Winchester.

A.D. 936.

A.D. 937. Otto, the 90th [emperor] of the Romans, reigned thirty-six years and ten months. Aethelstan, king of the English, gave to him one of his sisters in marriage.

A.D. 938. Anlaf, the pagan king of the Irish and of many islands besides, at the instigation of his father-in-law, Constantine, king of the Scots, entered the mouth of the river Humber with a powerful fleet. King Aethelstan and his brother, Eadmund the etheling, met him with their army at a place called Brunanburgh; and after a battle which lasted from daybreak until evening, slew five reguli and seven earls, whom the enemy had brought with them as auxiliaries, shedding more blood than had ever before in England been shed in battle, and returned home in great triumph, having driven the kings Anlaf and Constantine back to their ships: the latter were terribly cast down by the destruction of their army, and returned to their country with a very few followers.

A.D. 939.

A.D. 940. On Wednesday, the 6th of the kalends of November [27th Oct.], in the fourteenth indiction, and the sixteenth year of his reign, Aethelstan, the brave and glorious king of the English, departed this life, at Gloucester, and was carried to the city of Maidulf [Malmesbury], and buried there with due honour. His brother Eadmund, then in his eighteenth year, succeeded him in the kingdom.

A.D. 941. The Northumbrians, preferring rebellion to the fealty which they owed to Eadmund, the glorious king of the English, chose Anlaf, king of the Northmen, to be their king. In the same year died Alfred, bishop of Sherborne.

A.D. 942. Eadmund, the glorious king of the English, completely wrested five cities, namely, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford, from the hands of the Danes, and brought all Mercia under his dominion. He became mighty and glorious, by the counsels of God's servant, Dunstan; whom, after dignifying with several honourable offices, he promoted to the abbacy of the monastery of Glastonbury, where he had been brought up. On the 16th of the kalends of January [17th Dec.], William, duke of Normandy, the son of Rollo, was slain: he was succeeded by his son Richard.

A.D. 943. On the occasion of Aelfgiva, the saintly queen of the glorious king Eadmund, giving birth to her son Eadgar, the holy abbot Dunstan heard voices on high, giving praise and saying, "In the time of the child who is now born, and of our beloved Dunstan, the English church shall have peace." This year the said king stood godfather to king Anlaf (whom we have before mentioned) at

the font of holy regeneration, and made him a kingly present: a short time afterwards he presented Reignold, king of the Northumbrians, to be confirmed by the bishop, and adopted him for a son.[1]

A.D. 944. Eadmund, the glorious king of the English, expelled from Northumbria two kings, namely, Anlaf, son of king Sihtric, and Reignold, son of Guthferth; and brought that province under his own sway. Wigred, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and was succeeded by Uhtred; on the death of the latter, Sexhelm was ordained to supply his place; but he, too, dying a few months afterwards, Aldred was consecrated in his stead.

A.D. 945. Eadmund, the glorious king of the English, laid waste Cumberland, and gave it to Malculm, king of the Scots, on condition of his being faithful to him, by sea and by land.

A.D. 946. On the feast day of St. Augustine, the teacher of the English, being Tuesday, the 7th of the kalends of June [26th May], in the fourth indiction, Eadmund, the glorious king of the English, after a reign of five years and seven months, was killed at a royal vill called Pucelecirce [Pucklechurch], by Leof, an atrocious robber, while attempting to prevent the murder of his steward by the said Leof: his body was carried to Glastonbury, and buried by the abbot St. Dunstan. Thereupon Edred, his brother and next heir, succeeded to the kingdom, in due course; and on Sunday, the 7th of the kalends of September [16th August], was crowned king, at Kingston, by St. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury. He [Edred] brought all Northumbria under his dominion, in the same manner as his brother had previously done, and received an oath of fidelity from the Scots.

A.D. 947, 948.[2]

A.D. 949. Wulfstan,[3] archbishop of York, and all the nobles of Northumbria, swore fealty to Edred, the glorious king of the English, at a vill called Taddenes-scylf: but they did not long abide by their oath; for they elected for their king a certain Dane of royal descent, named Irc.

A.D. 950. In return for the defection of the Northumbrians, Edred, the famous king of the English, overran the whole of Northumbria. In the course of this devastation the monastery of Ripon, formerly built by the holy bishop Wilfrid, was destroyed by fire. But as the king was on his return home, an army issued from the city of York, and made great havoc among the rear of his army, at a place called Casterford. The king was exceedingly indignant at this, and meditated returning and utterly laying waste all that district. The Northumbrians, alarmed at the news, deposed Irc, whom they had chosen for king, made amends to the king, with personal obeisance, for the indignity, and with presents for the damage which he had sustained, and appeased his anger with a large sum of money.

[1] "On the death of Aethelbald, bishop of Sherburn, Aelfred succeeded." A. in another hand.

[2] "On the death of Kenred, bishop of Selsey, Guthred succeeded." A. in another hand. In this year B. has inserted some passages respecting St. Ethelwold, and the foundation of the monastery of Abingdon, which, following the example of Petrie, are here omitted.

[3] See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 947.

A.D. 951. St. Aelfeag, bishop of Winchester, surnamed the Bald, (the same who gave St. Dunstan monk's and priest's orders,) departed this life: he was succeeded in the bishopric by Alfsin.

A.D. 952. Edred, the renowned king of the English, placed Wulstan, archbishop of York, in close custody at Juthanbirig [Jedburgh?], on account of accusations of different kinds, which were constantly being brought against him. Moreover, he ordered many of the citizens of Thetford to be executed, in revenge for their having murdered abbot Aldhelm.

A.D. 953. Aethelgar, bishop of Crediton, departed in Christ, in the twenty-first year of his office, and was buried at Crediton. By the advice of the holy abbot Dunstan, the venerable Alfwold succeeded to the bishopric.

A.D. 954. Wulstan, archbishop of York, was released from prison, and restored to his episcopal functions at Dorchester.

A.D. 955. In the tenth year of his reign, Edred, the glorious king of the English, fell sick, and his life was despaired of; so he sent swift messengers commanding the attendance of the blessed abbot Dunstan, his father confessor. The latter accordingly set out in all haste for the palace. As he was half way on his journey, he heard a voice from on high say distinctly, "Now king Edred rests in peace." Thereupon his horse, unable to endure the awfulness of the angel's voice, fell dead; but the rider was unhurt. The king's corpse was carried to Winchester, and was honourably interred by the said abbot Dunstan, in the Old Monastery. His nephew, Eadwi the etheling, son of king Eadmund and his saintly queen, Alfgiva, succeeded him in the empire, and in the same year was crowned king at Kingston, by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury.

In this year died Louis [the Fourth], king of the West Franks, son of king Charles by a daughter of Eadward the elder, king of the English. Liutolf also, son of the emperor Otto, by another daughter of the same king Eadward, died, [1]and was buried in the choir of St. Alban's monastery, at Mentz.

A.D. 956. The holy abbot Dunstan, being banished by legal sentence by Eadwi, king of the English, crossed over the sea, and, being honourably received by Arnulf,[2] a man of royal descent, remained during his exile at a monastery called Blandinium [at Ghent].

On the 7th of the kalends of January [26th Dec.], Wulstan, archbishop of York, died, and was buried at Oundle. He was succeeded by the venerable Oskitell.

A.D. 957. Eadwi, king of the English, was deserted in disgust by the Mercians and Northumbrians, because of his evil management of the government with which he had been entrusted; and they chose his brother, Eadgar the etheling, to be king over them: so the government was split in two, and the river Thames was the boundary of the two kingdoms. Shortly afterwards Eadgar, king of the Mercians, recalled the holy abbot Dunstan with honour and glory.

Not long after this, Coinwald, bishop of Worcester, a man of great humility and [devotion to the] monastic profession, died; the holy abbot Dunstan was elected to succeed him in the bishopric,

[1] The conclusion of this year is from Marianus. [2] Count of Flanders.

and was consecrated by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury. In the following year Edgar, king of the Mercians, committed to his charge the see of London, which had become vacant by the death of its pious bishop [Brihthelm].

A.D. 958. Alfsi, bishop of Dorchester, died; and was succeeded by Brihthelm, a man of piety, modesty, humility, and affability. The holy Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, separated Eadwi, king of the West Saxons, and Alfgiva, either because she was reported to be his kinswoman, or because he preferred her to his own wife. In the same year this archbishop, a man of great talent and of praiseworthy virtues, gifted moreover with the spirit of prophecy, departed this life, and was borne by angels to paradise. He was succeeded by Alfsin, bishop of Winchester; and Brihthelm[1] was ordained bishop of Winchester in Alfsin's stead.

A.D. 959. As Alfsin, archbishop of Canterbury, was journeying to Rome to obtain the pall, he was overtaken on the Alps by frost and snow, and perished. Eadwi, king of the West Saxons, died. having reigned four years, and was buried in the new monastery at Winchester. His brother Eadgar, king of the Mercians, then in his sixteenth year, was elected by all the English people to succeed him, in the 510th year from the coming of the Angles into Britain, and the 363d year from the arrival in England of St. Augustine and his companions; and thus united the two kingdoms.

Brihthelm, bishop of Dorchester, was elected to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, but being incompetent for that high office, he left Canterbury at the king's command, and returned to the church which he had lately quitted. Thereupon, St. Dunstan was (after deliberation) appointed primate and patriarch of the chief metropolis of England. Wrought upon by the prudent counsels of him and of other wise men, Eadgar, king of the English, punished the wicked in every quarter, reduced the rebels to submission by his severity, showed favour to the just and humble, repaired and enriched God's ruined churches, removed all vanities from the monasteries of the clerks, collected great numbers of monks and nuns, to the glory of the Almighty Creator, and supplied more than forty monasteries. All these he honoured as his brethren, and loved as his very dear children, personally exhorting the pastors whom he placed over them to admonish them that they should live according to the rule and without reproach, and so be well pleasing in all things to Christ and the saints. He was discreet, mild, humble, kind, liberal, merciful, powerful in arms, warlike, and defended the rights of his kingdom by his army as became a king; he taught the people to reverence the nobles, and the nobles to obey the laws of the empire; he enacted good laws and enjoyed a most peaceful reign: he neither had occasion to undertake an offensive or defensive war; but by God's assistance and his own prudence, fortitude, justice, and moderation, he preserved during his life the limits of his kingdom: and as he was fierce as an angry lion against his enemies, not only did the princes and kings of the islands fear him, but some of the kings of other countries were

[1] A. here adds that he was the fifth bishop of Wells.

fear-stricken and terrified at the report of his wisdom and energy, while his munificence gained for him the love, honour, and great applause of others. The emperor Otto the First, who had married his aunt, sent splendid presents to him, and made a treaty of lasting peace with him.

A.D. 960. In the third indiction, St. Dunstan went to the city of Romulus, and received the pall from pope John [the Twelfth]; and afterwards, by peaceful stages, returned to his own country. After the lapse of a few months he went to the king's palace, and knocking [so to speak] at the portals of the king's devotion, he humbly requested and entreated him to advance to the dignity of bishop of Worcester St. Oswald, a religious, meek, and humble monk, nephew of his predecessor Odo, and one whom he had ascertained to be truly abounding in the fear of the Lord, and in the holy practice of virtue. King Eadgar granted the holy Dunstan's request, and St. Oswald was authorized by him in the bishopric.[1]

A.D. 961, 962.

A.D. 963. The venerable abbot St. Aethelwold,[2] who had been brought up by St. Dunstan, succeeded to the bishopric of Winchester; and in the same year he filled the old monastery with monks, the clerks being expelled by the king's orders. He was the king's chief counsellor, and took the chief part in persuading him to expel clerks from the monasteries, and cause monks and nuns to be placed therein.[3]

A.D. 964. Eadgar, the pacific king of the English, married Alftryth, daughter of Ordgar, ealdorman of Devonshire, after the death of her husband Aethelwold, the glorious ealdorman of the East Angles; and had by her two sons, Eadmund and Aethelred. He had also previously by Egelfleda the Fair, surnamed Ened,[4] a son called Eadward, afterwards king and martyr; and by St. Wulfrith a daughter named Eadgith, one of God's most pious virgins. In this year the king placed monks in the new monastery [at Winchester] and at Middleton, and made Aethelgar abbot over the former, and Kineward abbot over the latter.

A.D. 965, 966.

A.D. 967. The pacific Eadgar, king of the English, placed nuns in the monastery of Rumsey, which his grandfather Eadward the elder, king of the English, had built, and made the holy Mearwinna abbess over them.

A.D. 968. The pacific Eadgar, king of the English, made the pious Sidemann abbot over the monks assembled at Exeter. Aldred, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and was succeeded by Alfsi.

A.D. 969. Edgar, the pacific king of the English, commanded St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, the blessed St. Oswald,

[1] "On the death of Guthard, bishop of Selsey, Alfred succeeded." A. addit.

[2] B. here adds, "of the church of Abingdon."

[3] "Osgar, a monk of the same church, is appointed abbot of Abingdon, in the stead of Aethelwold; but because he had left the church of Abingdon undedicated before he had received his own bishopric, when he was consecrated, he and St. Dunstan, and certain other bishops, dedicated it to the honour of Mary the Mother of God, on the fifth of the kalends of January [28th Dec.]." B. addition.

[4] That is, "The Swan."

bishop of Worcester, and St. Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester, to expel the clerks and place monks in the larger monasteries of Mercia. Thereupon St. Oswald accomplished what he desired, and expelled such of the clerks of the church of Worcester as refused to become monks: but on their compliance this year, as he relates, he made monks of them, and appointed Winsin, a monk of Ramesey, a very religious man, to be their dean.

A.D. 970. On Friday the ides of July [15th July], in the thirteenth indiction, the reliques of the holy and venerable bishop Swithun, after having been buried one hundred and ten years, were removed from the tomb by the venerable bishop St. Aethelwold, and most honourably re-interred in the church of the apostles Peter and Paul [at Winchester], by Aelfstan, abbot of Glastonbury, and Aethelgar, abbot of the New Monastery. In the same year Osulf, bishop of Wiltshire, died, and was buried at Wilton: the venerable abbot Alfstan[1] was ordained in his stead.[2]

A.D. 971. Eadmund the etheling, son of king Eadgar, died, and was buried with due honour in the monastery of Rumsey. In the same year Alfeag, ealdorman of Southampton, died, and was buried at Glastonbury. Shortly afterwards, Ordgar, ealdorman of Devonshire, father-in-law of king Eadgar, died, and was buried at Exeter.

A.D. 972. Eadgar, the pacific king of the English, ordered the church of the New Monastery, which had been begun by his father, king Eadmund, but perfected by himself, to be solemnly dedicated. In this year Alfwold, bishop of Devonshire, died, in the nineteenth year of his bishopric, and was buried at Crediton.[3] Oskitell, archbishop of York, died, and his kinsman, St. Oswald, bishop of Worcester, was elected to succeed him in the archbishopric.

A.D. 973. [4]Stephen was pope, being the one hundred and thirty-fourth. From him St. Oswald received the pall. On the day of Pentecost, being the 5th of the ides of May [11th May], in the first indiction, Eadgar, the pacific king of the English, being then in the thirtieth year of his age, received the benediction of the holy bishops Dunstan and Oswald, and all the other English bishops, in the city of Acamann [Bath], and was crowned and anointed king with great honour and glory. Thence, after a short time, he sailed round the north part of Britain with a large fleet, and landed at Chester.[5] Eight petty kings, namely, Kynath, king of the Scots, Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians, Maccus, king of several isles, and five others, named Dufnall, Siferth, Huwall, Jacob, and Juchill, met him there as he had appointed, and swore that they would be faithful to him, and assist him by land and by sea. On a certain day they attended him into a boat, and when he had placed them at the oars, he himself took the helm and skilfully steered it down the river Dee, and thus, followed by the whole company of earls and nobles, in this order went from the palace to the

[1] "Alfgar," A.

[2] "On the death of Aelfred, bishop of Selsey, Eadelm succeeded." A. in another hand.

[3] "He was succeeded by Sideman." A. addit.

[4] This first sentence is from Marianus.

[5] "ad Legionum civitatem.'

monastery of St. John the Baptist. After having prayed there, he returned with the same pomp to the palace. As he was entering it, he is reported to have said to his nobles, that then his successors might boast themselves to be kings of the English, when, attended by so many kings, they should enjoy the pomp of such honours. Brihthelm, bishop of Somerset, died, and was buried at Wells: he was succeeded by Kineward, abbot of Middleton.

A.D. 974. In this year there was a tremendous earthquake all over England. [1]Eberger, archbishop of Cologne, gave to the Scots for ever the monastery of St. Martin in Cologne: Minborin, a Scot, was the first abbot thereof.

A.D. 975. The pacific king Eadgar, sole ruler of England, the flower and glory of our former kings, not less renowned among the English, than Romulus among the Romans, Cyrus among the Persians, Alexander among the Macedonians, Arsaces among the Parthians, or Charles the Great among the Franks, after having finished in royal style all that he took in hand, departed this life on Thursday, the 8th of the ides of July [8th July], in the third indiction, being in the thirty-second year of his age, the nineteenth of his reign over Mercia and Northumbria, and the sixteenth of his reign over all England, leaving his son Eadward heir to his kingdom and qualities. His body was carried to Glastonbury, and buried there according to kingly custom. He collected, during his life, a fleet of 3,600 stout ships; after Easter, in every year, he used to make 1,200 of them assemble on the east, 1,200 on the west, and 1,200 on the north shore of the island; he would then sail to the western with the eastern fleet, and sending that back would sail to the northern with the western fleet, and dismissing it in turn, would sail with the northern fleet back to the western: thus every summer he used to sail round the whole island; performing this brave feat by way of defence against foreigners, and for the purpose of inuring himself and his subjects to war. In the winter and the spring he used to make a progress through every province in England, and diligently inquire into the mode of the administration of justice, and the observance of the laws by the nobles, so that the poor might not suffer oppression at the hands of the powerful. By the former practice he excited [national] courage, by the latter the love of justice; and by each he consulted the interests of the kingdom and commonweal. Hence, all his enemies' fear, and all his subjects' love for him increased. At his death the whole kingdom sustained a shock, and after the glad time of peace, which existed all his life, troubles began to come in on every side. For, dazzled by numerous presents, Alfere, chief of the Mercians, and very many nobles of the kingdom, expelled the abbots and monks from the monasteries in which the pacific king Eadgar had placed them, and introduced clerks and their wives. But this piece of madness was opposed by some conscientious men, to wit, Athelwin, ealdorman of the East Angles, a friend of God, and his brother Alfwold, and the pious ealdorman, Brihtnoth; who, meeting together, declared that they could not permit the monks, who were

[1] The remainder of the year is from Marianus.

the depositaries of all the religion of the kingdom, to be expelled therefrom. They then assembled a great army, and bravely defended the monasteries of the East Angles. In the meantime the nobles of the kingdom were very much at variance in the matter of electing a king: for some chose the king's son, Eadward, and some chose his brother Aethelred. On this account the archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, with a great number of bishops, abbots, and ealdormen, met in a body, and chose Eadward, according as his father had desired; and after his election crowned and anointed him king. Kyneward, bishop of Somerset [Wells], died. A comet star was seen in the autumn.

A.D. 976. There was a great famine in England. In the same year the magnificent earl Oslac was unjustly expelled from England.[1]

A.D. 977. A great synod was held at a vill called Kyrtling, in East Anglia. At another synod, which was afterwards held at Kalne, a king's vill, all the elders of England who were there assembled, with the exception of St. Dunstan, fell through the [floor of an] upper chamber; some of them were killed, and some barely escaped with their lives. A third synod was held at Ambresbyrig. Sidemann, bishop of Devonshire [Crediton], died.[2]

A.D. 978. Eadward, king of the English, was wickedly slain at Corvesgeate [Corfe], by his own servants, acting under the commands of his step-mother, queen Alftryth, and was buried at Wareham, without any royal pomp. His brother, Aethelred, the noble etheling, [a youth] of fascinating manners, handsome countenance, and graceful appearance, was, after Easter, in the sixth indiction, to wit, on Sunday, the 18th of the kalends of May [14th April], crowned king at Kingston, by the holy archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, and ten bishops. Alfwold, bishop of Dorchester, died, and was buried at Sherborne. At midnight, there was seen throughout all England a cloud, which was sometimes of a blood-colour, and sometimes fiery; it afterwards broke out into rays of different colours, and disappeared about day-break.

A.D. 979. Alfer, ealdorman of the Mercians, came with a multitude of people to Werham, and ordered the sacred corpse of the precious king and martyr Eadward to be disinterred: when it was unwrapped it was discovered to be fresh and free from all signs of death or corruption; so they washed it, and put new grave-clothes on it. They carried it to Shaftesbury and entombed it with due honours.

A.D. 980. On the 6th of the nones of May [2d May], Aethelgar the venerable abbot of the New Monastery was made bishop of Selsey.[3] In the same year Southampton was laid waste by the

[1] In A. another hand has added the following note:—"On the death of Algar, bishop of Wilton, Alfstan, a monk of St. Aethelwold, at Abingdon, succeeded; for whom Siric was substituted."

[2] "His body was conveyed to Abingdon, and honourably buried there in the aisle of St. Paul the apostle." B. addit. Another hand adds, in A., that he was succeeded by Alfric.

[3] An addition in A. by another hand states that this was on the death of Eadelm.

Danish pirates, and nearly all the citizens were either slain or carried away captives. Shortly afterwards the same horde laid waste the isle of Thanet. In this year too the city and province of Chester were laid waste by Norwegian pirates.

A.D. 981. The pirates, who in the preceding year had laid waste Southampton, now pillaged St. Petroc, the confessor's monastery [at Padstow] in Cornwall: they afterwards made frequent piratical descents on the shores of Devonshire and Cornwall. Aelfstan, bishop of Wiltshire, died, and was buried at Abingdon:[1] Wulgar succeeded him in the bishopric. Wulstan, dean of Glastonbury, a man of exalted piety, died.

A.D. 982. Three ships, full of pirates, landed at Dorsetshire, and laid waste Portland. London was destroyed by fire. Aethelmar, ealdorman of Hampshire, and Eadwin, ealdorman of the South Saxons, died; the latter was buried at Abingdon, and the former in the new monastery at Winchester. Hereluve, abbess of Shaftesbury, and Wulfuin, abbess of Werham, departed this life. [2]In the same year, Otto the Second, emperor of the Romans, went to Greece, and there fell in with an army of the Saracens, who were on their way to plunder the Christians: he engaged with them, and after great slaughter on both sides, gained the victory. As he was returning home, Otto, the son of his brother Liutolf, who was the son of the emperor Otto the First by a daughter of Eadward the elder, king of the English, died.

A.D. 983. Alfer, ealdorman of the Mercians, a relation of Eadgar, king of the English, died, and was succeeded in his dignity by his son Alfric.

A.D. 984. On the kalends of August [1st Aug.], in the second indiction, St. Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester, departed this life. He was succeeded by Alfeag, abbot of Bath, who had assumed the religious habit in the monastery of Deorhyrste.[3]

A.D. 985. [4]The venerable monk Eadwin was made abbot of the monastery of Abingdon.

A.D. 986. Aethelred, king of the English, on account of some quarrel, laid siege to the city of Rochester; but seeing that it would be difficult to reduce it, retired in wrath, and laid waste the lands of [the church of] St. Andrew the apostle. Alfric, ealdorman of the Mercians, son of the ealdorman Alfer, was driven out of England. [5]Abbot Minborin, a Scot, died on Sunday the 18th day of July, in the monastery of St. Martin, at Cologne. Kilian succeeded him.

A.D. 987. In this year two diseases unknown to the English in former ages, to wit, a fever among men, and a murrain among

[1] "honourably, as he himself had desired," B. addit.

[2] The remainder of the year is from Marianus.

[3] B. adds, "for at this time Osgar, abbot of Abingdon, had deceased."

[4] Instead of this and the following year, B. enters under the years 984 and 985 the following passage:—"A certain powerful person named Aelfric was then the mayor of the royal household, who had a brother named Edwin, a monk. Aelfric procured, by the payment of a sum of money to the king, that this brother of his should be appointed abbot of Abingdon, and so it was managed."

[5] The conclusion of the year is from Marianus.

beasts, called in the English tongue "scitta," which in Latin may be said to signify a flux of the bowels, grievously troubled all England, and raged in every part of it beyond expression, causing great mortality among the inhabitants and the wholesale destruction of cattle.

A.D. 988. Wecedport [Watchet] was pillaged by the Danish pirates, who also slew a thane of Devonshire named Goda, Strenwold, a very brave soldier, and several others. However, the loss was greatest on the side of the Danes, and the English remained masters of the field of carnage. On [1]Saturday the 14th of the kalends of June [19th May], in the first indiction, the blessed archbishop Dunstan departed this life, and went to his abode in the heavenly city. Aethelgar, bishop of Selsey, succeeded him in the archbishopric, and held it for one year and three months.

A.D. 989.

A.D. 990. [2]Siric was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Eadwin, abbot of Abingdon, died, and was succeeded by Wulgar. Alfsy, bishop of Lindisfarne, died, and was succeeded by Aldhun.

A.D. 991. In this year the Danes, under the command of Justin and Guthmund, the son of Stercan,[3] laid waste Ipswich. Byrthnoth, the bold ealdorman of the West Saxons, shortly afterwards fought a battle against them near Maldon; but, after great slaughter on both sides, the ealdorman fell, so the Danish fortune prevailed. Moreover in this year, first of all, and that by the advice of Siric, archbishop of Canterbury, and the ealdormen Aethelward and Alfric, a tribute of ten thousand pounds was paid to the Danes, as the price of their cessation from the frequent plunderings, burnings, and slaughters, which they used to make on the sea coast, and their concluding a lasting peace. On Tuesday the 6th of the ides of November [8th Nov.], St. Oswald the archbishop, aided by divine assistance, and cheered by the co-operation of Aescwi, bishop of Lincoln [Dorchester], consecrated the monastery of Ramsey, which he and Aethelwin, ealdorman of the East Angles, the friend of God, had built.

A.D. 992. On Monday the 2d of the kalends of March [29th Feb.], in the fifth indiction, St. Oswald the archbishop departed this life, and entered on the joys of the heavenly kingdom: he rests at Worcester in St. Mary's Church, which he built from the foundations. He was succeeded by the venerable Aldulph, abbot of Medehamstead, to whose abbacy Kenulph succeeded. Shortly after the departure of St. Oswald, died the renowned ealdorman [of East Anglia] Aethelwin, the friend of God: although younger than his brothers Aethelwold, Alfwold, and Agelsin, he excelled them in meekness, piety, goodness, and justice; and, as being a man of exalted virtue and purity, was, we may believe, received

[1] MS. A., in another hand, reads, "to whom succeeded Athelgar, first appointed abbot to Newminster by the blessed Ethelwold, of Winchester, afterwards bishop of the South Saxons, whose see was then at Selsey, in which place he was succeeded by Ordbriht."

[2] "Siric, bishop of Wilton, succeeded Aethelgar, archbishop of Canterbury; he expelled the monks, and introduced clerks into Canterbury." A. in another hand.

[3] Steitan, B.

among the dwellers in Paradise. His body was carried with great pomp to Ramsey, and was buried by St. Alfeag, bishop of Winchester. By the advice and command of Aethelred, king of the English, and of his nobles, the strongest ships from every part of England were assembled at London. The king manned them with chosen soldiers, and put them under the command of ealdorman Alfric, whom we have mentioned before, ealdorman Thored, Aelfgar, bishop of Wiltshire, and Aescwi, bishop [of Dorchester], with orders to catch the Danish army, if they could, in some port, and enclose them there. But the ealdorman Aelfric secretly sent a messenger to the enemy, advising them to be on their guard, and take care that they were not unexpectedly surrounded by the king's army. The ealdorman himself, (a singular example of wickedness,) on the very night before the English had determined to fight a pitched battle with the Danes, secretly went over with all his men to the Danish fleet, and shortly afterwards made a shameful retreat along with them. The king's fleet finding this out pursued the fugitives with all haste; one ship only was taken, and was pillaged after all on board had been massacred; the rest were accidentally encountered in their flight by only the Londoners and East Saxons, when, an engagement taking place, many thousand Danes were slain. Moreover they captured the ealdorman Alfric's ship, with the soldiers and arms therein, just after he had fled from it, and they got the victory.

A.D. 993. In this year the aforesaid army of the Danes broke into Bamborough, and carried away all that they found therein. Thence they directed their course to the mouth of the river Humber, and took much spoil in Lindsey and Northumbria, burning many vills and slaying a great number of people. The natives assembled and went up against them in great haste; but just as they were about to give battle, their generals Frana, Frithogist, and Godwin, being Danes by the father's side, betrayed their men and were the first to flee. The same year king Aethelred ordered Algar, son of the said ealdorman Alfric, to be deprived of eye-sight.

A.D. 994. On the day of St. Mary's nativity [8th Sept.], Anlaf, king of the Norwegians, and Suuein, king of the Danes, arrived at London, with ninety-four ships, and presently endeavoured to break in and burn it: but by the aid of God and his mother Mary, they were repelled by the citizens, with no small loss to their army. Maddened with rage and sorrow, they retired thence the same day, and first on the sea-coast of East Saxony and Kent, and then in South Saxony and the province of Hampshire, burnt the vills, laid waste the fields, destroyed as many as possible of both sexes by fire and sword, and carried off great spoil. Finally, they obtained horses by force, and madly scouring numerous provinces, spared neither women nor children of tender age, but slew all with brutal ferocity. Then king Aethelred, by the advice of his nobles, sent messengers to them, promising that if they would entirely desist from their barbarities, he would pay to them a tribute and a regular stipend. They agreed to the king's terms, and returned to their ships, and so assembled their whole army at Southampton, and

wintered there. The whole of the stipend was paid by West Saxony, but the tribute, which amounted to sixteen thousand pounds, was made up by all England.

In the meanwhile, Alfeag, bishop of Winchester, and the noble ealdorman Aethelward, went to king Anlaf by order of king Aethelred, and, hostages being given, conducted him in state to Andover, a royal vill, where the king was staying: the king received him graciously, caused him to be confirmed by the bishop, adopted him for his son, and made him a splendid present. He, on his part, promised to king Aethelred that he would never more come with an army to England, and then returned to his fleet: at the beginning of summer he sailed for his own country, and faithfully observed his promise.

A.D. 995. A comet was seen. [1]Siric, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and Alfric, bishop of Wiltshire, succeeded him. Lindisfarne-Ii is the name of an island commonly called Halig-Ealand [Holy Island], and is situate in the sea. Every day the going down of the tide leaves a dry road across for such as wish to go there. Cuthbert, and his predecessors and successors, for a long time had their episcopal see in this island. But when Hinguar and Hubba ravaged England [A.D. 875], Eardulf, who was then bishop of Lindisfarne, and those who belonged to his church, took the uncorrupted corpse of St. Cuthbert, and quitted the island on account of the cruelties of the barbarians, and for some years, with the body of St. Cuthbert, shifted his residence from place to place, until the episcopal see was fixed at a place called Kunegeceastre [Chester-le-street], which happened in the time of Alfred, king of the English. After the lapse of many years, in the reign of Aethelred, king of the English, the sacred corpse was brought to Durham, as had been foreshown by an oracle from heaven, and the episcopal see was fixed there. For this reason, the holy Beda places the church of Lindisfarne where the episcopal see originally was; for in Beda's time Durham was not known. However, in the year 995 from the Incarnation of Christ, the episcopal see was transferred to Durham.

A.D. 996. Alfric, archbishop of Canterbury, was consecrated.

A.D. 997. The Danish army, which had remained in England, sailed round West Saxony, entered the mouth of the river Severn, and ravaged sometimes North Wales, sometimes Cornwall, and then Watchet in Devonshire, burning many vills, and slaying a multitude of men. Thence returning to Penwithsteort [Land's-End], and arriving at the mouth of the river Tamar, which divides Devonshire and Cornwall, and meeting with no opposition, they landed, and kept on burning as far as Lideford, and renewed their massacres. In addition, they burned the monastery of Ordulf, ealdorman of Devonshire, called Tavistock: they then returned to their ships, laden with immense booty, and wintered there.[2]

[1] "On the death of Siric, archbishop of Canterbury, he was succeeded by Alfric, bishop of Wilton, who had been a monk of Glastonbury; who, on his part, was succeeded at Wilton by Brihtwold." A. in another hand.

[2] "Sigar, bishop of Wells, being dead, Alwin succeeded." A. addit.

A.D. 998. The aforesaid army of Pagans landed at the mouth of the river called Frome, and laid waste the greater part of Dorsetshire. It thence made frequent expeditions to the Isle of Wight, and back again to Dorsetshire, hunting after plunder as usual; and as often as it lay at the Isle of Wight, it got provisions from South Saxony and Hampshire. Many times was an army collected to oppose this terrible nuisance; but as often as they were about to join battle, the English, either victims to treachery or some mischance, turned their backs, and left the victory in the hands of the enemies.[1]

A.D. 999. The oft-mentioned army of Pagans entered the mouth of the river Thames, and went up the Medway to Rochester, and in a few days laid siege to it. The men of Kent assembled to drive them back, and fought a sharp battle with them; but, after great slaughter on both sides, the Danes remained masters of the field of carnage. They then took horse, and laid waste nearly all the western portion of Kent. On hearing this, Aethelred, king of the English, by the advice of his nobles, collected a fleet and a land army. But while the fleet was being got ready, the generals of the army day by day made some excuse for delaying the expedition, and in consequence were a great burden on the people. The end of it was that neither the fleet nor the land army performed any action of general benefit, but oppressed the people, wasted a great deal of money, and exasperated the enemy.

A.D. 1000. [2]This year the aforesaid army of Danes went to Normandy. King Aethelred laid waste nearly the whole of the Cumbrian territory. He gave orders to his fleet to sail round North Wales, and meet him at an appointed place: it was prevented from so doing by the violence of the wind, but, nevertheless, laid waste the island of Mona.

A.D. 1001. The body of St. Ivo, the archbishop, was discovered. The aforesaid army of Pagans returned from Normandy to England, and entered the mouth of the river Exe, and presently set out to storm the city of Exeter; but while endeavouring to make a breach in the wall, it was driven back by the citizens, who defended their city with valour. Exasperated beyond measure at this, the said army roamed through Devonshire, as usual burning the towns, laying waste the fields, and slaughtering the inhabitants. So the men of Devonshire and Somersetshire joined in a body, and fought a battle with them at a place called Penho; but the English, not having many soldiers among them, were unable to withstand the multitude of the Danes, and took to flight; so the Danes made great havoc among them, and got the victory. After that, having supplied themselves with horses, they scoured nearly all Devonshire, doing more mischief than ever, and having obtained immense booty, went back to their ships. Thence they directed their course

[1] "Aelfric, bishop of Devonshire, being deceased, Alfwold succeeded, and to him Alwold the Second." A. in another hand.

[2] From this point Petrie has preserved in his text of Florence all the passages which that writer has introduced into his own work from Marianus Scotus; and in this respect his edition has been followed.

to the Isle of Wight, and plundered as usual without opposition, sometimes there, sometimes in Hampshire, and sometimes in Dorsetshire, attacking the inhabitants and burning the towns, to such an extent, that the fleet dared not assail them by sea, nor the army by land; whereat the king was not a little sad, and the people were downcast beyond expression.

A.D. 1002. Aethelred, king of the English, having consulted with the magnates of his kingdom, thought it prudent to make a treaty with the Danes, and to give them a stipend and pay a tribute by way of appeasing them, and inducing them to cease from their evil doings. Leofsi the ealdorman was sent to them on this matter; and on his arrival urged them to accept the stipend and tribute. They were well pleased at his mission, accepted the terms, and fixed the amount of tribute for which they were to keep peace. Shortly afterwards, twenty-four thousand pounds were paid to them. In the interval, the said ealdorman Leofsi slew Eafic, the king's high-reeve, a man of noble birth; at which the king was very wroth, and drove him out of the country. In the same year, king Aethelred married Emma, called in Saxon Alfgiva, the daughter of Richard the First, duke of the Normans. On Wednesday the 17th of the kalends of May [15th April], in the fifteenth indiction, and the twenty-fifth year of Aethelred, king of the English, Aldulf, archbishop of York, in company with his bishops, abbats, priests, monks, and religious men, disentombed the bones of the archbishop St. Oswald, and deposited them with great pomp in a chest prepared for the purpose: he, too, shortly afterwards, to wit, on the 2d of the nones of May [6th of May], died, and was buried in the church of St. Mary at Worcester; abbot Wulstan succeeded him. Moreover, in this year king Aethelred ordered all the Danes who were in England, both great and small, of either sex, to be slain, inasmuch as they had endeavoured to deprive him and his nobles of their lives and kingdom, and to get possession of the whole realm of England.

[1]Henry, the 93d [emperor] of the Romans, reigned twenty-two years. He was elected by the people on Sunday the 7th of the ides of June [7th June], and on the same day was consecrated and crowned king by Willigis, archbishop of Mentz, before the altar of St. Martin.

A.D. 1003. [2]Octavian was pope, being the 138th. In this year Suuein, king of the Danes, broke into the city of Exeter through the stupidity, carelessness, and surrender of Hugo, a Norman earl,[3] whom queen Emma had set in command over Devonshire; and he plundered it, broke down the wall from the eastern to the western gate, and having gotten great booty went back to his ships. After this, as he was ravaging Wiltshire, a strong army out of Hampshire and Wiltshire assembled, and went up boldly and perseveringly to fight against the enemy. But when the armies had approached so near as to be in sight of each other, the before-mentioned

[1] To the end of the year is from Marianus.
[2] This first sentence is also from Marianus.
[3] The Saxon Chronicle calls him "ceorl."

ealdorman Alfric, who then was in command of the English, immediately began his old practices—feigned illness, and began to vomit, saying that he was grievously ill, and therefore could not engage the enemy. The army, seeing his inactivity and cowardice, very sorrowfully turned aside from the enemy without fighting; as it is said in the old proverb, "If the leader trembles in the fight, all the other combatants are thereby made more fearful." Suuein, seeing the irresolution of the English, led his army to the city of Wilton, and pillaged and burned it. In like manner he burned Saerbyrie [Old Sarum], and then returned to his ships. [1]Kilian, a Scot, and abbot of St. Martin in Scotland, died on the 19th of the kalends of January [14th Dec.]. Helias, a Scot, succeeded him.

A.D. 1004. Suuein, king of the Danes, came with his fleet to Norwich, and pillaged and burned it. Then Ulfketell, ealdorman of the East Angles, a man of great bravery, inasmuch as he had come up on a sudden and had no time to collect an army, took counsel with the magnates of East Anglia, and made peace with him. But three weeks afterwards he [Sweyn] broke the treaty, and, landing his forces secretly, attacked Thetford, and pillaged it; remained there for one night, and early the next morning burned it. The ealdorman Ulfketell, when he heard this, ordered some of the natives to break up the enemies' ships: but they either dared not do this or else neglected his orders. He, however, in the meantime, secretly and with all celerity assembled his army, and went up boldly against the enemy. As they were marching back to their ships he met them with a very inferior force, and fought a very severe battle with them: the slaughter was great on both sides, and the chief men of the East Anglians fell; the Danes were barely able to make their escape, but if the East Anglians had been in full force they would never have got back to their ships. They themselves confessed that they had never in England sustained such a stubborn and fierce attack as that made on them by ealdorman Ulfkettel.

A.D. 1005. In this year there was a great and terrible famine in England; in consequence, Suuein, king of the Danes, went back to Denmark; but only to return after a short time.[2]

A.D. 1006. Alfric, archbishop of Canterbury, died,[3] and was succeeded by Alfeag, bishop of Winchester, [4]Kenulf being appointed to the bishopric of the latter. King Aethelred deprived his especial favourite Wulfgeat, son of Leoueca, of his possessions and dignities; [this he did] because of his unjust decrees and haughty deeds. The crafty and perfidious Edric Streona, plotting mischief against the noble ealdorman Alfhelm, prepared a great feast for him at Shrewsbury: and on his arrival pursuant to the invitation, Edric welcomed him like an intimate friend. On the third or fourth day of the entertainment, having laid an ambush,

[1] From Marianus to the end of the year.

[2] "On the death of Alwin, bishop of Wells, Living succeeded, who was also called Athelstan." A. addit.

[3] "and was buried at Abingdon, of which he had been a monk; but during the reign of king Cnut he was translated to his own see." B. addit.

[4] A. adds that he was abbot of Burgh [Peterborough].

he took him into a wood to hunt. There, when all were occupied in the chase, the hangman of Shrewsbury, called Godwin Porthund (which signifies, The town's hound), whom Edric had long before steeled to commit the crime by great gifts and many promises, suddenly leapt out of ambush, and vilely slew the ealdorman Alfhelm. A short time afterwards, his sons Wulfheag and Ufeget were by king Aethelred's orders deprived of sight at Cocham, where he was then staying. Kenulf, bishop of Winchester, died, and was succeeded by Aethelwold.

In the succeeding month of July, an immense fleet of the Danes came over to England, landed at the port of Sandwich, destroyed everything that lay in their way with fire and sword, and took large booty, sometimes in Kent and sometimes in South Saxony. Wherefore king Aethelred assembled an army from Mercia and West Saxony, and resolved to fight stoutly against them: they, however, were by no means desirous of meeting him in the field, but went perpetually plundering from place to place, and then by-and-by went back as usual to their ships: in this way they harassed the English army during the whole autumn. As the latter returned (for the winter was now at hand) they crossed over to the Isle of Wight with great booty, and remained there until the feast of the Nativity of our Lord [25th Dec.]; when, as the king was staying in Shropshire, they went through Hampshire into Berkshire, and burned Reading, Walinford, Cholsey, and many other places. Thence they moved on, and crossing Ashdown came to Cuuiccelmeslawe [Cuckamsley-hill]. Returning thence by another road, they came upon the people who dwelt near the Kennet drawn up there in battle array, and immediately attacked them and put them to flight: they then returned to their ships with the spoil which they had taken.

A.D. 1007. [1]The twenty-sixth cycle of nineteen years began on the fifth indiction. In this year Aethelred, king of the English, with the assent of his nobles, sent messengers to the Danes, bidding them say, that he would supply them with provisions and pay a tribute if they would refrain from pillage and keep peace with him. They agreed to his terms; and thenceforth all England supplied them with provisions: and 36,000 pounds were paid to them by way of tribute. In the same year the king made the aforesaid Edric, son of Aegelric, ealdorman of the Mercians; he was a man of humble birth, but his tongue procured him both riches and high station; he was of a ready wit, of persuasive eloquence, and surpassed all his contemporaries in malice, perfidy, pride, and cruelty. His brothers were Brihtric, Alfric, Goda, Agelwin, Agelward, and Agelmer, the father of Wulnoth, who was the father of Godwin, ealdorman of the West Saxons.

A.D. 1008. [2]The solar cycle began, four bissextile years falling together. Aethelred, king of the English, commanded ships to be built all over England, making every 310 hides supply one ship, and every nine furnish a coat of mail and a helmet. When all

[1] This first sentence is from Marianus.

[2] This sentence also is derived from Marianus.

the ships were ready, he manned them with picked soldiers and victualled them; and then, with a view to protect the boundaries of the kingdom against foreign invasions, assembled them at the port of Sandwich. At that time or a little before, Brihtric, one of the brothers of the traitorous ealdorman Edric Streona, (a wavering, ambitious, and haughty man,) brought to the king a false accusation against Wulnoth, a South-Saxon thane, who, in order to avoid being made prisoner, presently fled, and having got possession of twenty ships, frequently pillaged the sea coast. But when it was told to the king's fleet that any one who chose could easily capture him, Brihtric took eighty ships, and went after him; but, after a quiet voyage of some duration, a most violent storm arose and separated the ships, shattered them, and cast them on the beach: and shortly afterwards Wulnoth burned them. On the arrival of this news, the king, with his ealdormen and nobles, returned home; but the fleet by his orders went to London; and so this great effort on the part of the people was thrown away.

A.D. 1009. [1] Leo was pope, being the hundred and thirty-ninth. Turkill, a Danish earl, came over to England with his fleet; afterwards, in the month of August, another countless fleet of Danes, under the command of Hemming and Eiglaf, came over to the Isle of Thanet, and without delay joined the other fleet. Thence both fleets went to Sandwich, where the troops landed, marched in battle array to the city of Canterbury, and began to attack it. The citizens of Canterbury, with the inhabitants of East Kent, soon sued for peace, and obtained it, giving three thousand pounds as a consideration. The Danes went back to their ships, and directed their course to the Isle of Wight; whence (as usual) they made frequent descents for pillage on the sea coasts of South Saxony and the province of Southampton, and burned numerous vills. In consequence, king Aethelred collected an army from all parts of England, and stationed it along the sea coast to oppose their descents. But for all this, they did not desist from plundering at every point. But once, when they had gone pillaging further inland than usual, and were returning laden with booty, the king posted himself with many thousand men on the road along which they were returning to their ships; and, as he had the whole army with him, made up his mind to conquer or die. But the perfidious ealdorman Edric Streona (he was the king's son-in-law, having married his daughter Eadgith) used all his endeavours, by wiles and crafty speeches, to prevent a battle, and to allow the enemy to depart on that occasion. He persuaded, and gained his point: like a traitor to his country, he rescued the Danes from the hands of the English, and suffered them to escape. So the Danes turned aside, and with great joy regained their ships. After the feast-day of St. Martin [11th Nov.], they sailed to Kent, and fixing their winter quarters in the river Thames, obtained provisions by plundering East Saxony and the other provinces on either side of the river. They often attacked the city of London, and endeavoured

[1] Marianus furnishes this first sentence.

to take it by storm; but the citizens drove them back with great loss.[1]

A.D. 1010. [2]Bishop Bruno suffered martyrdom. The aforesaid Danish army quitted their ships in the month of January, marched to Oxford through the wood called Chiltern, and plundered it and burned it; then they returned, pillaging both sides of the river Thames. Information being given to them that an army was assembled at London for the purpose of giving them battle, that portion of their army which was going along the northern bank crossed over at a place called Stane, and their united forces, laden with spoil, marched through Surrey back to their ships; these they refitted during Lent, while they were staying in Kent. After Easter [9th April] they sailed to East Anglia, and, landing near Ipswich, marched to a place called Ringmere, where they knew the ealdorman Ulfketell was posted with his army, and on the 3d of the nones of May [5th May], fought a severe battle with him. While the fight was raging, the East Anglians fled; one Turkitel, a Danish thane, surnamed Myrenheafod, that is, Mare's-head, being the first to fly. The Cambridge men fought manfully, and kept their ground for a long while, but were at last overcome and compelled to retire. In this battle fell Aethelstan, the king's son-in-law, a noble thane named Oswi and his son, Wulfric, the son of Leofwin, Eadwi, brother of the afore-mentioned Alfric, many other noble thanes, and common people innumerable. The Danes being [thus] masters of the field of carnage, got possession of East Anglia; and having provided themselves with horses, for three months without ceasing scoured the whole province, pillaging, burning the vills, and slaughtering men and cattle; in the fens too everything shared the same fate. They afterwards plundered and burned Thetford and Cambridge. After this they went back to the river Thames, the infantry going by ship, and the cavalry on horseback. After the lapse of a few days they again went out to plunder, and marching straight to Oxfordshire, first laid waste that province, and then Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire, burning the vills and putting man and beast to death: they then returned with great booty to their ships. After this, about the feast-day of St. Andrew the apostle [30th Nov.], they burned Northampton and as much of its environs as they pleased; going thence, they crossed the river Thames, went into West Saxony, burned Caningamersce, and the greater part of Wiltshire, and, with great spoil as usual, returned to their ships about the feast of our Lord's Nativity [25th Dec.].

A.D. 1011. [3]Willigis, archbishop of Mentz, died, on Friday the 7th of the kalends of March [23d Feb.]: he was succeeded by Erkanbald, abbot of Fulda. East Anglia, East Saxony, Middle Saxony, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, half of Huntingdonshire, and a great part of Northamptonshire, and—on the south side of the Thames—Kent,

[1] "On the death of Osbriht, bishop of Selsey, Almar succeeded." A. addit.
[2] The first sentence is from Marianus.
[3] This sentence also is from the same authority.

Surrey, South Saxony, Southamptonshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire, being, by the aforesaid Danish army, utterly wasted with fire and sword, Aethelred, king of the English, and the nobles of his kingdom, sent messengers to them suing for peace; promising pay and tribute if they would desist from their ravages. Having given audience to the messengers, they agreed to the terms offered; but, as the event showed, not without fraud and simulation: for although provisions were supplied to them in abundance, and a tribute fixed by themselves was paid, yet they continued in bands to scour the country in every direction, laying waste the vills, plundering some of the unfortunate inhabitants, and killing others. At length, between the feast-day of the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.] and the feast-day of St. Michael [29th Sept.], they dug a trench round Canterbury, and laid siege to it. On the twentieth day of the siege the city was set on fire by the treacherous contrivance of the archdeacon Almear, whose life St. Alfeg had formerly saved; and so the army entered and the city was taken: some [of the citizens] were slain by the sword, some were burned in the flames, many were hurled from the walls, and some were hung up by their private parts, and so died. Matrons were dragged by their hair through the streets of the city, and then flung into the fire. Infants torn from their mother's breasts were caught on the points of spears, or ground to pieces by chariots driven over them. Meanwhile, the archbishop Alfeg was taken prisoner, put in fetters, imprisoned, and tortured in various ways. Almar, abbot of St. Augustine's monastery, was allowed to depart; Godwin, bishop of Rochester, was taken prisoner, and so were Leofruna, abbess of St. Mildrith's monastery [in Thanet], Alfred, the king's reeve, the monks and canons also, and countless people of both sexes. There Christ's church was pillaged and burned, and all the monks and laity, both men, women, and children, were decimated; nine out of every ten being slain, and the tenth kept alive. This decimation extended to the total amount of four monks and eight hundred laymen. After this slaughter of the people, devastation, and conflagration of the city, the archbishop Alfeag was brought out in fetters, driven along, wounded grievously, and led to the fleet; then he was thrust back into prison and there badly treated for the space of seven months. In the meanwhile the wrath of God broke out against that murderous people, and slew two thousand of them by means of excruciating disorders of the bowels. The rest, being attacked in a similar manner, were admonished by the faithful to make satisfaction to the archbishop; but they refused so to do. The mortality went on increasing, carrying them off by tens, twenties, and upwards.

A.D. 1012. The traitorous ealdorman, Edric Streona, and all the chief men of every degree in England, assembled at London before Easter, and remained there until the tribute of forty-eight thousand pounds, which had been promised to the Danes, was paid. Meanwhile, on the holy Saturday, when our Lord rested in the tomb [12th April], the Danes proposed to archbishop Alfeag that he should purchase his life and liberty for three thousand pounds,

On his refusal they put off killing him to another Saturday. When that day arrived they wrought themselves up to great fury against him; and inasmuch as they were exceedingly drunk with wine, and he had forbidden any person to pay anything towards his ransom, they took him out of prison and dragged him before their council. Presently they started from their seats, and, putting aside their axes, flung him down and battered him with stones, bones, and oxen's heads. At length, a fellow named Thrum, whom he had confirmed the day previously, moved with impious pity, split his head with an axe: thereupon, being the 13th of the kalends of May [19th April], he slept in the Lord, and his conquering spirit went triumphantly to heaven. On the following day his corpse was carried to London, received with great reverence by the citizens, and buried in St. Paul's church, by Eadnoth, bishop of Lincoln [Dorchester], and Alfhun, bishop of London. After these things, the tribute being paid, and the peace confirmed with oaths, the Danish fleet, which before kept together, dispersed far and wide; but forty-five of their ships remained with the king, and swore fealty to him, and engaged on their fealty to defend England against foreigners, on condition that he would supply them with food and raiment.

A.D. 1013. Living was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

In the month of July, Sweyn, king of the Danes, came with a strong fleet to the port of Sandwich, and after remaining there for a few days, departed; and sailing round East Anglia, entered the mouth of the river Humber; thence he went up the river Trent as far as Gainsborough, and encamped there. Earl Uhtred and the Northumbrians, and the inhabitants of Lindesey, immediately submitted to him; then the people of the Five Burghs, and afterwards all who dwelt north of Watling-street, that is, the street which the sons of king Weatla made right across England, from the eastern to the western sea; and having agreed upon a peace with him, and given hostages, swore fealty to him: [then] he commanded them to supply his army with horses and provisions. Having completed these arrangements, and entrusted the army and hostages to his son Canute, he made a selection from those who had submitted to him, and made an expedition against the South Mercians; and, passing Watling-street, gave orders to his men to lay waste the fields, burn the vills, pillage the churches, slay all the men who fell into their hands, keep the women to appease their lust, and do as much mischief as ever they could. Then he came to Oxford (his men all the while obeying his orders and rioting with beastly ferocity), and got possession of it sooner than he expected; and, taking hostages, he hastened on to Winchester. On his arrival at Winchester, the citizens (terrified at his excessive cruelty) quickly made peace with him, and gave him as many hostages of his own selection as he chose to demand. Having taken the hostages, he moved his army towards London, but many of his men were drowned in the river Thames, because they would not [take the trouble to] seek for a bridge or a ford. On reaching London, he tried in various ways

to take it, either by stratagem or by force. But Aethelred, king of the English, and the citizens, assisted by the often-mentioned Danish earl, Turkill, who was then in the city with him, bravely defended the city walls, and drove him off. Thus repulsed he departed, pillaging and destroying, as usual, everything in his path, and went first to Wallingford, and afterwards to Bath, where he sate down to refresh his army. Then there came to him Athelmar, ealdorman of Devonshire, accompanied by the western thanes, who made peace with him, giving hostages. Having accomplished all things according to his wishes, he returned to his fleet, and was called and esteemed king by all the English people, if indeed he can be called a king who acted in most things like a tyrant. Moreover, the citizens of London sent hostages and made peace with him; for they feared that he was so enraged against them that he would deprive them of all their property, and either cause their eyes to be put out, or have their hands or feet amputated. When king Aethelred saw this, he sent queen Emma into Normandy, to her brother, Richard the Second, earl of Normandy, together with his sons, Eadward and Alfred, their tutor Alfhun, bishop of London, and Alfsin, abbot of Medhamstead. He himself, however, remained for a short time with the Danish fleet, which then lay in the river Thames, at a place called Grenewic [Greenwich]; and afterward sailed over to the Isle of Wight, and celebrated Christmas there. After Christmas he sailed to Normandy, and was honourably received by earl Richard. Meanwhile the tyrant Sweyn commanded that his fleet should be abundantly supplied with provisions, and ordered that payment of an almost insupportable tribute should be made. Earl Turkill issued the same orders with respect to the fleet which was lying at Greenwich: in addition, each of them went plundering whenever he chose, and committed great enormities.

A.D. 1014. The tyrant Sweyn, after having committed innumerable and cruel atrocities, both in England and in other countries, filled up the measure of his damnation by demanding a large tribute from the town where rests the uncorrupted corpse of the precious martyr, Eadmund,—a thing which no one had dared to do since the town was given to the church of that saint. He threw out frequent threats that if it was not speedily paid he would certainly burn the town and the townsmen, rase to the ground the church of the said martyr, and torture the clerks in various modes. Moreover, he frequently dared to depreciate the martyr in many ways, and with profane and sacrilegious mouth to bawl out that he was a person of no sanctity. But because he would not curb his malice, divine vengeance did not suffer his blasphemy to last any longer. As he was reiterating his threats, towards evening, in a general muster which he was one day holding at Gainsborough, and surrounded by very dense files of Danes, he alone saw St. Eadmund coming armed against him. He was terrified at the sight, and began to cry in a very loud voice, "Help, my comrades, help! lo! St. Eadmund is coming to kill me." As he was speaking, the saint ran him through fiercely with a spear, and he fell from the stallion whereon he was sitting, and remaining in great agony until twilight, he died miserably,

on the 3d of the nones of February [3d Feb.]. On his death the Danish fleet chose his son Canute to be their king. But the elders of all England unanimously sent messengers in great haste to Aethelred, king of the English, saying they neither did nor would love any one better than their natural lord, if he would govern them better and treat them with greater kindness than formerly. On hearing this message, he sent his son Edward to them, accompanied with messengers, and greeted in a kindly way all his people, both great and small, and promised that if they would unanimously and without treachery receive him for king, he would be a gentle and loving lord to them, would consult their wishes and abide by their counsels in everything, and would benevolently pardon all their outrageous and disgraceful speeches against him, and all their opposition to him. To this they all sent back a kind answer. Then both sides agreed, verbally and by treaty, to a comprehensive peace. In addition, the chief men engaged that they would never more admit the Danish king into England. After this the English sent to Normandy, and the king was very soon, to wit, in Lent, brought over, and was received with universal honour.

Meanwhile Canute and the people of Lindesey agreed, that when his army was provided with horses, they would make a joint plundering expedition; but before the horses were ready, king Aethelred arrived there with a strong army, and having expelled Canute and his fleet, laid waste and burned the whole of Lindesey, and slew as many of the inhabitants as he could. Canute, however, consulted his safety by a speedy flight; and, directing his course to the south, soon arrived at the port of Sandwich: there he brought out the hostages which had been given to his father from all parts of England; and after their hands and ears had been cut off, and their nostrils slit up, allowed them to depart: he then went to Denmark, but only to return the next year. In addition to these calamities, king Aethelred ordered a tribute of thirty thousand pounds to be paid to the fleet which lay at Greenwich. On the 3d of the kalends of October [29th Sept.] the sea broke its bounds, and overwhelmed many vills and innumerable people in England.

A.D. 1015. In this year, as a great council was being held at Oxford, the traitorous ealdorman Edric Streona craftily invited Sigeferth and Morcar, sons of Earngrim, and the most considerable and powerful thanes of the Seven Burghs, to come to his chamber, and had them secretly killed there: king Aethelred took possession of their property, and ordered Aldgith, the widow of Sigeferth, to be taken to the city of Maidulf [Malmesbury]: during her captivity, Eadmund the etheling came there and married her against his father's will: between the feast of the Assumption [15th Aug.] and the feast of the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.] he went to the people of the Five Burghs, invaded the possessions of Sigeferth and Morcar, and brought the inhabitants thereof under his own dominion. During the same period Canute, king of the Danes, came with a great fleet to the port of Sandwich; and afterwards sailing past Kent, entered the mouth of the river Frome, and plundered greatly in Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire.

Then, because king Aethelred lay sick at Cosham, his son Eadmund the etheling, on one side, and Edric Streona, that ealdorman full of treachery and guile, on the other, assembled a great army; but on uniting their forces the ealdorman laid all manner of snares for the etheling, and endeavoured to compass his death. On this plot being discovered, they both separated and gave place to their enemies. Shortly afterwards the ealdorman enticed away from the king's fleet forty ships full of Danish soldiers, and, going to Canute, entered into his service. The West Saxons did the same, giving hostages; they afterwards also supplied the army with horses.[1]

A.D. 1016. Canut, king of the Danes, and the traitorous ealdorman Edric Streona, crossed the river Thames with a large body of cavalry at a place called Cricgelade [Cricklade], and entered Mercia in hostile guise just before the feast of our Lord's Epiphany [Jan. 6], and devastated and burned many vills in Warwickshire, and slew everybody they met. When this came to the ears of the etheling Eadmund, surnamed Ironside, he mustered an army in great haste; but when it was mustered the Mercians refused to attack the Danes and West Saxons unless in company with Adelred and the citizens of London: so the expedition was laid aside, and every one returned home. After the feast [of Epiphany], the etheling Eadmund again raised a still larger army: when he had mustered it he sent messengers to London requesting his father to meet him as quickly as possible with all the men whom he could command: the latter levied a large body of fighting men, and hastened to meet him. But when the two armies had united, it was hinted to the king that unless he was very careful some of his auxiliaries would betray him. On that account he shortly afterwards dismissed the army and returned to London: but the etheling went into Northumbria. Wherefore some persons conjectured that he was going to raise a still larger army against Canute: but as Canute and Edric on the one hand laid waste provinces, even so did he and Uhtred, earl of the Northumbrians, on the other. They first laid waste Staffordshire, then Shropshire, and Leicestershire, for refusing to go out to fight against the Danish army. Meanwhile Canute and Edric Streona laid waste Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire, and afterwards Northumbria. As soon as the etheling Eadmund heard this, he left off the work of devastation, and hastened to his father in London. But Uhtred the earl returned home, and, driven by necessity, he and all the Northumbrians went over to Canute, and gave hostages to him; nevertheless, with Canute's connivance, if not by his command, he and Turkettel, son of Neavana, were put to death by Thurebrand, a noble Dane. Canute then made Egric an earl in Uhtred's place, and, marching rapidly to the south by a different road, he and all his army regained the fleet before the festival of Easter.

About this time, namely on Monday the 9th of the kalends of May [23d April], in the fourteenth indiction, Aethelred, king of

[1] "On the death of Aethelwald, bishop of Winchester, Aelsi, called also Elfwin, succeeded." A.

the English, died at London after a life of great disquiet and manifold tribulations, all which St. Dunstan on his coronation-day, after placing the crown on his head, prophetically announced as about to come upon him: "Because," said he, "thou hast obtained the kingdom by the death of thy brother, whom thy mother has slain, therefore, hear now the word of the Lord; thus saith the Lord, 'The sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall rage against thee all the days of thy life, slaying thy seed, until thy kingdom be given to another kingdom whose manners and language the nation whom thou governest knoweth not.' And thy sin, and the sin of thy mother, and the sins of the men who have wickedly shed blood by her direction, shall be expiated only by long-continued punishment." His body was honourably buried in the church of St. Paul the apostle. After his death, the bishops, abbots, ealdormen, and all the nobles of England assembled, and unanimously chose Canute to be their lord and king; and having come to him at Southampton, and renounced and repudiated all the descendants of king Aethelred, made peace with and swore fealty to him; and he, in his turn, swore that both in Divine and secular affairs he would be a faithful master to them. But the citizens of London and some of the nobles who were then at London, unanimously chose Eadmund the etheling to be king. Exalted to the kingly throne, he boldly and without delay marched into West Saxony, and being gladly welcomed by the whole population, he quickly reduced it under his dominion; and a great number of the English people, hearing of this, hastened to make spontaneous submission to him.

Meanwhile, about rogation week [7th May], Canute went to London with all his fleet. On their arrival they dug a great trench on the south side of the river Thames, and drew their ships [along it] to the west of the bridge; they afterwards dug a deep and broad trench round the city and closely besieged it, thereby preventing all ingress and egress, and made frequent assaults on it; but the citizens made a vigorous resistance, and drove them to a distance from the walls. So, abandoning the siege for a time, and leaving a portion of the army to guard the ships, they marched into West Saxony with such speed that king Eadmund Ironside had no time to muster his army. Nevertheless, with the troops which in this short time he had got together, he boldly marched into Dorsetshire against them, trusting in God for help, and attacking them at a place called Peonn [Pen], near Gillingham, routed them and put them to flight. After midsummer, having again assembled a larger army than before, he boldly resolved to attack Canute, and fell in with him at a place called Scearstan,[1] in Hwiccia. There he arranged the positions and division of his forces, placed all the best men in the foremost ranks, supporting them and the remainder of the army, and, addressing each by name, exhorted and entreated them to remember that they were about to fight for their country, their children, their wives, and their homes, and by an excellent address stirred up the courage of his troops: then he ordered the trumpets

[1] Probably Sherston in Wiltshire.

to sound and the army to advance by degrees. The enemy's army did the like. When they came to a spot where they could join battle, the hostile standards met with tremendous uproar; they fought with sword and spear, and with the greatest obstinacy. Meanwhile king Eadmund Ironside exerted himself to the utmost in the foremost ranks, provided for every emergency, fought hard in person, often struck down an enemy, and fulfilled at one and the same time the duties of a brave soldier and an able general. But, inasmuch as that most traitorous ealdorman Edric Streona, and Almar the beloved, and Algar the son of Meawe, who ought to have assisted him, had, with the men of Southamptonshire and Wiltshire, and a countless host, joined the Danes—his army was overworked. However on the first day of the battle, which was Monday, the contest was so severe and bloody that at sunset both armies were unable to continue the fight for very weariness, and separated as it were with one accord. But on the next day the king would have exterminated the Danes, had it not been for the trick of that faithless ealdorman Edric Streona. For as the battle was raging, and he perceived that the English were gaining advantage, he cut off the head of a man named Osmear, whose face and hair were very like king Eadmund's, and, holding it up, cried out that it was useless for the English to fight, saying, "Oh! ye men of Dorsetshire, Devonshire and Wiltshire, flee quickly; ye have lost your leader: Lo! here I hold the head of your lord and king Eadmund: flee with all speed." When the English heard these words they were terror-struck, more by the atrocity of the thing than by the credit which they gave to their informer. Some waverers were nearly induced thereby to flee; but as soon as it was known that the king was alive they took courage, pressed the Danes harder than ever, slew many of them, and kept fighting with all their might until dusk, when the armies separated just as they did the previous day. But when the night was far advanced, Canute ordered his men to leave the camp silently, and, setting out for London, regained his ships, and shortly afterwards he renewed the siege of London. When the morning came, and king Eadmund Ironside discovered that the Danes had fled, he returned to West Saxony for the purpose of raising a larger army. His brother-in-law, the traitorous ealdorman Edric, seeing how energetic he was, betook himself to him as his lawful lord, and having renewed his peace with him, swore that he would continue faithful to him. So the king, with the army which he had assembled for the third time, delivered the Londoners from their state of siege, and drove back the Danes to their ships. Two days afterwards he crossed the Thames at a place called Brentford, fought a third battle against the Danes and gained the victory, putting them to flight. Many of the English were drowned on that occasion while crossing the river in a careless manner. Thence the king hastened into West Saxony for the purpose of collecting a larger army. The Danes, however, went back to London, laid siege to it, and assaulted it on every side; but through God's mercy were wholly unsuccessful. Wherefore they departed thence with their fleet, entered the river Arewe,

landed and went into Mercia to pillage, slaying all whom they met, burning the vills and plundering as usual, and afterwards returned to their ships: the infantry were taken in ships to the river Medway, but the cavalry kept the whole country in alarm by their incessant ravages.

Meanwhile king Eadmund Ironside, for the fourth time, collected a large army out of all parts of England, and fording the river Thames at the same spot as before, quickly arrived in Kent, and fought a battle with the Danes near Ottaford [Otford]. They were unable to withstand his attack, but turned their backs and fled with their horses to Sheppey. However he slew all whom he overtook, and if the traitorous ealdorman, Edric Streona, had not by his wiles and insinuations prevented the king from pursuing his enemies, by detaining him at Eagelesford [Ailesford], his victory would that day have been complete. When the king had gone back into West Saxony, Canute led his forces into East Saxony, and again went into Mercia to pillage, ordering his army to commit greater enormities than before. They were not backward in obeying his orders; and after having beheaded all who fell into their hands, burnt numerous vills and laid waste the fields, returned laden with spoil to their ships. Eadmund Ironside, king of the English, pursued them with the army which he had collected from all parts of England, and came up with them on their march at a hill called Assandun [Ashdown], which means The ass's hill. There he quickly formed his line of battle, supporting it with bodies of reserve three deep. He then went round to each troop, commanding and adjuring them to be mindful of their former valour and victories, and to defend themselves and his kingdom from the rapacity of the Danes; and [reminded them] that they were going to engage the men whom they had conquered before. Meanwhile Canute very slowly brought his men down to a level ground; but king Eadmund, on the contrary, moved his forces as he had arranged them with great rapidity, and suddenly gave the word to attack the Danes. The armies fought obstinately, and many fell on both sides. But the traitorous ealdorman, Edric Streona, seeing that the Danish line was giving way, and that the English were getting the victory, kept the promise which he had previously made to Canute, and fled with the Magesetas [men of Herefordshire], and that division of the army which he commanded; thus craftily circumventing his lord king Eadmund and the English army, and by his craft throwing the victory into the hands of the Danes. There were slain in this battle Alfric the ealdorman, Godwin the ealdorman, Ulfketel, ealdorman of the East Angles, Aethelward the ealdorman, son of God's friend Athelwin, ealdorman of the East Angles, and almost all the English nobility, who never sustained greater loss in battle than on that day. Moreover Eadnoth, bishop of Lincoln [Dorchester], formerly abbot of Ramsey, was slain, as was likewise abbot Wulsi, both of whom had come to offer up prayers to God for the soldiers while they were fighting. A few days after this, king Eadmund Ironside still wished to renew the battle with Canute, but the traitorous ealdorman Edric and some others pre-

vented him from so doing, and advised him to make peace with Canute and divide the kingdom. At length he yielded, although unwillingly, to their suggestions; and messengers having passed to and fro, and hostages having been exchanged, the two kings met at a place called Deorhyrst. Eadmund and his attendants took up their station on the western bank of the Severn, and Canute with his attendants on the eastern bank. Then each king went in a fishing-boat to an island called Olanege, situate in the middle of the river Severn. There they agreed and swore to be at peace, and in friendship, and brotherhood, and the kingdom was divided. West Saxony, East Anglia, East Saxony, and London, were allotted to Canute, but the supremacy of the kingdom was to remain with Eadmund. Afterwards, having exchanged presents of arms and robes, and fixed the tribute to be paid to the fleet, they separated. The Danes, however, retired to their ships with the plunder which they had taken; and the citizens of London paying a sum of money, made peace with them, and allowed them to pass the winter there.

After these things, about the feast-day of St. Andrew the apostle [30th Nov.], in the fifteenth indiction, king Eadmund Ironside died at London, and was buried at Glastonbury by the side of his grandfather, king Edgar the Pacific. After his death, king Canute commanded all the bishops and ealdormen, and the chief men and magnates of England, to assemble at London. When they came into his presence, he, as though in ignorance, cunningly asked those who were witnesses when he and Eadmund made a treaty of friendship and divided the kingdom, what conversation passed between him and Eadmund with regard to the sons and brothers of the latter; and whether it was agreed that if Eadmund died in his lifetime, his brothers and sons were to succeed to the West-Saxon kingdom after their father's death. They immediately answered that they knew for certain that king Eadmund had not reserved any portion of his dominions for his brothers, neither during his lifetime nor after his death: and they added that they knew that king Eadmund wished Canute to be protector and guardian of his sons, until they were of a fit age to reign. But, (as God knows,) they bore false witness and lied deceitfully, thinking that he would show them favour and give them large presents in consideration of their lies: but some of these false witnesses were shortly afterwards slain by the said king. Then king Canute, after putting the aforesaid questions, tried to get the aforesaid magnates to swear fealty to him. So they swore that they would choose him for their king, and humbly obey him, and raise taxes for the payment of his army; and receiving the king's bare hand by way of pledge, and the oaths of the Danish chiefs, they passed by entirely the brothers and sons of king Eadmund, and denied their right to become kings. Eadwi, a renowned and most estimable brother of king Eadmund, was one of the ethelings, and him they then most unwarrantably exiled. When king Canute heard of the flatteries of these men, and the insult which they had offered to Eadwi, he was glad, and entering into his chamber, summoned the traitorous

ealdorman Edric, and asked him if he could so entrap Eadwi as to put his life in danger. He answered and said, that he knew a certain man named Aethelward who could betray him to death easier than he himself could, and that the king could speak with him and offer him a good reward. Having ascertained the man's name, the king summoned him and said cunningly—"Thus and thus has Edric the ealdorman spoken to me, saying that you can manage to procure the death of Eadwi the etheling. Follow now our counsels, and you shall enjoy all the honours and dignities of your fathers; and ask his head of me, and I will hold you dearer than mine own brother." So he said that he would seek him out, and slay him if possible. But his promise was only by way of pretence; for he did not wish to slay him, being descended from one of the noblest families in England.[1]

A.D. 1017. [2]Benedict was pope, being the 140th. In this year king Canute began to reign over all England, and divided it into four parts, reserving West Saxony for himself, and committing East Anglia to earl Turkill, Mercia to Edric the ealdorman, and Northumbria to earl Ire.

The native nobles and people on the one side, and he on the other, entered into a treaty, swore to remain firm friends, and laid aside and extinguished their old animosities. Subsequently king Canute, acting on the advice of the traitorous ealdorman Edric, outlawed Eadwi the etheling, brother of king Eadmund, and Eadwi, who was called king of the Churls. The last-named Eadwi was afterwards reconciled to the king; but Eadwi the etheling fell a victim to the treachery of those whom he had up to that time thought to be his best friends, and was in the same year, at the instance and command of king Canute, unjustly slain. Moreover, Edric advised him to slay the little ethelings, Eadward and Eadmund, the sons of king Eadmund. But thinking that his reputation would suffer if they were made away with in England, he sent them to the king of the Swedes to be put to death; who, although he was in league with him, would not comply with his request, but sent them to Salomon, king of the Hungarians, in order that they might be educated and their lives preserved. One of them, namely Eadmund, in course of time died there: but Eadward married Agatha, a daughter of the brother of the emperor, Henry [II.], by whom he had Margaret, queen of the Scots, Cristina, a nun, and Eadgar the etheling. In the month of July king Canute married Alfgiva, the widow of king Aethelred; and on the feast of our Lord's Nativity [25th Dec.], being at London, he ordered the traitorous ealdorman, Edric, to be slain in the palace, (fearing that he himself would at length suffer from his perfidy in the same manner as Aethelred and Eadmund, Edric's former lords, had frequently suffered,) and commanded his body to be thrown down from the walls and left unburied. Along with him were slain a [3]Norman earl, son of earl

[1] "Leofsi, the reverend abbot of Thorney, succeeded to the episcopal see of Worcester." A. marg. [2] This first clause is from Marianus.

[3] This passage may be translated thus:—"Along with him were slain earl Norman, the son of earl Leofwin," &c.

Leofwin, and brother of earl Leofric, and Aethelward, son of Agelmar the ealdorman, and Brihtric, son of Alpheg, a Devonshire thane, although they had committed no crimes. The king made Leofric an ealdorman in the place of his brother, the Norman, and afterwards took him very high into favour.[1]

A.D. 1018. This year London contributed ten thousand five hundred, and the rest of England seventy-two thousand pounds, for the pay of the Danish army; forty ships of their fleet remained with king Canute, and the rest returned to Denmark. The English and the Danes agreed at Oxford to live under king Eadgar's law.

A.D. 1019. In this year Canute, king of the English and the Danes, went to Denmark, and remained there during the winter.[2]

A.D. 1020. [3]On the feast-day of the nativity of Saints Philip and James [1st May], pope Benedict sang mass in public in the monastery of Fulda, before the emperor Henry, and Richard, abbot of Fulda. King Canute returned to England, and held a great council at Cirencester on Easter-day [17th April], and outlawed Aethelward the ealdorman. Living, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by Aethelnoth, surnamed The Good, son of the noble Aegelmar. In the same year the church which king Canute and earl Turkill had built at the hill called Assandun [Ashdown], was consecrated with great pomp and magnificence in their presence by Wulstan, archbishop of York, and several other bishops. Aldhun, bishop of Lindisfarne, dying, that church was bereaved of pastoral care for nearly three years. At a chapter held to discuss concerning the election of a bishop, a certain religious presbyter named Eadmund stood up, and said jokingly, "Why do you not choose me for bishop?" Those present did not regard his joke as if it were simply a jest, but elected him, and after a three days' fast consulted St. Cuthbert's wishes on that point. While the presbyter stood at the saint's head singing mass, lo! in the middle of the canon, a voice was heard coming as it were from that father's tomb, and thrice naming Eadmund as bishop.

A.D. 1021. [4]On the 16th of the kalends of September [17th Aug.], Erkenbald, archbishop of Mentz, died, and was succeeded by Aribo. Just before the feast-day of St. Martin [11th Nov.], Canute, king of the English and Danes, banished from England

[1] "Wulgar, the abbot of Abingdon, that good shepherd, died in the twenty-eighth year after God's providence had placed him over that church. By the vigilant care of this abbot, and by God's protecting mercy, the monastery of Abingdon continued free from the ravages of the Danes, amidst the troubles which pervaded all the rest of England; while, in the meantime, the incursions of the enemies overthrew on the right hand and on the left all that came in their way; or if they acted more mercifully, the inhabitants could redeem themselves only by the payment of a large ransom. He was succeeded in the government of the monastery by Adelwin, whom king Canute, out of regard to his holy life, made the depository of his secrets, and endeavoured by his advice to withdraw himself from what was evil, and to follow what was good. Hence the king loved the monastery of Abingdon, and loaded it with gifts. For, among other presents, he caused a casket of silver and gold to be made, in which should be placed the relics of St. Vincent, deacon and martyr." B. addition.

[2] "On the death of Aelmar, bishop of Selsey, Aethelric succeeded." A. addition.

[3] This first sentence is from Marianus.

[4] The first sentence is from Marianus.

the oft-named earl Turkill, and his wife Edgitha. Algar, bishop of the East Angles, died, and Aldwin succeeded him.

A.D. 1022. Aethelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, went to Rome: pope Benedict [VIII] received him with great honour, and gave him the pall.

A.D. 1023. [1]One day in spring, at the ninth hour, there was an eclipse of the sun. The body of St. Alpheag, the martyr, was translated from London to Canterbury. On Tuesday, the 5th of the kalends of June [28th May], Wulstan, archbishop of York, died at York; but his corpse was taken to Ely and buried there. He was succeeded by Alfric Puttoc, provost of Winchester.

A.D. 1024. [2]Pope Benedict died. John became pope, being the 141st. On the 2d of the ides of July [14th July], the pious Henry died, and he was buried at Babo's Mount [Bamberg].

A.D. 1025. Cuonrad [II.] was the 94th emperor of the Romans, and he reigned fifteen years. The monk Eadmund was appointed to the bishopric of Lindisfarne.

A.D. 1026. The twenty-seventh cycle of nineteen years began in the ninth indiction. Alfric, archbishop of York, went to Rome, and received the pall from pope John [XIX]. Richard, the second duke of Normandy, died; and was succeeded by Richard the third, who died the same year: he was succeeded by his brother Rotbert.

A.D. 1027. News came to Canute, king of the English and Danes, that the Norwegians held Olaf their king in contempt, on account of his simplicity and meekness, his justice and piety; so he sent much gold and silver to certain of them, and importuned them to renounce and depose Olaf, and submit themselves to him [Canute], and suffer him to reign over them. They greedily accepted his presents, and ordered word to be sent back that they were ready to receive him whenever he chose to come.

A.D. 1028. Canute, king of the English and Danes, went over with fifty great ships, and drove king Olaf out of Norway, and subdued it to himself. [3]In this year was born Marianus the Hibernian, a renowned Scot, by whose study and diligence this excellent Chronicle was compiled from divers books.

A.D. 1029. Canute, king of the English, Danes, and Norwegians, returned to England; and after the feast of St. Martin [11th Nov.], he banished Hacun, a Danish earl, who had married the noble lady Gunhilda, daughter of his sister by Wyrtgeorn, king of the Winidi, sending him away under pretence of an embassy: for he feared that the said earl would either kill him or deprive him of the kingdom.

A.D. 1030. The aforesaid earl Hacun died at sea; but some say that he was slain in the island of Orkney. St. Olaf, king and martyr, son of Harold, king of the Norwegians, was wickedly slain in Norway by the natives.

A.D. 1031. Canute, king of the English, Danes, and Norwegians, went from Denmark with great state to Rome, and made large

[1] From Marianus.
[2] The whole of this year and the first clause of the following are from Marianus.
[3] Also from the same authority.

offerings of gold, and silver, and other valuables, to St. Peter, prince of apostles; and obtained from pope John [XIX.] the exemption of the School of the English from all toll and tribute. On his journey there and back he gave great alms to the poor, and abolished at great pecuniary cost many border barriers, where taxes used to be extorted from pilgrims. Moreover he vowed to God, before the sepulchre of the apostles, that he would amend his life and conversation; and he sent thence to England a memorable letter by the hands of Living, his companion on the journey, a very prudent man, who was then abbot of Tavistock, but afterwards, in the same year, succeeded Eadnoth in the bishopric of Crediton, and others of his ambassadors; whilst he returned from Rome the way he went, visiting Denmark before England. I think it right to subjoin the text of this letter.

"*Canute, king of all England, Denmark, Norway, and part of Sweden, to Aethelnoth, metropolitan, and Alfric, archbishop of York, and to all bishops and nobles, and to the whole nation of the English, high and low, greeting.* I notify to you that I have lately been to Rome, to pray for the forgiveness of my sins, for the safety of my dominions, and of the people under my government. I had long since vowed such a journey to God; but hitherto hindered by the affairs of my kingdom, and other causes preventing, I was unable to accomplish it sooner. I now return thanks most humbly to my Almighty God for suffering me in my lifetime to approach the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and all the holy saints within and without the city of Rome, wherever I could discover them; and there present to worship and adore according to my desire. I have been the more diligent in the performance of this, because I have learnt from the wise that St. Peter the apostle has received from God great power in binding and in loosing; that he carries the key of the kingdom of heaven; and consequently I have judged it matter of special importance to seek his influence with God. Be it known to you that, at the solemnity of Easter, a great assembly of nobles was present with pope John and the emperor Cuonrad, that is to say, all the princes of the nations from Mount Garganus to the neighbouring sea. All these received me with honour, and presented me with magnificent gifts. But more especially was I honoured by the emperor with various gifts and offerings, in gold and silver vessels, and palls, and costly garments. Moreover, I spoke with the emperor himself, and the sovereign pope, and the nobles who were there, concerning the wants of all my people, English as well as Danes—observing that there ought to be granted to them more equitable regulations and greater security on their passage to Rome; that they should not be impeded by so many barriers on the road, nor harassed with unjust exactions. The emperor assented to my request, as did Rodolph the king, who has the chief dominion over those barriers; and all the princes confirmed by an edict that my subjects, traders as well as those who went for a religious purpose, should peaceably go and return from Rome without any molestation from warders of barriers or tax-gatherers. Again I complained before the pope, and expressed

my high displeasure that my archbishops were oppressed by the immense sum of money which is demanded from them, when seeking according to custom the apostolical residence to receive the pall; and it was determined that it should be so no longer. Moreover, all things which I requested for the advantage of my kingdom from the sovereign pope, and the emperor, and king Rodolph, and the other princes through whose territories our road to Rome is situated, they have freely granted and confirmed by oath, under the attestation of four archbishops, twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and nobles who were present: wherefore I give most hearty thanks to God Almighty for having successfully completed all that I had wished in the manner I had designed, and fully satisfied my intentions.

Be it known, then, that since I have vowed to God Himself henceforward to reform my life in all things, and justly and piously to govern the kingdoms and the people subject to me, and to maintain equal justice in all things; and have determined, through God's assistance, to rectify anything hitherto unjustly done, either through the intemperance of my youth, or through negligence; therefore I call to witness and command my counsellors, to whom I have entrusted the counsels of the kingdom, that they by no means, either through fear of myself, or favour to any powerful person, suffer henceforth any injustice, or cause such to obtain in all my kingdom. Moreover, I command all sheriffs or governors throughout my whole kingdom, as they tender my affection or their own safety, not to commit injustice towards any man, rich or poor, but to allow all, noble and ignoble, alike to enjoy impartial law, from which they are never to deviate, either on account of royal favour, the person of any powerful man, or for the sake of amassing money for myself, for I have no need to accumulate money by unjust exaction.

Be it known to you, therefore, that returning by the same way that I went, I am now going to Denmark, through the advice of all the Danes, to make peace and firm treaty with those nations who were desirous, had it been possible, to deprive me both of life and of sovereignty: this, however, they were not able to perform; God, who by his kindness preserves me in my kingdom and in my honour, and destroys the power of all my adversaries, bringing their strength to nought. Moreover, when I have established peace with the surrounding nations, and put all our sovereignty here in the east in tranquil order, so that there shall be no fear of war or enmity on any side, I intend coming to England as early in the summer as I shall be able to get my fleet prepared. I have sent this epistle before me, in order that my people might rejoice at my prosperity; because, as yourselves know, I have never spared, nor will I spare, either myself or my pains for the needful service of my whole people. I now, therefore, command and adjure all my bishops and governors throughout my kingdom, by the fidelity you owe to God and me, that you take care that, before I come to England, all dues to God owing by ancient custom be discharged: that is to say, plough-alms, the tenth of animals born in the current year, and the pence owing to Rome for St. Peter, whether

from cities or villages; and in the middle of August, the tenth of the produce of the earth; and on the festival of St. Martin [11th Nov.], the first fruits of seeds to the church of the parish where each one resides, which is called in English 'ciricsceatt.' If these and such like things be not paid ere I come to England, all who shall have offended will incur the penalty of a royal mulct, to be exacted without remission according to law. Farewell."

Aribo, archbishop of Mentz, died on the 6th of April, and was succeeded by St. Bardo, who received the staff on the holy day of Pentecost [30th May], and held it for twenty years.

A.D. 1032. In this year the church of St. Eadmund, king and martyr, was dedicated.

A.D. 1033. Leofsi, bishop of the Hwiccas, a man of great piety and humility, died on Tuesday, the 19th day of August, at the episcopal vill of Kemesey, and, as we may hope, went to the heavenly kingdom: his body was honourably buried in the church of St. Mary at Worcester. Brihteag, abbot of Pershore, son of the sister of Wulstan, archbishop of York, succeeded him in the see.

A.D. 1034. Aethric, bishop of Lincoln [Dorchester], died, and was buried in the monastery of Ramsey: Eadnoth succeeded him. Malcolm, king of the Scots, died.

A.D. 1035. Before his death, Canute, king of the English, made Sweyn king over the Norwegians. This Sweyn was said to be the son of Canute and Alfgiva of Northamptonshire, who was a daughter of Alfhelm the ealdorman, and of the noble lady Wulfruna; some, however, asserted that he was not the son of the king and the said Alfgiva; but that the said Alfgiva desired to have a son by the king, and being unable, ordered the new-born child of a certain presbyter to be brought to her, and fully persuaded the king that she had borne him a son. He made Hardecanute, his son by queen Alfgiva, king over the Danes. Afterwards, in the same year, to wit, on Wednesday, the 12th day of November, Canute died at Shaftesbury, but he was buried in the old monastery at Winchester with due pomp. After his burial, queen Alfgiva took up her residence there. Now, Harold said that he was the son of king Canute and Alfgiva of Northamptonshire, although in truth he was not; for some say that he was the son of a cobbler, and that Alfgiva had acted in the same manner in regard to him as she had done with regard to Sweyn; but because the thing is doubtful, we do not know that we can state anything certain respecting the parentage of either. Harold then, taking on himself the royal dignity, sent his guards with all speed to Winchester, and tyrannically deprived queen Alfgiva of the greater part and the best of the wealth and treasures which king Canute had given to her, and sent her away in poverty in the place where she had just begun to reside; and with the consent of very many of the elders of England, began to reign as though he was the rightful heir, but not with such great sway as Canute, because Hardecanute, who was the truer heir, was then expected. Hence, after a short time, the kingdom was divided by lot, Harold taking the northern and Hardecanute the southern portion. Rotbert, duke of Normandy,

died, and was succeeded by William the Bastard, his infant son. Brun, bishop of Wurtzburg, died.

A.D. 1036. The solar cycle began, four bissextile years coming together. Piligrin, archbishop of Cologne, instigated by the speeches of certain envious monks of the monastery of St. Pantaleon, who hated Helias, abbot of the Scots, and also their abbot, on account of his severity, and the other Scots whom he had with him,—this archbishop, I say, threatened the said Helias that on his return from the king's court he would not leave a Scot, not even him, remaining there. Then Helias and the rest of the Scots answered, "If Christ is truly a pilgrim in us, archbishop Piligrin will not return alive to Cologne." And this the Lord brought to pass, and so Helias presided over two monasteries.

The innocent ethelings, Alfred and Eadward, sons of Aethelred, formerly king of the English, quitted Normandy, where they had remained a long time with their uncle Richard, and with many Norman knights in their company, crossed over in a few ships to England for the purpose of holding a conference with their mother, who was then staying at Winchester. At this some of the great men were very indignant, being, although improperly so, much more attached to Harold than to him; earl Godwin, it is said, more than any of them. As Alfred was hastening to London to confer with Harold, as he had commanded, Godwin seized him and put him in close confinement, dispersed some of his companions, put some in chains, and then deprived them of sight; some he scalped and tortured, cut off their hands and feet, and then made them pay fines; many too he ordered to be sold, and slew five hundred more of them at Guildford by various and cruel deaths. But we believe that the souls of those whose bodies were so cruelly and without a cause slain in the fields, are now rejoicing with the saints in paradise. On hearing of this, queen Alfgiva sent back in all haste to Normandy her son Eadward who remained with her. Then by the orders of Godwin and some others, Alfred the etheling was taken heavily chained to the Isle of Ely. But as soon as the ship touched the land, his eyes were plucked out on board in a most barbarous manner, and in this state he was taken to the monastery, and handed over to the custody of the monks. There he shortly afterwards died, and his body was buried with due honours in the south porch at the western end of the church; but his spirit is enjoying the delights of paradise.

A.D. 1037. Harold, king of the Mercians and Northumbrians, was by the chiefs and the whole people chosen king to reign over all England; but Hardecanute was wholly passed by, because he wasted his time in Denmark, and delayed coming to England when requested so to do. At the commencement of the winter, his mother, Alfgiva, formerly queen of the English, was driven from England without pity. She immediately went over to Flanders in a ship which had been made ready, and was there honourably received by the noble count Baldwin, who, as became his degree, took pleasure in supplying her with all things needful as long as she

required them. A little before this, in the same year, the very pious Avic, dean of Eversham, died.

Piligrin, the archbishop, died on Thursday, the 25th day of August. Herimann was his successor for twenty years. On Thursday, the 10th of November, in the fifth indiction, St. Bardo, the archbishop, dedicated, in the presence of the emperor Conrad, St. Martin's monastery, in the archbishopric of Mentz, in honour of St. Martin, bishop and confessor.

A.D. 1038. Aethelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life on the 29th of October. Seven days afterwards, Aethelric, bishop of South Saxony, died; for he had prayed to God that he might not survive his beloved father Aethelnoth. Grimketel succeeded him in the bishopric, and Eadsi, the king's chaplain, succeeded Aethelnoth in the archbishopric. In the same year died Alfric, bishop of the East Angles. On Wednesday, the 20th of December, Brihteag, bishop of the Hwiccas, died; and king Harold gave his bishopric to Living, bishop of Crediton. Stigand, the king's chaplain, was made bishop in Alfric's place, but was afterwards ejected, and Grimketel was chosen in his stead, and thus had the two dioceses of the South Saxons and the East Angles. But Stigand was again appointed, and Grimketel ejected: and Stigand kept the bishopric of the South Saxons for himself, and procured the bishopric of the East Angles for his brother Agelmar; and not satisfied with this, he mounted the episcopal thrones of Winchester and Canterbury. He earnestly entreated, and very nearly obtained, that he might be ordained separate bishop of the South Saxons. Agelmar was succeeded by Arfastus, bishop of Helmham, who, lest he should seem to have achieved nothing, for the Normans are most greedy of notoriety with posterity, transferred the bishopric from Helmham to Thetford.

A.D. 1039. The emperor Conrad died on Wednesday, the 12th of January, and was buried at Spires. Richard, abbot of Fulda, died on the 20th of July. Sigeward succeeded him. In this year there was a very hard winter.

Brihtmar, bishop of Litchfield, died; and was succeeded by Wulsi. The Welsh slew Eadwin, the brother of earl Leofric, Turkill and Alfgeat, two of the king's thanes, and many of their men. Hardecanute, king of the Danes, went to his mother Alfgiva, in Flanders.

Henry, the 95th emperor of the Romans, son of the emperor Conrad, [began to reign, and he] reigned twenty-seven years.

A.D. 1040. Harold, king of the English, died at London, and was buried at Westminster. After his interment, the nobles of almost every part of England sent ambassadors to Hardecanute, who was then at Bruges with his mother; and thinking that they were doing what was right, requested him to come to England and undertake the government of the kingdom: so he got ready sixty ships, and filling them with Danish soldiers, came over to England before midsummer, and was received with universal joy, and soon afterwards raised to the throne; but during his reign he did nothing worthy of his kingly power. For as soon as he began his reign,

recollecting the injuries which both he and his mother had suffered at the hands of his predecessor king Harold, who was reputed to be his brother, he sent to London Alfric, archbishop of York, earl Godwin, Stir, his major-domo, Edric, his treasurer, and Thrond, his executioner, and others of high station, with orders to dig up the body of the said Harold and throw it into a sewer; and afterwards to take it out and fling it into the river Thames. A short time afterwards it was picked up by a fisherman, and, being immediately taken to the Danes, was honourably buried by them in their cemetery at London. After these things he ordered that all England should pay eight marks to every rower in his fleet, and twelve marks to every helmsman; this was so heavy a tax that scarcely any one could pay it. So he became thoroughly hated by all those who had previously been most anxious for his coming. Moreover he was highly incensed against earl Godwin and Living, bishop of Worcester, for the death of his brother Alfred; Alfric, archbishop of York, and certain others having charged it on them. Wherefore he took the bishopric of Worcester from Living, and gave it to Alfric; but in the following year he took it from Alfric, and kindly restored it to Living, who had appeased him. But Godwin, in order to purchase the king's friendship, gave to him an exquisitely wrought galley, with a gilded prow, well fitted with all warlike stores, and manned with eighty chosen soldiers, splendidly armed. Every one had on each arm a golden bracelet, weighing sixteen ounces, and wore a triple coat of mail and a helmet partly gilt, and a sword with gilded hilt, having a Danish battle-axe adorned with silver and gold hanging from his left shoulder; whilst in his left hand he held a shield, the nails and boss whereof were also gilded, and in the right hand a lance, in the English tongue called "ategar." And besides this, in company with nearly all the chief men and thanes in England, he made oath to the king that it was not by his counsel or desire that the king's brother had been deprived of his eyes, but that he had only obeyed the commands of king Harold his master.

A.D. 1041. This year Hardecanute, king of the English, sent his house-carls over all the kingdom to collect the tribute which he had imposed. But the citizens of Worcester and the Worcestershire men rose in rebellion, and on Monday, the 4th of May, slew two of them, named Feader and Turstan, who had hidden themselves under the roof of one of the towers of the monastery of that city. This enraged the king, and to avenge their deaths he sent Thurum, earl of the Middle Angles, Leofric, earl of the Mercians, Godwin, earl of the West Saxons, Siward, earl of the Northumbrians, Roni, earl of the Magesetas [men of Herefordshire], and all the other English earls, and almost all his house-carls, to Worcester, where Alfric was still bishop, with orders to slay all the inhabitants if they could, to plunder and burn the city, and lay waste the country round about. On the 12th of November they began to lay waste the city and province, and continued [the work of destruction] for four days; but very few of the citizens or provincials were taken prisoners or slain, because having received

advice of their coming, the people fled in all directions. A great number of the citizens fled to a little island called Beverege, in the middle of the river Severn, which they fortified, and defended themselves against the enemy so long and stoutly, that they obtained terms of peace and were permitted to return quietly home. But on the fifth day the enemy burned the city, and they all returned home with great booty, and then the king's anger was appeased. Shortly afterwards Eadward, son of Aethelred, formerly king of the English, came over to England from Normandy, where he had been an exile for many years, and being honourably received by his brother, king Hardecanute, took up his abode at court.

A.D. 1042. Hardecanute, king of the English, while standing at the wedding-feast, given at a place called Lamhithe, by Osgod Clapa, a great lord, on the occasion of the joyful marriage of his daughter Githa with Tovi, surnamed Pruda, a Danish nobleman, and drinking full of health and mirth with the bride and the guests, suddenly fell down in the act of drinking, and remained speechless until the 8th day of June, when he died. He was carried to Winchester, and buried by the side of his father, king Canute. His brother Eadward was proclaimed king at London, chiefly by the exertions of earl Godwin and Living, bishop of Worcester. He was the son of Aethelred, whose father was Eadgar, whose father was Eadmund, whose father was Eadward the elder, whose father was Alfred.

Abbot Helias, a Scot, died on the 12th of April; being a prudent and pious man, he was made ruler over the monastery of St. Pantaleon, in addition to his own of St. Martin. He burned in the monastery of St. Pantaleon a very splendid mass-book, which a French monk had, without permission, written in the vulgar tongue, in order that no one else should dare to do such a thing without leave. The holy Maiolus, a Scot, succeeded him.

A.D. 1043. On the first day of Easter, being the 3d of April, Eadward was crowned king at Winchester, by Edsi, archbishop of Canterbury, Alfric, archbishop of York, and nearly all the bishops of England. In the same year, fourteen days before the feast-day of St. Andrew the apostle [16th Nov.], the king went suddenly and unexpectedly from the city of Gloucester to Winchester, accompanied by earls Leofric, Godwin, and Siward, and by their advice took from his mother all the gold, silver, jewels, precious stones, and other valuables which she possessed; because she had treated him with parsimony and severity, as well before he became king as after. Nevertheless, he ordered her to live there quietly, and had her well supplied with necessaries.

Animchad the Scot, monk and hermit, died at Fulda; and lights were seen, and psalmody was heard, above his tomb. Marianus, the author of this chronicle, dwelt as a hermit at his feet for ten years, and sang mass over his sepulchre. He gives the following account of the aforesaid Animchad. "Being in Ireland," says he, "in an island called Keltra, he entertained some brethren who one day came there, his superior, named Kortram, having given permission. After the meal was ended some went their way, but

those who remained, after warming themselves at the fire, sat down and asked him for something to drink. He declined to do so without permission; but they pressed him very hard, and at length he consented; but before giving it he sent some of the beverage to his superior, as a blessing. On the morrow, when his superior asked him his reason for sending the draught, he related all the circumstances: for this slight fault the superior ordered him to quit Ireland. He obeyed submissively; and, going to Fulda, lived as a holy hermit, and died as I have before mentioned. Tigernach, my superior, related these things to me, on the occasion of my committing some slight fault in his presence. I myself, when a hermit in Fulda, heard a most pious monk of that monastery, named William, entreat the aforesaid Animchad, who was then in his tomb, to give him his benediction; and he afterwards assured me that the same night he really saw Animchad standing in his sepulchre, shining with exceeding splendour, and giving his benediction with outstretched hand: and I also passed the whole of that night in the midst of a delicious odour." These are the words of Marianus.

A.D. 1044. Benedict was pope, being the 142d. He bought the papacy; so the emperor Henry went to Rome, and appointed Clement to be pope in his stead: for, according to St. Peter's own words [Acts viii. 20], he who buys and he who sells the grace of the Spirit, are to be cursed, in company with Simon Magus. Aelfward, bishop of London, who was abbot of the monastery of Evesham both before and after he was bishop, being unable, by reason of his infirmities, to fulfil properly the duties of his bishopric, was desirous of returning to Evesham: but the brethren of that place would by no means allow it. So he took away the greater part of the books and ornaments which he had brought to that place, and, as it is said, some which other persons had brought; he then withdrew to the monastery of Ramsey, and took up his abode there, offering all that he had brought with him to St. Benedict; he died on Wednesday, the 25th of July in this year, and was buried there. At a general council which was held about that time in London, Wulmar, also called Manni, a religious monk of Evesham, was elected abbot of his monastery, and was ordained on Friday, the 10th of August. In the same year the noble lady Gunilda, daughter of king Wurtgeorn, by the sister of king Canute, and successively the widow of earls Hacun and Harold, was expelled from England, with her two sons, Hemming and Thurkill. She went over to Flanders, and resided for a short time at a place called Bruges; and by that route got into Denmark. Stigand, the king's chaplain, was made bishop of East Anglia.

A.D. 1045. The twenty-eighth cycle of nineteen years began in the thirteenth indiction. Brihtwold, bishop of Wilton, died; and was succeeded by the king's chaplain, Heremann, a native of Lorraine. In this year Eadward, king of the English, collected a very powerful fleet, at the port of Sandwich, to oppose Magnus, king of the Norwegians, who was meditating an invasion of England; but whose coming was stayed by Sweyn, king of the Danes, making war against him.

A.D. 1046. Clement was pope, being the 143d. Living, of the Hwiccas, bishop of Devonshire and of Cornwall, died, on Sunday the 23d day of March. After his death, the bishoprics of Crediton and Cornwall were given to Leofric, the king's chancellor, a Welshman: and Aldred, who had been first a monk at Winchester, and then abbot of Tavistock, was made bishop of the Hwiccas. Osgod Clapa was expelled from England. Magnus, king of the Norwegians, son of the saintly king Olaf, routed Sweyn, king of the Danes, and subdued Denmark to himself.

A.D. 1047. Pope Clement died, on the 9th day of October. Poppo, also called Damasus, was the 144th pope. So much snow fell in the west, that the woods were broken down by it: and in this year, too, the winter was very severe. Grimkitel, bishop of South Saxony, died, and was succeeded by Heca, the king's chaplain. Alfwin, bishop of Winchester, also died, and Stigand was appointed to the East-Anglian see in his place. Sweyn, king of the Danes, sent his ambassadors to Eadward, king of the English, requesting him to send his fleet against Magnus, king of the Norwegians. Then earl Godwin advised the king that he should send at least fifty ships, manned with soldiers; but this meeting with the disapproval of earl Leofric and all the people, he declined to send any. Afterwards Magnus, king of the Norwegians, having got together a large and strong fleet, fought a battle with Sweyn, and after many thousands had fallen on both sides, expelled him from Denmark, and subsequently reigned there, and made the Danes pay heavy tribute to him: shortly afterwards he died.

A.D. 1048. Pope Poppo died. Sweyn recovered Denmark, and Harold Harvager, who was son of Siward, king of the Norwegians, and brother by the mother's side to St. Olaf, and uncle by the father's side to king Magnus, went over again to Norway; and shortly afterwards sent ambassadors to king Eadward, making offers of peace and friendship, which were accepted. Sweyn, king of the Danes, also sent ambassadors to him, requesting him to despatch a fleet to his assistance. But although earl Godwin wished to send at least fifty ships, earl Leofric and all the people unanimously opposed him. On Sunday, the 1st of May, there was a great earthquake at Worcester, Wic, Derby, and many other places. There was a mortality among men and cattle in many parts of England: and a fire in the air, commonly called wild-fire, burned many vills and corn-fields in Derbyshire, and several other provinces. Eadmund, bishop of Lindisfarne, died at Gloucester, but was carried by his own people to Durham, and buried there. Edred succeeded him; but being struck down by divine vengeance, Aegelric, a monk of Bury, was appointed in his stead.

A.D. 1049. Leo was pope, being the 145th. This was that Leo who invented a new hymn respecting pope Gregory. The emperor Henry assembled an innumerable army against Baldwin, count of Flanders, chiefly because he had burned and destroyed his beautiful palace at Neomagus [Nimeguen in Gueldres]. In this expedition were pope Leo, and very many nobles and powerful men from different countries. Moreover Sweyn, king of the Danes, was

there, at the emperor's bidding, with his fleet, and swore fealty, for that occasion, to the emperor. He sent also to Eadward, king of the English, and requested him not to let Baldwin escape if he should retreat to sea. In consequence, the king went with a great fleet to the port of Sandwich, and remained there until the emperor had obtained from Baldwin all he desired. Meanwhile earl Sweyn, son of earl Godwin and of Githa, who had quitted England and gone over to Denmark, because he was not able to marry Eadgiva, abbess of the monastery of Leominster, whom he had corrupted, returned with eight ships, saying falsely that he would now remain with the king as a faithful subject. Earl Beorn, son of his uncle Ulf, the Danish earl, who was the son of Spracling, who was the son of Urse, and brother of Sweyn, king of the Danes, promised him to obtain from the king the restoration of his earldom. Count Baldwin having made peace with the emperor, earls Godwin and Beorn came, with the king's permission, to Pevensey, with forty-two ships; and keeping a few ships with him, he ordered the rest of the fleet to return home. When it was told him that Osgod Clapa was lying with twenty-nine ships at Ulpe, he recalled as many as possible of the ships which he had dismissed. But Osgod, taking with him his wife, whom he had left at Bruges, returned with six ships to Denmark. But some of them went to East Saxony, and returned, having taken great spoil about Eadulf's promontory: however, a great storm overtook them on their return, and sunk them all except two, which were taken at sea, and all on board were slain. While these things were going on, earl Sweyn came to Pevensey, and treacherously asked his cousin, earl Beorn, to go with him to the port of Sandwich, and make his peace with the king, as he had promised. Beorn, relying on his relationship, took only three companions with him, and set out with his cousin; but the latter took him to Bosanham, where his ships were stationed, and taking him into one, ordered him to be strongly fettered, and carried him with him as far as the mouth of the river Dart. There, having slain him, and thrown him into a deep trench, and covered him with earth, they dismissed the six ships. The men of Hastings, shortly afterwards, captured two of them; and, having slain all on board, took them to Sandwich and presented them to the king. Sweyn, however, fled to Flanders with two ships, and remained there until he was brought back by Aldred, bishop of Worcester, who set him at peace with the king.

In the month of August in the same year, some Irish pirates with thirty-six ships entered the mouth of the river Severn, and landed at a place called Wylesceaxan, and in unison with Griffin, king of the South Britons, plundered the neighbourhood and did considerable damage. Then the king and they joined their forces, and crossing the river called Weage, burned Dymedham, and put to death every one whom they found therein. They were quickly opposed by Aldred, bishop of Worcester, and a few of the natives of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. But the Welsh who were with them, and who had promised to be faithful to them, sent a messenger privately to king Griffin, requesting him to attack the

English as quickly as possible. Griffin flew to their assistance with his own men and the Irish pirates, and rushing at day-break on the English, slew many of them, and put the rest to flight. Eadnoth, bishop of Dorchester, died, and Ulf, the king's chaplain, a Norman by birth, succeeded him. Oswi, abbot of Thorney, and Wulnoth, abbot of Westminster, died. Siward too died, who was co-bishop with Eadsi, archbishop of Canterbury, and he was buried at Abingdon. Moreover, in this year the holy pope Leo came to France, at the request of the very pious abbot, Herimar, having among his attendants the prefect and some of the nobles of Rome: and he dedicated, with great pomp, the monastery of St. Remi, the apostle of the Franks, at Rheims; in which city he afterwards held a great synod of six days' duration, composed of archbishops, bishops, and abbots. To this synod Eadward, king of the English, sent Alfwin, abbot of Ramsey, and the abbot of St. Augustine's monastery.

A.D. 1050. Macbaethad, king of the Scots, gave largess at Rome. Eadsi, archbishop of Canterbury, died; and Rotbert, bishop of London, a Norman by birth, succeeded him. Spearheafoc, abbot of Abingdon, was appointed to the bishopric of London: but before he was consecrated, he was expelled by king Edward. Heremann, bishop of Wilton, and Aldred, bishop of Worcester, went to Rome.

A.D. 1051. Alfric, archbishop of York, died at Southwell, and was buried at Medhamstead; Kinsig, the king's chaplain, succeeded him. King Eadward released the English from their heavy tax in the thirty-eighth year after his father, Aethelred, had ordered it to be paid to the Danish soldiers. After these things, in the month of September, Eustace the elder, the earl of Boulogne, who had married Goda, a sister of king Eadward, came with a small fleet to Dover. His soldiers, while inquiring for lodging in a stupid and uncivil manner, slew one of the citizens. One of his fellow-citizens seeing this, avenged him by slaying one soldier. The earl and his men were very wroth at this, and slew many men and women with their weapons, and trampled down their babes and children under the horses' feet. But when they saw the citizens coming out to oppose them, they began to flee in a cowardly manner: seven of their number were slain, and the rest escaped with difficulty, and betook themselves to king Eadward, who was then staying at Gloucester. Indignant and excessively wroth that such transactions should occur in his jurisdiction, earl Godwin collected an innumerable army from his earldom, namely, from Kent, South Saxony, and West Saxony: his eldest son, Swayne, did the same in his, namely, in Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Somersetshire, and Berkshire: and his other son, Harold, collected another from his earldom, namely, East Saxony, East Anglia, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire. Of this king Eadward was aware; so sending messengers in haste to Leofric, earl of the Mercians, and Siward, earl of the Northumbrians, he entreated them, that, inasmuch as he stood in great danger, they would come quickly to him with all the men whom they could collect. At first they came

with only a few men, but finding what the state of affairs was, they sent swift horsemen through their territories, and assembled a large army. Likewise, earl Ralph, son of Goda, daughter of king Eadward, assembled as many men as he was able from his territory. Meanwhile, Godwin and his sons and their respective armies came to Gloucestershire after the feast of St. Mary's Nativity, encamped at a place called Langetreo [Langtree], and sent ambassadors to the king at Gloucester, threatening war unless he gave up earl Eustace and his companions, and also the Normans and Bolognese who held a castle in Dovercliff. Thereat the king was for a time alarmed and in great distress, not knowing in the least what to do. But when he found that the army of earls Leofric, Siward, and Ralph was coming on, he stoutly replied that he would not in any way deliver up Eustace and the rest who were demanded. Hearing this, the ambassadors returned without having attained their object. On their departure the army entered Gloucester, so excited and unanimously anxious for the fight, that if the king would have permitted they would immediately have attacked earl Godwin's army. But seeing that there were some of the best men in all England in his army and in theirs, earl Leofric and some others thought that it was a great piece of foolishness that they should fight with their own countrymen; and advised that each side should give hostages, and that on a certain day the king and Godwin should have a meeting in London to arrange matters.

This suggestion was approved, messengers from either side went to and fro, and, hostages having been exchanged, the earl went into West Saxony; and the king assembled a larger army out of all Mercia and Northumbria, and took it with him to London. Godwin and his sons came to Southwark with a great host of West Saxons, but by reason of his army deserting him little by little, he dared not keep his appointment with the king, and fled in the night. In consequence, when the morning came, the king in council and the whole army with one accord banished him and his five sons. Straightway, he, and his wife Githa, and Tosti, with his wife Juthita, who was the daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders, and two of his other sons, namely, Sweyn and Gurth, went to Thorney, where his ship lay ready for them. They speedily laded her with as much gold, silver and other valuables as she could carry, and embarking in great haste, went their way to Baldwin, count of Flanders. But his sons Harold and Leofwin, going to Bricgstow [Bristol], went on board a ship which their brother Sweyn had got ready for them, and sailed over to Ireland. The king repudiated his queen Edgitha on account of his wrath against her father, Godwin, and sent her very disrespectfully with only one female attendant on foot to Hwerewealla [Wherwell], and delivered her to the custody of the abbess there. After these things, earl William, the Norman, came to England with a host of North-men: king Eadward entertained him and his companions honourably, and sent them back to Normandy laden with presents. In the same year, William, the king's chaplain, succeeded to the bishopric of London, which had been formerly given to Spearheavoc. St. Bardo,

archbishop of Mentz, died, on the 10th of June, and was succeeded by Liupold.

A.D. 1052. Marianus, the chronographer, retired from this life. Alfgiva Emma, wife of the kings Aethelred and Canute, died at Winchester on the sixth day of March, and was buried there. In the same year Griffin, king of the Welsh, laid waste great part of Herefordshire, the natives whereof, and many Normans from a castle, went up against him; but he got the victory, slaying many of them and carrying off great booty. This battle was fought on the thirteenth anniversary of the day when the Welsh slew in ambush Eadwin, the brother of earl Leofric. A short time after this, earl Harold and his brother Leofwin returned from Ireland, and entering the mouth of the river Severn, landed on the confines of Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, and plundered the vills and many fields in those parts. A great host from Devonshire and Somersetshire went up against them; but Harold got the victory over them, slaying more than thirty noble thanes and a great number of other men. Then he returned to his fleet with the booty, and shortly afterwards sailed round Penwithsteort [Lands-End]. Then king Eadward sent in haste to the port of Sandwich forty ships well found in provisions, and manned with picked soldiers, with orders to wait and watch for the arrival of earl Godwin; but nevertheless he returned with a small fleet, and wholly unobserved landed in Kent, and by means of his secret emissaries, first won over to his side the men of Kent, then the South Saxons, East Saxons, the men of Surrey, and the shipmen of Hastings, and all along the sea-coast, and numbers beside; who all with one voice declared that they were ready to live or die with him. The king's fleet which lay in the port of Sandwich hearing this, pursued him, but he took to flight and concealed himself wherever he could; so the fleet sailed back to Sandwich, and thence returned to London. When earl Godwin found this out, he crossed over to the Isle of Wight, and kept wandering up and down the sea-coast until his sons Harold and Leofwin joined him with their fleet; but after their junction they left off their plunderings and devastations, confining themselves to getting provisions for their army when they required it. After inveigling over to their assistance as many men as they could on the sea-coast and other places, and taking all the shipmen they met in every direction, they framed their course towards the port of Sandwich. Having arrived there, they notified the fact to king Eadward, who was then staying at London. Thereupon he quickly sent out his messengers to command all who had not deserted from him to make speed and come and help him. But they were very tardy in their movements and did not come in time. Meanwhile earl Godwin with his fleet, having sailed up the Thames against the tide, arrived at Southwark on the day of the exaltation of the holy Cross [14th Sept.], being a Monday, and waited there until the flood-tide came up: during which time he had meetings with the citizens of London (whom he had previously allured with promises of various kinds), in part by his emissaries and in part personally,

and brought over nearly all of them to his own views. So everything being arranged and set in order, on the tide coming up they weighed anchor in haste, and meeting with no opposition at the bridge, sailed up the river along the southern bank. The land army also arrived, and putting itself in array along the bank of the river, showed a close and imposing front. Then the fleet made for the northern bank, as though for the purpose of enclosing the king's fleet (for the king too had a fleet and a numerous land army); but inasmuch as there were very few men of any bravery, whether with the king or with Godwin, who were not Englishmen, nearly all were very averse from fighting against their kinsmen and countrymen. This circumstance enabled the wiser sort on both sides to effect a peace between the king and the earl, and both disbanded their armies. The next morning the king held a council and fully restored Godwin, and his wife, and all his sons, except Sweyn, to their former honours; for Sweyn, led by repentance for having (as before mentioned) slain his cousin Beorn, was gone from Flanders barefoot as far as Jerusalem, and in his return homeward died in Lycia of a disease contracted through extreme cold. The king also took back again with honour queen Eadgitha, the earl's daughter, and restored her to her former dignity. A firm concord and peace being thus concluded, they [the king and the earl] promised right law [*i.e.* justice] to all people, and banished all those Normans who had introduced unjust laws, and given false judgments, and committed many outrages upon the English; but they allowed some of them to remain in England, namely Robert the Deacon, and Richard Fitz-Scrob, his son-in-law, Alfred, the king's horse-thane, Anfrid, surnamed Cocksfoot, and some others who had been the king's greatest favourites, and always faithful to him and all the people. But Rodbert, archbishop of Canterbury, and William, bishop of London, and Ulf, bishop of Lincoln [Dorchester], with their Normans, barely managed to escape, and crossed beyond sea. William, however, being a good-natured man, was recalled in a short time, and again received into his bishopric. Osbern, surnamed Pentecost, and his companion Hugh, surrendered their castles, and, by the licence of earl Leofric passing through his earldom, went into Scotland, and were there kindly received by Macbeoth, king of the Scots. In the same year, during the night of the feast-day of St. Thomas the apostle [21st Dec.], the wind was so violent that it blew down many churches and houses, shattered many trees, and tore others up by the roots.

A.D. 1053. Res, the brother of Griffin, king of the South Welsh, was, on account of his frequent incursions, put to death by order of king Eadward at a place called Bulendun; and on the vigil of our Lord's Epiphany [5th Jan.] his head was brought to the king at Gloucester. In the same year, on Easter Monday [12th April], which was being celebrated at Winchester, the hand of death came on earl Godwin as he was sitting at table with the king as usual; for being suddenly seized with a violent distemper he fell speechless from his seat. When his sons earl Harold, Tosti, and Gyrth saw it, they carried him into the king's chamber, in the hope that

he would shortly recover; but losing his strength, he died in great agony five days afterwards, and was buried in the Old Monastery. His son Harold succeeded to his earldom; and Harold's earldom was given to Algar, the son of earl Leofric. In the month of October died Wulsi, bishop of Lichfield, Godwin, abbot of Winchelcombe, and Agelward, abbot of Glastonbury. Leofwin, abbot of Coventry, succeeded Wulsi, and Aegelnoth, a monk of the same monastery, succeeded Agelward. But Aldred, bishop of Worcester, kept the abbacy of Winchelcombe in his own hands until such time as he appointed Godric, the son of Godman the king's chaplain, to be abbot thereof. Alfric, brother of earl Odda, died at Deorhirste on the 11th of the kalends of January [22d Dec.]; but he was buried at Pershore.

[1]Aedd, a clerk with a beard in Ireland, was a man of great renown and of exemplary piety; he had a large school of clerks, maidens, and laymen, and made the maidens receive the tonsure in the same manner as the clerks; on which account he was expelled from Ireland.

A.D. 1054. [2]Pope Leo died on the 16th of the kalends of May [16th April]. Siward, the valiant earl of the Northumbrians, by the king's command, marched into Scotland accompanied by an army of cavalry and a powerful fleet, and fought a battle with Macbeoth, king of the Scots; after slaying many thousands of the Scots and all the Normans whom we mentioned before, he put him to flight, and as the king had directed, elevated to the throne Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians. However, his own son and many English and Danes fell in that battle.

In the same year, on the feast-day of St. Kenelm the martyr [17th July], Aldred, bishop of Worcester, appointed Godric to be abbot of Winchelcombe; he was then sent as ambassador to the emperor with great presents; and being received with great honour by him, and also by Herimann, archbishop of Cologne, he remained there for a whole year; and on the king's behalf he prompted the emperor to send ambassadors into Hungary to bring back Eadward the king's cousin, son of king Eadmund Ironside, and send to him into England.

A.D. 1055. [3]Victor was pope, being the 146th. Siward, earl of the Northumbrians, died at York, and was buried in the monastery of Galmanho which he had built: his earldom was given to Tosti, brother of earl Harold. Shortly afterwards king Eadward summoned a council at London, and outlawed earl Algar, son of earl Leofric, although he had committed no crime. Algar presently went over to Ireland, and returning with eighteen pirate ships, went to Griffin, king of the Welsh, and requested his assistance against king Eadward. Griffin immediately collected from every part of his kingdom a numerous army, and commanded Algar to meet him and his army at an appointed place with his own forces. Having met, they entered Hereford-

[1] The following passage is from Marianus.
[2] The first sentence is from Marianus.
[3] This first notice is also from Marianus.

shire, with intent to lay waste the English marches. The cowardly earl Radulph, son of king Eadward's sister [Goda], assembled an army against them, and falling in with them on the 9th of the kalends of November [24th Oct.], two miles from the city of Worcester, ordered the English, contrary to their custom, to fight on horseback. But just as they were about to join battle, the earl with his Frenchmen and Normans set the example of flight: the English seeing this, fled with their commander: and nearly the whole body of the enemy pursued them, slew four or five hundred of them, and wounded a great number. The victory being thus obtained, king Griffin and earl Algar entered Hereford, and having slain seven canons who defended the doors of the principal church, and burned the monastery which Aethelstan, that true servant of God and worshipper of Christ, had built, together with all its ornaments, and the reliques of St. Aethelbriht, king and martyr, and other saints, and having slain several of the citizens and taken captive many others, and moreover pillaged and burned the city, they returned laden with spoil. When the king was informed of this, he ordered an army to be raised from all parts of England; and having marshalled it at Gloucester, placed it under the command of the valiant earl Harold, who, readily obeying the king's orders, quickly pursued Griffin and Algar, and boldly entering the Welsh borders encamped beyond Straddele; but they, knowing him to be a brave and warlike man, dared not risk a battle, but retreated into South Wales. On discovering this, Harold left there the greater part of his army with orders to manfully repel the enemy if circumstances should require; and returning with the remainder to Hereford, encircled it with a broad and deep ditch, and fortified it with gates and bars. Meanwhile messengers crossed to and fro between the parties, and Griffin, Algar, and Harold, and their attendants, met at a place called Biligesleagea, and peace being mutually agreed upon, they determined to become firm friends; whereupon earl Algar's fleet sailed to Chester and waited there to receive the pay which he had promised to them; but the earl went to the king, and received his earldom from him. At that time Tremerin, the pious Welsh bishop, died; he was for a long time vicar of Aethelstan, bishop of Hereford, after the latter became incapable of performing his episcopal duties, for he was blind for thirteen years. Heremann, bishop of Wiltshire, taking offence that the king would not allow him to transfer the episcopal see from the town of Ramsbury to the abbey of Malmesbury, resigned his bishopric, and going beyond sea, became a monk at St. Bertin, and remained in the monastery there for three years.

A.D. 1056. Aethelstan, bishop of Hereford, a man of great sanctity, died on the 4th of the ides of February [10th Feb.], at an episcopal vill called Bosanbirig; his body was carried to Hereford, and buried in the church which he himself had built from the foundation. He was succeeded by Leovegar, earl Harold's chaplain, who, on the 16th of the kalends of June [16th June] in the same year was, together with his clerks, and sheriff Agelnoth, and many others, slain by Griffin, king of the Welsh, at a place

called Clastbirig, after having held the bishopric for [1]eleven weeks and four days. On his death, the bishopric of Hereford was committed to Aldred, bishop of Worcester, until a bishop could be appointed: this same bishop Aldred afterwards, in conjunction with earls Leofric and Harold, mediated a peace between king Eadward and Griffin, king of the Welsh. [2] Herimann, archbishop of Cologne, died, and was succeeded by Anno. Marianus, setting out on a pilgrimage to his heavenly country, came to Cologne, and on Thursday, the kalends of August [1st Aug.], became a monk there in the monastery of the Scots dedicated to St. Martin. Earl Agelwin, (that is, Odda,[3]) the cherisher of churches, the entertainer of the poor, the defender of widows and orphans, the overthrower of tyrants, the guardian of virginity, died on the 2d of the kalends of September [31st Aug.], at Deorhyrste, having been made a monk shortly before his death by Aldred, bishop of Worcester; but he was buried in the monastery of Pershore with great ceremony. Agelric, bishop of Durham, voluntarily resigned his bishopric, and retired to his monastery of Peterborough, where he had been brought up and made a monk, and passed twelve years there. His brother Agelwin, a monk of the same monastery, succeeded him in the bishopric.

[4]The emperor Henry died on the 3d of the nones of October [5th Oct.], and was buried at Spires, where his father had been buried. Henry, the 96th emperor of the Romans, son of the last Henry, reigned fifty years.

A.D. 1057. Pope Victor died on the 5th of the kalends of August [28th July]. Eadward the etheling, son of king Eadmund Ironside, in obedience to the commands of his uncle, king Eadward, returned to England from Hungary, where, as we have before mentioned, he had been sent into exile long previously. For the king had determined to make him heir to the kingdom: but he died at London shortly after his arrival. Earl Leofric (son of earl Leofwin) of blessed memory, and worthy of all praise, died in a good old age, at his own vill of Bromley, on the 2d of the kalends of September [31st Aug.], and was buried with great state at Coventry. Among his other good deeds in this life, he and his wife, the noble countess Godgiva, (who was a devout worshipper of God, and one who loved the ever-virgin St. Mary,) entirely constructed at their own cost the monastery there, well endowed it with land, and enriched it with ornaments to such an extent, that no monastery could be then found in England possessing so much gold, silver, jewels, and precious stones. Moreover, the monasteries of Leominster and Wenlock, and the monasteries of St. John the Baptist and St. Werburg the Virgin at Chester, and the church which Eadnoth, bishop of Lincoln [Dorchester], [had built] at a celebrated place, called in English St. Mary's Stow, but in Latin

[1] This is the reading of A. and B.; the old editions read "twelve."
[2] This and the following sentence are from Marianus.
[3] These three words are introduced in B. between the lines.
[4] This passage is derived from Marianus, as is also the first sentence under the year 1057.

St. Mary's Place, were by them enriched with many valuable ornaments. They also endowed the monastery of Worcester with lands, and added to the buildings of that of Evesham, and gave to it divers ornaments and lands. As long as he lived, this earl's wisdom stood the kings and people of England in good stead. His earldom was given to his son Algar. Heca, bishop of the South Saxons, died, and Agelric, a monk of Christ's Church in Canterbury, was elected in his place. The before-mentioned earl Radulph died on the 12th of the kalends of January [21st Dec.], and was buried in the abbey of Peterborough.

A.D. 1058. [1]Stephen, abbot of Monte Cassino, was pope, being the 147th. On the Saturday before Palm Sunday [10th April], the city of Paderborn, and two monasteries, namely, that of the bishop and that of the monks, were destroyed by fire. In the monastery of monks there was a monk named Paternus, a Scottish anchorite of many years' standing; he had predicted the conflagration, yet would by no means leave the place, but was burned in his cell, and through these flames he passed to the cool shades of bliss: and some wonderful things are told concerning the spot where he died. "Immediately after this occurrence, on Monday after the octaves of Easter [27th April], as I was leaving Cologne for Fulda, in company with the abbot of Fulda, for the purpose of entering my cell, I prayed on the mat whereon he was burned." Thus saith Marianus, the Scottish anchorite.

Algar, earl of the Mercians, was a second time outlawed by king Eadward; but assisted by Griffin, king of the Welsh, and supported by the Norwegian fleet, which came to him unexpectedly, he soon recovered his earldom by force. [2]On the 30th of March, pope Stephen died: he was succeeded by Benedict, who sent the pall to Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury. Agelric was ordained bishop of the South Saxons; and abbot Siward was consecrated bishop of Rochester. Aldred, bishop of Worcester, dedicated the church which he had built from the foundation in the city of Gloucester, with great ceremony, to Peter, prince of the apostles; and afterwards, with the king's permission, appointed Wulstan, a monk of Worcester of his own ordination, to be abbot thereof. Then, having resigned the bishopric of Wilton, which had been committed to his governance, and restored it to Herimann, whom we have mentioned before, he crossed the sea, and journeyed to Jerusalem by way of Hungary; a thing which no English archbishop or bishop was known to have done before.

A.D. 1059. Nicholas, bishop of Florence, was chosen pope, and Benedict was ejected. [3]On Saturday in Mid-lent, being the 3d of the ides of March [13th March], Marianus the anchorite, in company with Sigefrid, abbot of Fulda, was consecrated priest beside the corpse of St. Kilian, at Wurtzburg; and on Friday after our Lord's Ascension, being the 2d of the ides of May [14th May], he entered his cell in Fulda for ten years. Liupold, archbishop of

[1] Marianus has supplied the whole of the narrative under this year.
[2] The passage ending with the word "Benedict" is from Marianus.
[3] The remainder of the year is from Marianus.

Mentz, died on the 7th of the ides of December [7th Dec.]: Sigefrid succeeded him.

A.D. 1060. Henry, king of the Franks, died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Philip. Duduc, bishop of Wells, died, and was succeeded by Gisa, the king's chaplain: they were both natives of Lorraine. Kinsi, archbishop of York, died at York on the 11th of the kalends of January [22d Dec.]: his corpse was taken to the monastery of Peterborough, and buried there with great ceremony. On Christmas-day, Aldred, bishop of Worcester, was chosen archbishop in his stead, and the bishopric of Hereford, which had been committed to his charge on account of his industry, was given to Walter, the queen's chaplain, a native of Lorraine.

[1]On Christmas-day, which fell on a Sunday, Sigefrid, abbot of Fulda, left Fulda for the king's court, and, with the consent of the pope's legate, Alexander, who was shortly afterwards made pope, received the staff of the archbishopric of Mentz, on the day of our Lord's Epiphany. Widrat, dean of Fulda, succeeded him in the abbacy.

A.D. 1061. Aldred, archbishop of York, went to Rome, in company with earl Tosti, and received the pall from pope Nicholas:[2] [3]Maiolus, abbot of the Scots, died at Cologne: Foilan was his successor. Pope Nicholas died. Alexander succeeded as pope, being the 149th.

A.D. 1062. The reverend Wulstan was made bishop of Worcester. This favourite of God was born in that part of the Mercian territory lying within Warwickshire, of religious parents, his father's name being Eatstan, and his mother's Wulgeova; but he became a proficient in literature and ecclesiastical duties in the noble monastery of Peterborough. Both his parents were so devout, that long prior to their deaths they took the vows of chastity, and separated, rejoicing to finish their lives in the habit of holy conversation. Incited by these examples, and chiefly instigated by his mother, he quitted the world, and in the same monastery of Worcester where his father had also lived in God's service, received the monastic habit and grade from the venerable Brihteag, bishop of that church, who also ordained him to the grades of deacon and priest; and straightway entering on a severe and strictly religious life, both in watching, fasting, prayer, and all kinds of virtues, he quickly became an object of admiration. Hence, on account of his strictness, he was at first appointed master and warden of the children: and afterwards, in consequence of his skill in the church offices, the elders appointed him to be chanter and treasurer of the church. The custody of the church being thus committed to him, he embraced the opportunity of serving God with less restraint,

[1] The whole of this passage is from Marianus.

[2] "There too Gisa was by the same pope ordained bishop of Wells, and Walter was ordained bishop of Hereford. Until John, the successor of Gisa, all the bishops of Wells had their see at Wells, in the church of St. Andrew the apostle." A. addition.

[3] The remainder of the year is from Marianus.

giving himself up to a contemplative life, going into the church day and night to pray and read the Bible, and diligently mortifying his body by fasts of two and three days' duration. So devoted was he to sacred vigils, that not only would he keep himself awake during the night, but day and night also; and, what we would hardly believe unless we had heard it from his own mouth, passing four days and four nights without sleep: so that his parched up brain would be in great danger if he did not hasten to satisfy the demands of nature with a taste of sleep. And when the urgency of nature at last compelled him to sleep, he did not pamper his limbs by resting on a bed or coverings, but would lie down for a short time on one of the benches of the church, resting his head on the book which he had used for praying or reading. Some time afterwards, the reverend man was, on the death of Agelwin, prior of the monastery, appointed by bishop Aldred to be prior and father of the congregation; this office he filled in a laudable manner, by no means abating the austerity of his former behaviour, but rather increasing it, in order to give to others the example of a good life. Then, after the lapse of some years, Aldred, bishop of Worcester, being elected to the archbishopric of York, all the clergy and laity unanimously elected him to be bishop; the king having given them permission to make their own choice. For it chanced there were present at that election two ambassadors from the apostolic see; namely, Armenfred, bishop of Sedunum, and another person. They were sent by our lord the pope Alexander to Eadward, king of the English, to receive his replies on certain ecclesiastical matters, and by the king's orders were staying during nearly the whole of Lent at Worcester, waiting for the answer to their embassy until the meeting of the king's court at the ensuing Easter. These men noticing his praiseworthy behaviour during their stay, not only agreed to his election, but were the chief promoters of it, both among the clergy and the laity, and by their authority made his election sure. He obstinately refused, exclaiming that he was unworthy, and with an oath declaring that he would rather be beheaded than be advanced to such an high office: and when, notwithstanding the frequent arguments of many pious and venerable persons, he could by no means be brought to consent, he was at last severely taken to task by the anchorite Wulsi, a man of God who was well known to have lived in seclusion for more than forty years. By his influence, and in consequence of having been alarmed by a divine oracle, he yielded an assent with great sorrow of heart, and his election having been canonically confirmed on the feast-day of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist [29th Aug.], and the bishopric entered upon, he was consecrated on the Sunday when the nativity of St. Mary is celebrated by the church [8th Sept.], and so in the splendour of his life and virtues, he shone forth as bishop of Worcester. So he was consecrated bishop by the venerable Aldred, archbishop of York; Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, being then interdicted by the pope from exercising the episcopal function, because he had presumed to take the archbishopric while archbishop Rotbert was still living: notwithstanding

which, Wulstan made his canonical profession to Stigand, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, and not to Aldred, who had ordained him. Moreover, Stigand so managed, that the said archbishop of York who ordained Wulstan was ordered to promise, in the presence of the king and his nobles, that he would not thereafter put forth any claim to ecclesiastical or secular dominion over him, neither by reason that he was consecrated by him, nor by reason that he had been one of his monks before his consecration. This ordination of Wulstan occurred when he was more than fifty years old, in the twentieth year of the reign of king Eadward, and in the fifteenth indiction.

A.D. 1063. After Christmas-day, Harold, the valiant earl of the West Saxons, took by king Eadward's command a small troop of horsemen, and leaving Gloucester, where the king was then staying, went in all haste to Rudelan,[1] with the determination to slay Griffin, king of the Welsh, on account of his frequent forays in the English marches, and the many insults which he offered to his lord, king Eadward. But Griffin, when he heard of his coming, fled with his men, and, taking ship, escaped, though with great difficulty. Harold, when he heard of his flight, ordered his palace and his ships and implements of navigation to be burned, and then returned the same day. But about Rogation Week [26th May], he set out from Bristol with a naval force, and circumnavigated a great part of Wales. Then his brother, earl Tosti, met him by the king's command, and having united their forces, they began to lay waste that part of the country. The Welsh were thus compelled to give hostages and submit, and promised to pay tribute to him; they also outlawed and renounced their king Griffin.

A.D. 1064. [2]The great paschal cycle began at this time, in the second indiction. The archbishop of Mentz, and the bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon, accompanied by more than seven thousand men, rich and poor, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, shortly after the feast-day of St. Martin [11th Nov.]. Whenever the bishops halted, they wore their palls on their shoulders; and they ate and drank out of gold or silver cups. At the report of their wealth, the Arabites assembled, and slew many of them on Good Friday [9th April]. Those who managed to escape took refuge in a deserted castle, called Caruasalim, and, shutting the gates, defended themselves with sticks and stones against the darts of the Arabites, who demanded their money, or in default threatened to slay and plunder them. Then a very brave soldier, who was determined that no peril should prevent him from beholding our Lord's sepulchre, left the castle: the Arabites immediately took him prisoner, stretched him on his back upon the ground in the form of a cross, nailed his hands and feet to the earth, and cutting him open from the pit of his stomach to his throat, exposed all his entrails. Having torn him limb from limb, their chief hurled a stone at him, and the others did the same: then they said to his companions, who were spectators of the transaction from the

[1] Ruddlan, in Flintshire.

[2] This long passage is from Marianus.

castle, "Thus you shall be served unless you give us all your money." The Christians promised to do so, and then the leader of the Arabites and sixteen of his followers, armed with swords, entered the castle. So the said leader found the bishops sitting in great state, and noticing that Gunther, the bishop of Bamberg, excelled the rest in height and shapeliness, fancied that he was the chief man among the Christians, and putting a thong round the bishop's neck, in the same manner as the heathens are accustomed to hold their criminals, he said, "You and all your property shall be mine." But the bishop said to him by means of an interpreter, "What will you do to me?" He answered, "I will suck the bright blood from that throat of yours, and then I will hang you up like a dog in front of the castle." The bishop thereupon seized him by the head, and with one blow of his fist felled him to the ground, and his followers were all put in fetters. When those outside found this out, they made an assault on the castle; but the prisoners were suspended from the walls opposite the assailants, and regard for their safety put a stop to the attack. Then those thieves began to quarrel about the money which they had previously taken from the Christians, and a great many died by each other's hands. Meanwhile, the prince of Ramala, at the request of those Christians who had managed to escape, came with a strong force, on the second day of Easter [12th April], and put the Arabites to flight: and then, after accepting fifty gold pieces from the Christians, he and an Arabite chief who was at war with his lord, the emir of the Saracens, conveyed them to Jerusalem, and thence to their ships. Thus this Christian host was so wasted away, that out of seven thousand and more only two thousand returned home.

Griffin, king of the Welsh, was slain by his subjects on the nones of August [5th Aug.], and his head, and his ship's beak, with its ornaments, were sent to earl Harold, who immediately forwarded them to king Eadward. King Eadward afterwards gave Wales to his [Griffin's] brothers, Blethgent and Rithwalan, who swore fealty to him and earl Harold, and promised to always obey their behests by land and by sea, and pay properly all which the country had previously paid to preceding kings.

A.D. 1065. The reverend Agelwin, bishop of Durham, disinterred the bones of St. Oswin, formerly king of Bernicia, from his tomb in the monastery which lies at the mouth of the river Tyne, where they had lain for four hundred and fifteen years, and deposited them in a chest with great ceremony. In July, Harold, the valiant earl of the West Saxons, gave orders for the erection of a large building at a place called Portascith [Portskewith], in Wales, and gave directions that it should be well stocked with meat and drink, in order that his lord, king Eadward, might pass some time there in hunting. But Cradoc, son of Griffin, king of the South Welsh, (whom Griffin, king of the North Welsh, had slain, and whose territory he had invaded some few years before,) marched there with as many men as he could get together, on the feast-day of St. Bartholomew [24th Aug.], and massacred nearly all the workmen and superintendents, and carried off all the effects

which had been transported thither. Shortly after the feast-day of St. Michael the archangel, to wit, on Monday, the 3d of October, the Northumbrian thanes Gamelbearn, Dunstan the son of Athelneth, Glonieorn the son of Heardulf, entered York with two hundred soldiers, and, in revenge for the execrable slaughter of the noble Northumbrian thanes Gospatric (whom queen Eadgitha had ordered to be treacherously slain in the king's court, on the fourth night after the feast of our Lord's Nativity [28th Dec.], on account of [a quarrel which he had with] her brother Tosti), and Gamel, the son of Orm, and Ulf, the son of Dolfin (whom earl Tosti, while at York, the year before, had caused to be treacherously slain in his own chamber, although there was peace between them), and also on account of the heavy tribute which he unjustly laid on the whole of Northumbria, they on the same day, first of all, stopped in their flight his Danish house-carls Amund and Reavensuart, and put them to death outside the city walls, and on the following day slew more than two hundred of his tenants, on the north side of the river Humber: they also broke open his treasury, and retired, carrying off all his effects. After that, nearly all the men in his earldom assembled, and went to Northampton, to meet Harold, earl of the West Saxons, and others, whom the king, at Tosti's request, had despatched to restore peace between them. There (as also afterwards at Oxford), on the feast-day of the apostles Simon and Jude [28th Oct.], when earl Harold and the rest attempted to bring about an accommodation between them and earl Tosti, they all unanimously refused, and outlawed him and all who had taken part with him in his unjust government; and, after the feast of All Saints [1st Nov.], with the concurrence of earl Eadwin, they banished Tosti from England: whereupon he presently went, in company with his wife, to Baldwin, count of Flanders, and passed the winter at St. Omer. After this, king Eadward's health began gradually to fail: however, at Christmas, he held his court as well as he was able, at London, and on the feast-day of the Holy Innocents [28th Dec.] he caused the church [of Westminster], which was entirely of his own building, to be dedicated with great splendour to St. Peter, the prince of apostles.[1]

A.D. 1066. On Thursday, the vigil of our Lord's Epiphany [5th Jan.], in the fourth indiction, the pride of the English, the pacific king Eadward, son of king Aethelred, died at London, having reigned over the Anglo-Saxons twenty-three years, six months, and twenty-seven days: the next day he was buried in kingly style, amid the bitter lamentations of all present. After his interment, the subregulus Harold, son of earl Godwin, whom the king had nominated as his successor, was elected king by the chief nobles of all England; and on the same day was crowned with great

[1] "Cedric, abbot of Abingdon, after he had ruled with honour the house intrusted to him, and had brought it back from the memory of the prince of the apostles to his own, died, exhausted by a long sickness; whereupon Eadred, who had discharged the office of provost in the same monastery, succeeded to the dignity of abbot." B. addition.

ceremony, by Aldred, archbishop of York. On taking the helm of the kingdom, he immediately began to abolish unjust laws and make good ones; to patronise churches and monasteries; to pay particular attention and yield reverence to bishops, abbots, monks, and clerks; to show himself pious, humble, and affable to all good men: but he treated malefactors with the utmost severity, and gave general orders to his earls, ealdormen, sheriffs, and thanes to imprison all thieves, robbers, and disturbers of the kingdom; and he himself laboured by sea and by land for the protection of his country.

On the 8th of the kalends of May [24th April] in this year, a comet was seen not only in England, but, it is said, all over the world, and shone for seven days with exceeding brightness. Shortly afterwards earl Tosti returned from Flanders and landed at the Isle of Wight. After making the islanders pay tribute and stipend, he departed and went pillaging along the sea-coast until he arrived at the port of Sandwich. As soon as king Harold, who was then at London, heard this, he assembled a large fleet and an army of cavalry, and he prepared to go in person to the port of Sandwich. When Tosti was informed of this he took some of the shipmen of the place, willing and unwilling, and bent his course towards Lindesey, where he burned many vills and put many men to death. Thereupon Eadwin, earl of the Mercians, and Morcar, earl of the Northumbrians, hastened up with an army and expelled him from that part of the country. Departing thence he went to Malcolm, king of the Scots, and remained with him during the whole of the summer. Meanwhile king Harold arrived at the port of Sandwich, and waited there for his fleet. When it was assembled, he crossed over with it to the Isle of Wight, and inasmuch as king Eadward's cousin William, earl of the Normans, was preparing to invade England with an army, he watched all the summer and autumn for his coming; and in addition distributed a land force at suitable points along the sea-coast. But about the feast-day of the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.] provisions fell short, so the naval and land forces returned home.

After this Harold Harvagra,[1] king of the Norwegians, and brother of St. Olaf the king, arrived on a sudden at the mouth of the river Tyne, with a powerful fleet, consisting of more than five hundred large ships. Earl Tosti, according to previous arrangement, joined him with his fleet. They hastened their course and entered the river Humber, and then sailing up the river Ouse against the stream, landed at a place called Richale. King Harold, on hearing this, marched in haste towards Northumbria; but before his arrival the two brothers, earls Eadwin and Morcar, at the head of a large army, fought a battle with the Norwegians on the northern bank of the river Ouse near York, on Wednesday, being the vigil of the feast-day of St. Matthew the apostle [20th Sept.], and they fought so bravely at the onset that many of the enemy were overthrown. But after a long contest the English were unable to withstand the

[1] Here Florence is in error; Harold Hardrada, and not Harold Harfagr, was the ally of Tostig.

attacks of the Norwegians, and fled with great loss; and more were drowned in the river than slain in the field. The Norwegians remained masters of the field of carnage, and having taken one hundred and fifty hostages from York, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own men as hostages, they went to their ships. Five days afterwards, that is, on Monday, the 7th of the kalends of October [25th Sept.], as Harold, king of the English, was coming to York with many thousand well-armed fighting men, he fell in with the Norwegians at a place called Stamford-bridge, slew king Harold and earl Tosti, with the greater part of their army, and gained a complete victory; nevertheless, the battle was stoutly contested. He, however, permitted Olaf, the son of the Norwegian king, and Paul, earl of Orkney, who had been sent off with a portion of the army to guard the fleet, to return home without molestation, with twenty ships and the remains of the army; first, however, taking hostages and oaths [of submission] from them.

In the midst of these things, and when the king might have considered that all his enemies were subdued, it was told to him that William, earl of the Normans, had arrived with a countless host of horsemen, slingers, archers, and foot-soldiers, having brought with him powerful auxiliaries from all parts of Gaul, and that he had landed at a place called Pefnesea [Pevensey]. Thereat, the king at once, and in great haste, marched his army towards London; and though he well knew that some of the bravest Englishmen had fallen in his two [former] battles, and that one half of his army had not yet arrived, he did not hesitate to advance with all speed into South Saxony against his enemies; and on Saturday the 11th of the kalends of September [22d Oct.], before a third of his army was in order for fighting, he joined battle with them nine miles from Hastings, where they had fortified a castle. But inasmuch as the English were drawn up in a narrow place, many retired from the ranks, and very few remained true to him; nevertheless from the third hour of the day until dusk he bravely withstood the enemy, and fought so valiantly and stubbornly in his own defence, that the enemy's forces could hardly make any impression. At last, after great slaughter on both sides, about twilight the king, alas! fell. There were slain also earl Girth, and his brother earl Leofwin, and nearly all the nobility of England. Then earl William returned with his men to Hastings.

Harold reigned nine months and as many days. On hearing of his death, the earls Eadwin and Morcar, who had withdrawn themselves and their men from the conflict, went to London and sent their sister queen Algitha to Chester; but Aldred, archbishop of York, and the said earls, with the citizens of London and the shipmen, were desirous of elevating to the throne Eadgar the etheling, nephew of king Eadmund Ironside, and promised that they would renew the contest under his command. But while numbers were preparing to go out to fight, the earls withdrew their assistance and returned home with their army.

Meanwhile earl William was laying waste South Saxony, Kent, South Hamptonshire, Surrey, Middle Saxony, and Hertfordshire,

and kept on burning the vills and slaying the natives until he came to a vill called Beorcham. There archbishop Aldred, Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, Walter, bishop of Hereford, Eadgar the etheling, earls Eadwin and Morcar, the chief men of London, and many more came to him, and, giving hostages, surrendered and swore fealty to him. So he entered into a treaty with them; yet, nevertheless, he permitted his army to burn the vills and keep on pillaging. But when the feast of our Lord's Nativity [25th Dec.] drew nigh, he went to London with his whole army in order that he might be made king. And because Stigand, the primate of all England, was accused by the pope of having obtained the pall in an uncanonical manner, he was anointed king at Westminster with great ceremony on Christmas-day (which in that year fell on a Monday) by Aldred, archbishop of York, having previously (for the archbishop had made it a condition) sworn at the altar of St. Peter the apostle, in the presence of the clergy and people, that he would defend the holy churches of God and their ministers, and would also rule justly and with royal care the people who were placed under him, and would ordain and maintain right law, and utterly prohibit all spoliation and unrighteous judgments.

A.D. 1067. When Lent [21st Feb.] arrived, king William returned to Normandy, taking with him Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, Aegelnoth, abbot of Glastonbury, Edgar, etheling, the earls Edwin and Morkar, Waltheof, son of duke Siward, the noble Agelnoth, governor of Kent, and many others of the chiefs of England; and leaving his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitzosberne (whom he had created earl of Hereford), as wardens of England, he gave orders to strengthen the forts in different places.

Wulfwius, bishop of Dorchester, died at Winchester, but was buried at Dorchester.

At that time lived a very powerful thane, Edric, surnamed the Forester, the son of Aelfric brother of Edric Streona, whose land, because he refused to surrender himself up to the king, the garrison of Hereford and Richard Fitz-Scrob frequently devastated; but as often as they sallied out against him they lost many of their knights and esquires.

Wherefore Edric, having summoned to his assistance the kings of the Welsh, Blethgent and Rithwalan, about the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], laid waste the province of Hereford, up to the bridge over the river Lucge, and brought back great spoil. After this, the winter being near, king William returned from Normandy into England, and imposed on the English an insupportable tax. Then invading Devonshire, he besieged and speedily reduced the city of Exeter, which the citizens and a few English thanes held against him. But the countess Gytha, the mother of Harold, king of the English, and sister of Sweyn, king of the Danes, escaped with many others from the city, and sought refuge in Flanders; and the citizens surrendered to the king, having interchanged right hands. Siward, nineteenth bishop of Rochester, died.

A.D. 1068. After Easter [23d March], the countess Matilda came from Normandy into England, and on the day of Pentecost [11th May] was consecrated queen by Aldred, archbishop of York. After this, Marleswein and Gospatric, and all the nobler Northumbrians, to avoid the severity of the king, and dreading the imprisonment which so many had suffered, sailed to Scotland, with Eadgar, etheling, his mother Agatha, and his two sisters Margaret and Christina, and wintered there under the protection of Malcolm, king of Scots. Now king William came with his army to Nottingham, and having strengthened the castle there, proceeded to York; where having fortified two castles and placed five hundred men in them, he gave orders that the castles in the city of Lincoln and in other places should be fortified.

While these events were taking place, the sons of king Harold, Godwin, Eadmund, and Magnus, landed in Somerset, on their return from Ireland, and Eadnothus, late stallere to king Harold, met them, and giving them battle, was slain, with many others; and they, having gained the victory, and carried away a considerable spoil from Devon and Cornwall, returned to Ireland.

A.D. 1069. [1]Marianus, after a seclusion of ten years in Fulda, by command of the bishop of Mentz and the abbot of Fulda, came to Mentz, on the 3d of the nones of April [3d April], being the Friday before Palm Sunday [5th April]. Two of the sons of Harold, about the Nativity of St. John Baptist [24th June], coming again from Ireland with sixty-four ships, landed at the mouth of the Tavy, and fought a great battle with Brian of Brittany; after its termination they returned to the place whence they had come.

[2]Marianus, on the 6th of the ides of July [10th July], being the Friday in the Nativity of the Seven Holy Brethren, entered into seclusion in the same city, near the chief monastery.

Before the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], Harold and Canute, sons of Sweyn, king of the Danes, and their uncle, earl Asbiorn, with earl Thurkill, coming from Denmark with two hundred and forty ships, landed at the mouth of the Humber, where they were joined by Eadgar, etheling, earl Waltheof, and Marleswein, and many others, with the fleet which they had assembled. Aldred, archbishop of York, being much affected with grief at their arrival, fell into a dangerous sickness, and in the tenth year of his archiepiscopate, Friday, on the 3d of the ides of September [11th Sept.], as he had prayed of God, he departed this life, and was buried in the church of St. Peter. On the eighth day after this, namely, on Saturday, the 13th of the kalends of October [19th Sept.], the Normans who kept the forts set fire to the houses adjacent to them, fearing that they might be of use to the Danes in filling up the trenches; and the flames spreading, attacked the whole of the city, and entirely consumed it, together with the monastery of St. Peter.

But this was most speedily followed by a heavy infliction of the divine vengeance. For on Monday, before the whole of the city was entirely burnt, the Danes arrived with their fleet, and on the

[1] This passage respecting Marianus is extracted from his own Chronicle.
[2] Also from Marianus.

same day destroyed the forts; and having put to the sword upwards of three thousand of the Normans (one William Malet, with his wife and two children, and a very few others, being spared), they returned to their ships with a large amount of plunder.

When king William received intelligence of this, he at once assembled his army, and hastening, with an angry heart, into Northumbria, ceased not, during the whole winter, to lay waste the land, to murder the inhabitants, and to inflict numerous injuries.

Meanwhile he sent messengers to the Danish earl, Asbiörn, and engaged to present him secretly with a large sum of money, and to grant permission to his army to forage freely along the sea-coast, on condition that he would depart, without giving battle, at the end of the winter. But the Dane, too greedy of money, to his great dishonour, agreed to the terms proposed to him.

On account of the devastations of England by the North-men, (which were confined to Northumbria and other provinces, in the preceding year, and in the present and following years extended throughout nearly the whole of the country, but were most severe in Northumbria and the adjoining provinces,) so great a famine prevailed that men were forced to consume the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and even that of human beings.

A.D. 1070. By the advice of William, earl of Hereford, and some others, during the time of Lent, king William commanded the monasteries of the whole of England to be searched, and the money which the richer English, by reason of the severity and the depopulation of the land, had deposited in them, to be seized and carried to his treasury.

In the octaves of Easter [4th April], a great council was holden at Winchester, in the presence and by the command of king William, and by consent of pope Alexander, whose authority was represented by his legates, Earmenfred, bishop of Sion, and John and Peter, presbyter cardinals of the apostolic see. In this council Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was degraded on three grounds; because he was unlawfully holding the bishopric of Winchester, together with his own archbishopric; and because, during the life of archbishop Robert, he had not only taken possession of the archbishopric, but for some time during the celebration of the mass had worn his pall, which had been left at Canterbury after his violent and unjust banishment from England; and because he had afterwards received the pall from Benedict, who had been excommunicated by the Holy Roman Church for having simoniacally obtained possession of the apostolic see. His brother, Aegelmar, bishop of the East Angles, was also deposed. A few abbots were also there degraded, the king promoting the deprivation of the English, and filling up their places by persons of his own nation, in order to confirm his power in a kingdom which he had but newly acquired. He also deprived of their honours certain persons, both bishops and abbots, whom neither the ecclesiastical councils nor the civil laws could convict of any open crime, and to the end of their lives held them in confinement, induced solely by mistrust, as we have said, of losing his newly acquired kingdom. In this council also, while

the rest were trembling in anticipation of the loss of their own honours, as though they had penetrated the intentions of the king, the venerable Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, courageously demanded the restitution of many of the appurtenances of his see which had been retained by archbishop Aeldred in his own power, when he was translated from Worcester to York, and which, by his death, had passed into the hands of the king; and insisted on justice being done to him, not only by those who presided in the council, but also by the king himself. But because the church of York, not having a pastor who could plead her cause, was dumb, it was adjudged that the dispute should remain undecided until the appointment of an archbishop, who could defend her, when, as there would be an opponent to reply to his argument, a more clear and just decision would be elicited from their mutual statements and answers. Thus, therefore, the matter remained for the present. On the day of Pentecost [23d May], the king, at Windsor, gave the archbishopric of York to the venerable Thomas, canon of Bayeux, and the bishopric of Winchester to his chaplain, Walchelin; by whose mandate, on the morrow, the aforesaid Aermenfrid, bishop of Sion, held a synod, the cardinals, John and Peter, having returned to Rome. In this synod, Aegelric, bishop of the South Saxons, was uncanonically deposed, and soon after placed in confinement at Mearlesbeorge by the king, though he was innocent of any crime; many abbots were also deposed. After their deprivation, the king gave the bishopric of the East Angles to Arfast, and that of the South Saxons to Stigand, his chaplain; Stigand transferred his see to Chichester, the capital of his diocese; the king also gave abbeys to some Norman monks. And because the archbishop of Canterbury was deposed, and the archbishop of York dead, by command of the king, in the octave of Pentecost [31st May], Walchelin was ordained by the same Aermenfrid, bishop of Sion.

The feast of St. John Baptist [24th June] being near, earl Asbiörn went to Denmark with the fleet which had wintered in the Humber, and his brother Sweyn outlawed him because he had taken a bribe from king William against the wishes of the Danes. That valiant man, Edric, surnamed the forester, (of whom we made mention above,) was reconciled with king William. After this, the king summoned from Normandy Landfranc, abbot of Caen, by birth a Lombard, a man of varied learning, skilled in all liberal arts, and in divine and secular knowledge, of exceeding prudence in counsel, and in the management of state affairs; on the day of the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.] the king appointed him archbishop of Canterbury, and caused him to be consecrated, on Sunday, the feast of St. John Baptist [24th June], at Canterbury. He was consecrated by Giso, bishop of Wells, and Walter, bishop of Hereford, who were both ordained at Rome by pope Nicholas, when Aeldred, archbishop of York, took the pall; for they avoided ordination at the hands of Stigand, then archbishop of Canterbury, knowing him to have received the pall uncanonically. Bishop Heriman, who had now transferred the seat of his bishopric from

Shirburn to Salisbury, was also present at his consecration, with some others. Afterwards Landfranc consecrated Thomas, archbishop of York. These things being done, there being now a bishop who could plead for the church of York, the cause of the reverend Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, was again mooted, and finally, by the aid of God's grace, concluded in a council holden in a place called Pedreda, in presence of the king, Landfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops, abbots, earls, and chiefs of all England. For all the stratagems by which Thomas and his supporters were busily attempting to lower the church of Worcester, and to render her the subject and slave of York, being crushed by the just judgment of God, and the clearest documentary evidence, and totally annihilated, not only did Wulfstan regain the possession which he had publicly demanded, but he resumed his church in the enjoyment of those liberties which its first founders, St. Aethelred, Osher, viceroy of the Hwiccii, and the other kings of Mercia, Kenred, Aethelbald, Offa, Kenulf, and their successors, Eadward the elder, Aethelstan, Eadmund, Edred, Eadgar, had conferred upon it.

Aegelwine, bishop of Durham, was taken by the men of king William, and thrust into prison; where, refusing to eat from excessive sorrow of heart, he died of grief and starvation. On the death of Siward, bishop of Rochester, Arnostus, monk of Bec, succeeded to the see, and was himself succeeded by Gundulf, a monk of the same church.

A.D. 1071. Landfranc and Thomas went to Rome, and received the pall from pope Alexander. Earls Edwin and Morkar, because king William sought to put them in confinement, escaped secretly from his court, and for some time continued in rebellion against him; but when they saw that their enterprise had not turned out successfully, Edwin determined to go to Malcolm, king of the Scots, but was killed on the journey, in an ambush laid by his own people. But Morkar, and Aegelwine, bishop of Durham, Siward, surnamed Barn, and Hereward, a most valiant man, with many others, took ship, and went to the isle of Ely, desiring to winter there. When the king heard of this, he blocked up every outlet on the eastern side of the island by his sailors, and commanded a bridge of two miles in length to be constructed on the western side. And when they saw that they were thus shut in, they gave up resistance, and all except the valiant Hereward, who made his escape through the fens, with a few others, surrendered to the king; who at once sent bishop Aegelwine to Abingdon, where he was placed in confinement, and died the same winter. As for the earl and the rest, who were scattered throughout England, he placed some in confinement, and permitted some to go free, with the loss of their hands or eyes.[1]

A.D. 1072. After the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.],

[1] "Aldred, abbot of Abingdon, was placed in custody in the castle of Walingford; but after some time he was removed thence, and committed to the keeping of Walcheline, bishop of Winchester, in which he continued as long as he lived. He was succeeded in his abbacy by Athelelm, a monk of Jumiege." Lamb. MS.

William, king of the English, having Edric the Forester in his retinue, invaded Scotland with a naval force and an army of cavalry, in order to reduce it to his own power; and Malcolm, king of Scots, met him in a place called Abernithiei, and became his vassal. Aegelric, late bishop of Durham, departed this life at Westminster, whither king William had sent him into confinement, on Monday, the ides of October [15th October]. Walcer, a native of Lorrain, succeeded Aegelwine in the see of Durham.

A.D. 1073. William, king of the English, reduced to his own power the city called Maine, and the province belonging to it, principally by the aid of the English whom he had taken with him out of England. Eadgar Aetheling came out of Scotland through England into Normandy, and was reconciled to the king.

A.D. 1074. Roger, earl of Hereford, son of William, earl of the same province, gave his daughter in marriage to Ralph, earl of the East Angles, against the command of the king; and while he was celebrating the nuptials with much magnificence, along with a great multitude of nobles, at a place called Yxninge, in the province of Cambridge, he formed a conspiracy, in which most of the party oined, against the king, and they compelled earl Waltheof, whom they had insidiously surprised, to join them in the plot. As soon as he was able, however, he went to Landfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and accepting penance for his compulsory oath, by his advice applied to king William, who was then in Normandy, and having related the affair from beginning to end, voluntarily threw himself upon the royal clemency. But the chiefs of the conspiracy, intent upon the advancement of their plot, retired to their castles, and began by every exertion, with the aid of their supporters, to excite the rebellion. But Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, with a great military force, Aegelwy, abbot of Evesham, with his followers, and having procured the assistance of Urso, earl of Worcester, and Walter de Lacy, with their forces, and a large number of the people, prepared to prevent the earl of Hereford from crossing the Severn and joining earl Ralph and his army. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king's brother, and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, with a great force, both of English and Normans, ready for action, met the earl himself encamped near Cambridge. But he, perceiving that his plan was frustrated, and moreover fearing the superior numbers of his opponents, escaped secretly to Norwich, and, leaving his castle to the care of his wife and his knights, embarked from England for Lesser Brittany; his adversaries pursuing him, and killing or maiming in various ways those of his followers whom they were able to capture. Then the leaders laid siege to his castle, until the proclamation of peace by the permission of the king allowed his countess and her people to depart from England. These things being done, the king returned in the autumn from Normandy, and put earl Roger in confinement, and delivered earl Waltheof to custody, though he had implored his mercy.

Eadgyth, sister-in-law to king Harold, once king of the English, died at Winchester on the 14th of the kalends of January [19th Dec.].

Her body was brought to London by command of the king, and buried with honour near the body of her husband, king Eadward, at Westminster, where the king at the ensuing Nativity held his court; and of those who had rebelled against him, he outlawed some and disgraced others, by putting out their eyes or cutting off their hands; but he committed to closer confinement the earls Waltheof and Roger, who had been condemned by a judicial sentence.

A.D. 1075. Earl Waltheof, by order of king William, being brought outside of the city of Winchester, was beheaded with cruel indignity, and buried in the place of his execution; but in process of time, by the ordinance of God, his body was exhumed, carried with great honour to Croyland, and honourably buried in the church. This man, while yet in the enjoyment of life, being placed in close confinement, lamented without ceasing and with extreme bitterness the unrighteous actions of his past life. He earnestly sought to appease his God by vigils, prayers, fastings, and almsgiving; men desired to blot out the remembrance of him on earth; but we firmly believe that he is now rejoicing with the saints in heaven, on the testimony of archbishop Landfranc of pious memory, from whom he received the sacrament of penance after his confession, who declared that not only was he guiltless of the crime laid to his charge, the conspiracy mentioned above, but that, like a true Christian, he had lamented with tears of penitence the other sins which he had committed; and he added that he himself should esteem himself happy could he enjoy, after his own departure, the blessed repose of the earl. After this the king crossed the sea, and entering Lesser Brittany, besieged the castle of earl Ralph, which was called Dol, until Philip, king of the French, expelled him.

A.D. 1076.

A.D. 1077. Robert, the eldest son of the king, (because he was not permitted to possess Normandy which had been assigned to him in the presence of Philip, king of the French, before the arrival of William in England,) went to France, and, with the assistance of Philip, committed great and frequent ravages in Normandy; he burned the towns, put to death the people, and gave his father no little annoyance and anxiety.

A.D. 1078.

A.D. 1079. Malcolm, king of Scots, after the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], laid waste Northumbria as far as the great river Tyne, killing many men, capturing more, and returning with great spoil. King William, while engaged with his son Robert before the castle of Gerberoi, which king Philip had offered to him, was wounded by him in the arm and unhorsed; but the son recognising his father's voice, hastily dismounted, and bidding him mount his own charger, permitted him to depart. And many of the king's men having been slain, and some few taken prisoners, and his son William and many others wounded, he commenced a retreat. The venerable Robert, who had received the order of priesthood by the ministry of Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, was consecrated at Canterbury bishop of Hereford, by Landfranc,

archbishop of Canterbury, on Sunday the 4th of the kalends of January [29th Dec.].

A.D. 1080. Walcher, bishop of Durham, a native of Lorrain, was slain by the Northumbrians on Thursday, the 2d of the ides of May [14th May], at Gateshead, in revenge for the murder of Liulf, a thane of noble birth. This man held many possessions by hereditary right throughout England; but because in all parts of the land the Normans were at that time continually giving vent to their ferocity, he withdrew himself with all his people to Durham, by reason of the sincere affection which he bore to the holy Cuthbert, who (as he was wont to narrate to Aldred, archbishop of York, and other religious persons) very often appeared to him both in his sleeping and waking hours, and revealed to him as to his faithful friend all that he wished to be done, under whose protection he had lived for a long time, sometimes in the town, sometimes on the possessions which he held on those districts. The arrival of this person was not unpleasing to bishop Walcher, who was greatly devoted to the same saint in all things. For this reason he became so much beloved by the bishop, that he would not transact or arrange the weightier matters of his secular business without his advice. Wherefore his chaplain, Leobwin, whom he had so much exalted that scarcely anything was moved in the bishopric or in the county without his consent, goaded on by envy, and puffed up with excess of pride by reason of his own power, arrogantly opposed himself to the aforesaid Liulf, treating as if they were worthless his judgments and counsels, and by every means striving to bring them to nothing. Frequently, also, arguing with him in the presence of the bishop, not without threats, did he provoke him to anger by opprobrious words. One day it happened that when this same Liulf, having been called to the council by the bishop, had decided in all cases lawfully and justly, Leobwin obstinately opposed him and exasperated him by contumelious speeches. And because he was answered more harshly than ordinarily was the case, he at once left the court, and calling to him Gilebert, to whom the bishop, as being his own kinsman, had committed the government of the county of Northumbria, he earnestly prayed that he would avenge him, and as soon as possible would hasten the death of Liulf. Gilebert at once agreeing to his iniquitous request, having collected the soldiers of the bishop and of Leobwin himself, set out one night for the town where Liulf then lived, and wickedly slew him in his own house with nearly all his household. When he first heard this, the bishop, sighing deeply from his very heart, tore his hood from his head, and casting it on the ground, said sorrowfully to Leobwin, who was present, "This has been done, O Leobwin, by thy artful dealings and most foolish machinations; and I would have thee know that for a surety thou hast destroyed both me, thyself, and all my household by the sword of thy tongue." Saying this he hastily withdrew into his castle, and immediately sending messengers through Northumbria, he took great care to inform all that so far from having been privy to the death of Liulf, he had outlawed from

Northumbria his murderer and all his companions, and was prepared to purge himself according to the pope's judgment. Then the bishop and the relatives of the deceased (after having sent messengers to and fro, and peace being mutually given and accepted) appointed a place and day on which to meet and confirm the same. When the day arrived they met together in the appointed place; but the bishop was unwilling to plead with them in the open air, but entered into a church there with his clergy and the more honourable of his knights; and having held a council, sent out to them from among his people once and again those who were to make peace with them. But they would by no means acquiesce in the required conditions, because they held it certain that Liulf had been put to death by the bishop's orders; for not only had Leobwin, on the very next night after the murder of his relative, taken Gilebert and his companions into his house with friendly familiarity, but had received him as before into his favour and family. Wherefore they at first put to death all those of the bishop's party who were found out of doors, a few saving themselves by flight. Seeing this, in order to satisfy the fury of his enemies, the bishop ordered the aforesaid Gilebert, his kinsman, for whose life they were seeking, to go out of the church, the guard following close upon him as he went out; but forthwith they were attacked upon all sides by the enemy with sword and spear, and in a moment destroyed, only two Englishmen being spared by reason of consanguinity. Leofwin, the dean of Durham, because he had often given much assistance to the bishop against them, and the other clergy, they slew as soon as they came forth. But the bishop, when he saw that their fury could not be mitigated by any means short of the death of the chief and author of all the calamity, Leobwin, requested him to go forth; being entirely unable to prevail upon him, he proceeded himself to the gates of the church, and begged that his own life might be spared. This being refused, he covered his head with the border of his robe, went forth, and soon perished by the swords of his enemies. Then they commanded Leobwin to come forth, and when he refused, they set fire to the walls and roof of the church. But he, choosing rather to end his life by fire than sword, bore the flames for some time. At length, half burnt, he leaped from the building, and having been dashed in pieces he died a wretched death, paying the penalty of his wickedness. To revenge the detestable murder of these men, king William in the same year laid waste the province of Northumbria.

A.D. 1081. William, abbot of the monastery of St. Vincent the Martyr, being elected by king William, received the bishopric of Durham, and on the nones of January [5th Jan.] was consecrated by archbishop Thomas.

A.D. 1082. King William placed his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, in confinement in Normandy.

A.D. 1083. A dire dispute arose between the monks of Glastonbury and their unworthy abbot Turstan, whom, despite his want of discretion, king William had elevated from being a monk of Caen,

to the dignity of abbot of Glastonbury. Among his other foolish exploits, he despised the Gregorian chant, and attempted to compel the monks to relinquish it, and to learn to sing that of one William of Fécamp. When they, who had grown old in the practice of the Roman church, in this, as in other ecclesiastical ceremonies, received his proposal with hesitation, on a sudden, at the head of a military force, without their knowledge, he one day broke into the chapter-house and pursued the terrified monks, who fled into the church, as far as the altar. The roods, and images, and shrines of the saints, were pierced by the spears and arrows of his band; he himself speared and killed one of the monks who was embracing the holy altar, and put to death a second, who lay pierced with arrows at its foot; the rest, compelled by necessity, bravely defended themselves with the benches and candlesticks of the church, and though severely wounded, they succeeded in driving back all the soldiers out of the choir. The result of this was, that of the monks there were two killed, and fourteen wounded, and even of the soldiers a few injured.

The matter was brought to a judicial investigation, and when it was clear that the greater share of the blame belonged to the abbot, the king removed him, and placed him in his own monastery in Normandy. Most of the monks were dispersed through bishoprics and abbacies, and placed in custody by command of the king. After his death, the abbot purchased back his abbacy from his son, king William, for five hundred pounds, and wandering about for some years over the possessions of his church, at length finished his days in misery, far from the monastery itself, as he well deserved. On Thursday, the 4th of the nones of November [2d Nov.], queen Matilda died in Normandy, and was buried at Caen.

A.D. 1084. William, king of the English, took six shillings from every hide throughout England.

A.D. 1085. Eadmund, abbot of Pershore, a man of rare probity and piety, died in a good old age, on Sunday, the 17th of the kalends of July [15th June], and was honourably buried by the venerable Serlo, abbot of Gloucester; Turstan, monk of Gloucester, succeeded him. In the same year, Canute, king of the Danes, with a great fleet, and aided by his father-in-law, Robert, earl of Flanders, prepared to invade England. Wherefore king William, levying soldiers, footmen, and archers, to the number of many thousands, from the whole of France, and taking some out of Normandy, returned in the autumn to England, and dividing his army, gave orders to his bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs, and officers, to supply them with provisions. But when he ascertained that his enemies had been checked, he sent back a part of his army, and kept a part with him through the whole of the winter; and on the day of the Nativity of our Lord [25th Dec.], held his court at Gloucester, where he gave bishoprics to three of his chaplains, namely, to Maurice the see of London, to William that of Thetford, to Robert that of Chester.

A.D. 1086. King William caused all England to be described; namely, the quantity of land possessed by each of his barons, the

number of knights' fees, the number of hides of land, the number of villeins, the number of beasts, yea, the amount of ready money which each possessed in all his kingdom, from the greatest to the least, and how much rent each property was able to return: and the land was sorely vexed with the murders which proceeded therefrom. In the week of Whitsuntide [24th May], the king honoured his son Henry with knighthood at Westminster, where he was holding his court. Not long afterwards he commanded that his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs, with their knights, should meet him at Salisbury, on the kalends of August [1st Aug.]; when they were there, he compelled their knights to swear fealty to him against all men. At that time Eadgar, ethel-ing, having obtained permission of the king, went over sea with two hundred knights, and proceeded to Apulia; his sister, the maiden Christina, entered the monastery, which is called the monastery of Rumsey, and assumed the dress of a nun. In the same year there was a murrain among beasts, and a great tempest.

A.D. 1087. In this year many perished, at first from fever, and then from famine. Meanwhile a destructive fire consumed nearly all the principal cities of England, and the church of St. Paul the Apostle, with the greater and better part of London. The Danes martyred their king, Canute, on Saturday, the 6th of the ides of July, in a certain church. Stigand, bishop of Chichester, Scolland, abbot of St. Augustine's, Alsi, abbot of Bath, and Turstan, abbot of Pershore, died. Before the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], king William came with an army into France, burned the town which is called Mathantum [Mantes], and all the churches situated therein, and two recluses, and thence returned into Normandy; but on the journey a dreadful disease of the bowels seized him, which grew more and more serious from day to day. Now when, as his sickness became worse, he perceived that the day of his death was near, he released his brother Odo, bishop of Baieux, earls Morkar and Roger, Siward, surnamed Barn, and Wulnoth, brother of king Harold, whom he had kept in confinement from boyhood, and all whom he had delivered into custody in England or in Normandy. Then he consigned the kingdom of England to his son William, and granted the earldom of Normandy to his first-born Robert, who was then absent in France: and so, supported by the heavenly viaticum, on the 5th of the ides of September [9th Sept.], having reigned over England twenty years, ten months, and twenty-eight days, he rendered up at once his life and his kingdom. He lies at Caen, in the church of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, which he himself had built and endowed. His son William hastened to England, taking with him Wulnoth and Morkar; but as soon as he arrived at Winchester, he put them into custody as before, and on Sunday, the 6th of the kalends of October [26th Sept.], he was consecrated king at Westminster by Landfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. Then, returning to Winchester, he divided the treasure of his father, in pursuance of his commands, among some of the principal churches of England, giving to some ten, to others six marks of gold, to others less; he also com-

manded that forty pence should be given to each of the churches in his cities and towns; and that crosses, altars, shrines, copies of the Gospels, candlesticks, sacred vessels, pipes [for the wine in the Holy Communion], and various ornaments, received in exchange for jewels, gold, silver, and precious stones, should be divided among the more important churches and monasteries. His brother Robert also returning into Normandy, liberally divided among the monasteries, churches, and poor, the treasures which he had found, and this he did for the repose of his father's soul. Moreover he released from custody Ulf, son of Harold, once king of the English, and Duncan, son of Malcolm, king of Scots, and honoured them with knighthood, and permitted them to depart.

A.D. 1088. In this year great dissension arose between the nobles of England; for one part (and that the lesser) of the Norman nobles favoured king William, but the greater part adhered to Robert, earl of Normandy; being desirous of summoning him into the kingdom, and either of delivering his brother to him alive, or of depriving him of his power by putting him to death. The leaders of this execrable business were Odo, bishop of Baieux, who was also earl of Kent, Robert his brother, the earl of Mortain, both of whom were brothers, by the mother's side only, of king William the elder. Along with his nephew Robert, earl of Northumberland, there participated in this design Geoffrey, bishop of Coutance, Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, and (what was worse still) William, bishop of Durham; for at that very time the king was guided by his sagacity, as if he were a trustworthy adviser, for he was of good counsel, and by his advice was the whole realm of England managed. These men had great influence in this land by reason of their worldly wealth. Every day the multitude of their fellow-soldiers and accomplices in the conspiracy increased. They began to discuss this execrable plot during the season of Lent, and concluded that they could burst into open rebellion after Easter [16th April]; for they withdrew themselves from the court, and fortifying their castles, ravaged the land with fire, sword, and slaughter. An accursed deed was this, a war worse than a civil war! For fathers were fighting against their sons, brothers against brothers, friends against kinsmen, the aliens against the aliens. Meanwhile the bishop of Baieux, having fortified Rochester, sent into Normandy, exhorting earl Robert to come with all speed into England, informing him of what was being done, and declaring that a kingdom was ready for him, and, if he were not wanting to himself, a crown also. Struck with the strange news, the earl with exultation informed his friends, and, full of triumph, like one already secure of victory, spurred on his followers to the plunder; he sent auxiliaries into England, to his uncle, bishop Odo, promising to follow with all speed as soon as he shall have assembled a larger force. When they arrived, the defence of Rochester was entrusted to them by Odo, the command being assumed by Eustace the younger, earl of Boulogne, and Robert de Belesme. When the news of this affair reached the ears of the king, he was troubled with an unusual anxiety; but, relying

(like a brave man) on his claim to the crown and the courage of his soldiers, he employed his royal authority and sent messengers to summon those whom he believed to be faithful to himself, and he then marched to London to settle the details of the war, and to provide necessaries for the expedition. Having assembled an army of horse and foot, though of moderate size, consisting principally of Englishmen, and of as large a number of Normans as he was able for the present to collect, and making laws and promising rewards to his supporters, he put his trust in the mercy of God. He determined to march to Rochester, where he heard the army had assembled in the greatest numbers; for he had been informed that bishop Odo was there with his men and the foreign force. Marching thither, at the very commencement of his journey, he found that Tunbridge, which was under the command of Gilebert Fitz Richard, held out against him; he besieged it, reduced it in two days, and forced Gilebert, who was wounded, to surrender with his garrison. The fame of this success reached the ears of Odo, who, after having held a consultation with his friends, left Rochester, and proceeded with a few followers to the castle of his brother, Robert, earl of Mortain, which is called Pevensey. Finding his brother there, he exhorted him to remain, promising him that they would be secure, and that while the king was busy in reducing Rochester, the earl of Normandy would come over with a large army, would set them and their men at liberty, and would take possession of the kingdom, after handsomely rewarding all his supporters. The king, having reduced Tunbridge, and accepted the fealty of the inhabitants, leaving Gilebert behind him by reason of his wound, and placing the castle under guard, was about to depart for Rochester, as he had intended, when he heard that his uncle had left that place and had gone to Pevensey.

Having taken wholesome counsel, he pursued him with his army as far as Pevensey, hoping that he would more speedily terminate the war, if he could first subdue the chiefs of the rebellion. He pushed forward, he prepared his engines, and laid siege to both his uncles: the position was strongly fortified; but he laboured daily to reduce it. Meanwhile, throughout England the storm of war raged in every direction; the people of Rochester carried fire and slaughter against the inhabitants of Canterbury and London; for archbishop Landfranc and nearly all the nobles of that province were with the king. Roger, a partisan of Robert, was in his castle of Arundel, expecting the arrival of the earl. Geoffrey, bishop of Coutance, was in Bristol castle, having with him his nephew, Robert de Mulbray, an accomplice in his conspiracy and treachery, a man skilled in the art of war, who assembled an army and attacked the city of Bath, which was on the king's side; and when he had burned and plundered it, he then crossed over into Wiltshire, and laid waste the towns. After a great slaughter of the inhabitants, he at length reached Ilchester, and laid siege to it, and attempted to reduce it. Those who were attracted by the hope of plunder and the love of victory, fought outside the town; those who were within the walls resisted, having due regard for the safety of their persons and their

property. At length the cause of necessity triumphed, and Robert retired in sorrow, disappointed of the victory. William de Eu invaded the province of Gloucester, plundered the royal town of Berkeley, and did great mischief everywhere with fire and sword.

Now, while these evils were being perpetrated on every side, Bernard de Newmarket, Roger de Lacy, who had just marched against the king at Hereford, Ralph de Mortimer, all of them conspirators, with the men of earl Roger of Shrewsbury, having assembled a great army of English, Normans, and Welshmen, made an inroad into the province of Worcester, declaring that they would burn the city of Worcester itself, spoil the church of God and St. Mary, and take heavy vengeance on the loyal inhabitants. On hearing this, the reverend father Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, (a man of great piety and dove-like simplicity, one beloved of God and the people whom he ruled in all things, constant and faithful to the king, as his earthly lord,) was exceedingly troubled; but soon recovering confidence by the mercy of God, already, like another Moses, prepared himself to stand manfully by his people and his city. While they made ready their arms to repel the enemy, he poured forth supplications for the impending danger, exhorting his people that they despair not of God's assistance, since He fights neither with sword nor spear. Meanwhile the Normans taking counsel, entreat the bishop to remove from the church into the castle, affirming that they would be the more secure by reason of his presence, if a greater danger should happen to attack them; for they loved him greatly. But he (such was his kindness of disposition) assented to their request, moved by his fidelity to the king, and his affection to themselves. Meanwhile the episcopal household was courageously preparing for the contest; the garrison and the whole of the citizens assembled, declaring that they would meet the enemy on the other side of the Severn, provided always that the bishop's licence be obtained. Being armed and ready, they met him on his way to the castle, and begged the licence which they desired; to whom, assenting freely, "Go," said he, "my children, go in peace, go in security, with the blessing of God and mine. Trusting in the Lord, I promise you this day no sword shall injure you, no mishap, no adversary. Be firm in your allegiance to the king, manfully fighting for the safety of the people and the city." With these words, they eagerly crossed the bridge, and beheld the enemy approaching rapidly at a distance. Among them already raged the madness of war; for, despising the commands of the bishop, they had burnt many portions of his territory. When he heard this, the bishop was stricken with great sorrow, beholding the destruction of the property of the church; and taking counsel, launched against them, by the advice of all who were present, a heavy anathema. A wonderful thing, proclaiming most clearly the power of God and the goodness of the man, came to pass: for immediately the enemy, who were wandering scattered over the fields, were stricken with so great a weakness in their limbs, and enfeebled by such blindness of the outward eye, that they were hardly able to bear their arms; they could neither recognise their friends, nor distinguish those who

were attacking them from the opposite party. While blindness deceived them, confidence in God and the bishop's benediction comforted our men. So stupified were they that they knew not how to escape, neither did they seek any means of defence; but by the will of God, being given over to a reprobate mind, they fell an easy prey into the hands of their enemies. The footmen were slain, the horsemen captured—English, Normans, and Welshmen—the rest just escaping by a feeble flight. Those who were faithful to the king, along with the household of the bishop, joyfully exulting, returned without loss to their own homes; thanking God for the safety of the property of the church, thanking the bishop for the wholesomeness of his counsel.

A.D. 1089. Landfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, died on Thursday, the 9th of the kalends of June [24th May]. In the same year, on Saturday, the 3d of the ides of August [11th Aug.], about the third hour, there was a great earthquake throughout all England.

A.D. 1090. William the younger, the king of England, desirous of depriving his brother Robert of the province of Normandy, and of reducing it under his own dominion, took possession first of the castle of Walter de St. Valéry, and the castle of Odo de Albemarle, and next of other castles, and placed men in them to ravage Normandy; seeing which, and having discovered the unfaithfulness of his allies, earl Robert sent messengers to Philip, king of the French, his lord, and caused him to come into Normandy, and he and the king besieged one of the castles in which his brother's soldiers were stationed. When news of this was brought to king William, he secretly sent a large sum of money to king Philip, and earnestly entreated him to raise the siege and to return home.

A.D. 1091. In the month of February, king William went over to Normandy, in order to take it from his brother Robert; but while he was sojourning there peace was concluded between them, on condition that the earl should freely give up to the king the earldom of Eu, the monastery of Féchamp, the abbey situated on Mount St. Michel, Cherbourg, and the castles which had revolted from him; that the king on his part should reduce to his obedience the province of Maine, and the castles in Normandy which were then resisting earl Robert, should restore their lands in England to the Normans who had lost them by their adherence to that earl, and should assign him a certain quantity of land in England to be agreed upon between them. In addition to this, it was agreed that if the earl should die without a legitimate son, the king should be his heir; and in like manner, if it should happen that the king died, the earl should be his heir. Twelve barons on the part of the king, and twelve on the part of the earl, confirmed this treaty by oath. Meanwhile their brother Henry, with all the soldiers he was able to get together, entered Mount St. Michel, some of the monks assisting him; and he laid waste the king's land, and captured some and spoiled others of his people. Wherefore the king and the earl assembled an army, and laid siege to the Mount, during the whole of the season of Lent, and frequently gave

battle to the prince, and lost some of their men and horses. But the king grew tired of the long siege, and withdrew unappeased, and not long after deprived Eadgar, etheling, of the possessions which the earl had granted him, and expelled him from Normandy. Meanwhile, in the month of May, Malcolm, king of Scots, invaded Northumbria with a great army, intending, if he had good success, to proceed farther, and to attack the inhabitants of England. But God decreed that it should not be so, wherefore his attempt was frustrated; nevertheless before he returned, the army carried away with it a considerable spoil out of Northumbria. When the king heard of this, he returned to England with his brother Robert in the month of August, and not long after he set out for Scotland, with a large fleet and an army of horsemen, to subdue king Malcolm; but before he reached Scotland, a few days before Michaelmas [29th Sept.], nearly all the fleet was lost, and many of his horsemen perished from cold and hunger. King Malcolm met him in the district of Loidis with his army. Earl Robert seeing this, summoned to him Eadgar, etheling, whom the king had expelled from Normandy, and who was then living with the king of Scots; and relying on his aid, he concluded a peace between the two kings, on condition that Malcolm should obey William in the same manner as he had obeyed his father; and that William should restore to Malcolm twelve towns which he had held under his father in England, and should pay him yearly the sum of twelve marks of gold. But the peace between them did not last very long. And the earl also reconciled Eadgar himself with the king.

On Thursday, the 1st of the ides of October [15th Oct.], a violent stroke of lightning struck the tower of Winchcombe church, making a large hole in the wall near the roof; after having split one of the beams, it cut off the head of an image of Christ, which was violently struck and thrown to the ground, and the right leg broken. An image of St. Mary, which was standing near the rood, was also struck to the ground. A thick smoke of a stifling odour then burst forth and filled the whole church, lasting until the monks of the house had gone the round of the offices of the monastery, singing psalms, and bearing holy water and incense and the relics of the saints. Moreover on Friday, the 16th of the kalends of November [17th Oct.], a violent whirlwind coming from the south-west, shook and threw down more than six hundred houses and very many churches in London. In the church of St. Mary, called At the Bow, it killed two men, and taking up the roof and its beams, and whirling it about hither and thither through the air, at length drove six of the beams, in the same order as that in which they lay in the roof itself, so deep into the earth that no more than the seventh or eighth part of them remained visible, their length being as much as twenty-seven or twenty-eight feet.

After this the king returned from Northumbria through Mercia, into Wessex, and kept the earl with him nearly up to the Nativity of the Lord [25th Dec.], but would not perform the conditions of

the treaty which had been made between them. The earl being vexed thereat, returned to Normandy on the 10th of the kalends of January [23d Dec.], with Eadgar, etheling. There were, as it was reported in England, at this time two who called themselves Roman pontiffs, mutually at variance between themselves, and so drawing after them the church of God, they divided it internally; namely, Urban, first called Odo, bishop of Ostia, and Clement, who was called Wibert, archbishop of Ravenna: which thing, to say nothing of the rest of the world, so occupied the attention of the church of England for many years, that from the time of the death of Gregory, who was called Hildebrand, up to the present, the church would obey no man for pope. Italy and Gaul had already accepted Urban as the vicar of St. Peter.

A.D. 1092. The city of London was almost entirely consumed by fire. Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, dedicated the church which he had built in Sarum castle, with the assistance of Walchelin, bishop of Winchester, and John, bishop of Bath, on Monday, the nones of April [5th April]. Remigius, who by the licence of king William the elder had transferred the seat of his bishopric from Dorchester to Lincoln, was desirous of dedicating the church, worthy to become an episcopal see, which he had built there, because he felt that the day of his death was fast approaching; but Thomas, archbishop of York, opposed him, declaring that the church had been built within his diocese. But king William the younger, in consideration of money which Remigius had given him, commanded all the bishops of England to assemble and dedicate the church on the 7th of the ides of May [9th May]; but two days before the appointed time, by the hidden judgment of God, Remigius himself departed from the world, and by reason of this the dedication of the church was postponed. When this had been done, the king went into Northumbria, and repaired the city which is called in the British language Cairleu, and in Latin Lugubalia [Carlisle], and built a castle therein; for this city, like some others in those parts, had been destroyed two hundred years before by the pagan Danes, and had remained deserted up to this time.

A.D. 1093. King William the younger, being stricken with a serious illness in the royal vill called Alwestan, hastened to Gloucester, and lay there in a feeble state through the whole of Lent. When he thought that he was on the verge of the grave, as his barons also intimated to him, he promised to God that he would amend his life, that he would no more sell nor tax the churches, but that he would defend them by his royal power, that he would repeal unrighteous laws, and enact those which were righteous. Moreover he gave to Anselm, abbot of Bec, who was then staying in England, the archbishopric of Canterbury, and to his chancellor Robert, surnamed Bloet, the bishopric of Lincoln. But it was not permitted to Anselm to receive anything from the archbishopric, beyond that which the king had commanded to be given to him, until the tribute, which he had received from it every year since the death of Landfranc, should be fully discharged. Res,

king of the Welch, during the Easter week, was slain in battle near the castle of Brecknock. From that day kings ceased to reign in Wales. Malcolm, king of Scots, on the day of the feast of St. Bartholomew Apostle [24th Aug.], met the king in the city of Gloucester, as had previously been agreed upon by their ambassadors, in order that the peace between them might be renewed, and a firm friendship established, as some of the nobles of England desired; but each of them departed before any reconciliation had taken place: for William disdained, by reason of his excessive pride and pomp, either to see Malcolm or to speak with him. Moreover he desired to compel him to do him homage in his own court, according to the judgment of his own barons only; but Malcolm was by no means willing to do this, except in the confines of his own kingdom, where the kings of Scotland were accustomed to do homage to the kings of England, and according to the judgment of the chief men of both kingdoms. After this a very wonderful sign appeared in the sun; and Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, and Guy, abbot of the monastery of St. Augustine, and Paul, abbot of the monastery of St. Alban, died. In the same year also died Robert, earl of Flanders, a man of great valour; and his eldest son Robert succeeded him. Malcolm, king of Scots, and his eldest son Eadward, with many others, were slain in Northumbria on the feast of St. Brice [13th Nov.], by the soldiers of Robert, earl of Northumbria. When she heard of their death, Margaret, queen of Scots, was so heavily affected with sorrow, that she suddenly fell into a serious sickness. Without delay, she summoned the priests, entered the church, and having confessed her sins to them, caused herself to be anointed with oil and strengthened with the heavenly viaticum, beseeching God with the most earnest and heartfelt prayers, that He would not suffer her to live longer in this world of trouble. Nor was it very long before her prayers were heard; for in three days after the death of the king, she was released from the bonds of the flesh, and passed (as we believe) to the joys of eternal salvation. While she lived, she was a faithful labourer in deeds of piety, justice, peace, and charity; she was frequent in prayer; she kept her body in subjection by vigils and fastings; she endowed churches and monasteries, loved and honoured the servants and handmaidens of God, broke bread to the hungry, clothed the naked, gave lodging, clothing, and food to the strangers who came to her, and loved God with all her soul. After her death, the Scots chose Donald, brother of king Malcolm, for their king, and drove out of Scotland all the English who were of the king's court. When he heard these things, Duncan, son of king Malcolm, besought and entreated king William, under whom he then served, to grant him his father's kingdom, and swore allegiance to him; and so he hastened into Scotland with a multitude of English and Normans, and expelled his uncle Donald from the kingdom, and then reigned in his stead. Then some of the Scots assembled, and murdered nearly all his men, and he himself with difficulty escaped with a few. But after this they suffered him to reign, on condition that he would introduce no more

English or Normans into Scotland, and would permit them to serve him. Nearly all the bishops of England assembling, among whom Thomas, archbishop of York, was the chief, they consecrated as their archbishop Anselm, abbot of Bec, on the day before the nones of December [4th Dec.]. In the same year William, earl of Eu, overcome by a great greed of gold, and seduced by the magnitude of the honour which was promised, deserted from his natural lord Robert, earl of Normandy, to whom he had sworn fealty, and coming to England to king William, that great traitor surrendered himself to his power.

A.D. 1094. Arfast, who had been first the chaplain to William when earl, and then to William when king, and in process of time bishop of Hereford, being now dead, as well as his successor William, Herbert, surnamed Losinga (an appellation which his power of flattery had lately obtained for him), from being prior of Féchamp and abbot of Ramesey, was made bishop of Thetford by purchasing the see; his father Robert, with the same surname, being intruded on the abbacy of Winchester. But repentance wiped out the erring impulse of youth; for proceeding to Rome in his stricter years, and there laying aside the simoniacal staff and ring of his office, by the indulgence of that merciful see he was again permitted to receive them. But when he returned home, he translated his episcopal seat to a town renowned for its trade and resort, called Norwich, and instituted there a congregation of monks. King William went to Hastings, and caused to be dedicated there the church of Battle, and afterwards returned to Normandy; he came to a conference with his brother according to the terms of the peace established between them, but departed unappeased. The earl proceeded to Rouen. The king returned to Eu, and took up his quarters there, and having assembled soldiers from all parts by bribes and promises of gold, silver, and lands, he induced the nobles of Normandy to desert his brother Robert, and surrender themselves and their castles into his power; and as they were ready to do his will, he distributed his soldiers over the castles, as well those which he formerly possessed as those which he now had purchased. Meanwhile he took the castle called Bures, and sent some of the earl's men who were taken in it to England there to be imprisoned; and others he confined in Normandy; and in many ways vexing his brother, he strove to disinherit him. But Robert, driven by necessity, brought his lord, Philip king of the French, with his army into Normandy; and the king besieged the castle of Argentan, and on the very day of the commencement of the siege, captured without shedding a drop of blood, seven hundred of the king's knights, with twice as many esquires, and all the garrison in the castle, and commanded them to be kept prisoners until they were ransomed; after which he returned to France. But earl Robert besieged the castle of La Houlme, until William Peverel, and eight hundred men who were defending it, surrendered to him. When this was made known to the king, he sent messengers into England, and ordered twenty thousand footmen to be despatched into Normandy for his assistance.

When they were assembled at Hastings, preparing to cross the sea, Ralph Passeflambard, by order of the king, took away the money which had been given to them for their support, namely ten shillings each, and commanded them to march home again; the money he sent over to the king. Meanwhile all England was vexed by a heavy and unremitting tax, and by a mortality among the inhabitants, during the present and following year. In addition, first the North Welch and then the West and South Welch, threw off the yoke of slavery with which they had long been weighed down, and thus gaining confidence they strove to regain their liberty. A multitude of them assembled and destroyed the castles which had been fortified in West Wales, burned many towns in the counties of Chester, Shropshire, and Hereford, carried off spoil, and put to death many of the English and Normans. They also destroyed the castle in the Isle of Man, and reduced the island itself to subjection. Meanwhile the Scots treacherously put to death their king Duncan, and some others, by the advice and persuasion of Donald, and again appointed him their king. After this king William, on the 4th of the kalends of January [29th Dec.], returned to England, and led an army into Wales to subdue the Welch, and lost there many men and horses.

A.D. 1095. The venerable and excellent man Wulfstan, bishop of the holy church of Worcester, from youth set apart to the service of God, after many hard struggles, by which (for the sake of gaining the glory of the heavenly kingdom), with great devoutness and humility, he had earnestly served God, in the night of Saturday the 18th of January, in the middle of the seventh hour, departed this life, in the year 5299 from the beginning of the world, according to the certain evidence of holy Scripture, in the 529th of the ninth great cycle, in the 476th of the ninth cycle from the beginning of the world, in the 1084th from the passion of the Lord according to the Gospel, and the 1066th according to the calculation of Beda, according to Dionysius 1061, in the 741st from the arrival of the Angles in Britain, in the 498th from the arrival of St. Augustine, in the 103d from the death of St. Oswald archbishop, in the 302d of the eleventh great paschal cycle, and in the 502d of the tenth from the beginning of the world, in the 4th of the second solar cycle, in the 3d of the bissextile cycle, in the 13th of the second of the cycle of 19 years, in the 10th of the second lunar cycle, in the 5th of the hendecad, in the 3d of the indictional cycle, in the 18th lustrum of his own life, and in the 3d year of the 7th lustrum of his pontificate.

In a wonderful manner, in the very hour of his departure, he appeared in a vision to that friend of his whom he had especially loved, Robert, bishop of Hereford, in the town called Cricklade, and commanded him to hasten to Worcester in order to bury him. God suffered no man to remove from his finger the ring along with which he had received the pontifical benediction, that after death the holy man might not seem to deceive his people, for he had often said to them that he would never lose it during his life, nor even on the day of his burial.

On the day before the nones of April [4th April], at night, stars

were seen, as it were, to fall from the sky. Walter, bishop of Albano, legate of the holy Roman church, sent by pope Urban, came to England before Easter, bringing the pall for which king William had sent in the preceding year; and, according to agreement, on Sunday, the 4th of the ides of June [10th June], it was laid by him on the altar of the blessed Saviour at Canterbury, thence it was taken by Anselm, and humbly kissed by all in reverence to St. Peter. Robert, bishop of Hereford, a man of great piety, died on Tuesday, the 6th of the kalends of July [26th June]. Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, on the 30th day after his departure out of this world, reappeared to him in a vision, and sharply reprimanded him for his negligence and idleness, admonishing him to apply himself to the reformation of his own life and that of the people committed to his charge, as watchfully as he was able; and that if he would do this, he told him that he would soon obtain a pardon from God for all his sins. And he added that he would not long sit in the seat in which he then sat, but that if he would be more watchful, he should feast with him in the presence of God. For both these fathers were mutually attached to one another by strong affection in the love of God; and therefore it is credible that he who had first gone from this life to God should feel a solicitude for the beloved one whom he had left in the world, and should have done his utmost endeavour that they both might the more speedily rejoice together in the presence of God.

Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, and William de Eu, with many others, made an attempt to deprive king William of his kingdom and his life, and to establish Stephen de Albemarle, the son of his aunt, on his throne, but without success: for the king, as soon as he knew it, assembled his army from every part of England, and besieged for two months the castle of the aforesaid Robert, which was situated near the mouth of the river Tyne. Meanwhile, by the capture of a small fortress, he made prisoners of nearly all the best soldiers of the earl, and put them into confinement. Then he took the castle itself, and placed into safe custody the brother of the earl and the knights, whom he found within. After this he raised a castle before Bamburgh, that is, the city of Queen Bebba, into which the earl had escaped, and this he called Malveisin, and having garrisoned it, returned to the country south of the Humber. After his departure, they who were watching at Newcastle, promised earl Robert that they would allow him to enter, if he would come secretly. And he joyfully acceded, and went out by night for the purpose with thirty men. This becoming known, the knights who kept the castle followed him, and sent messengers to the guard of Newcastle to inform them of his departure; being ignorant of this, on the Lord's-day he made his attempt, which failed, for he was detected. Wherefore he fled to the monastery of St. Oswin, king and martyr, where, on the 6th day of the siege, he was severely wounded in the leg, while engaged in resisting the enemy, of whom many were killed and many wounded; while of his own men some were wounded and all taken prisoners, he himself taking refuge in a

church, from which he was brought forth and placed in confinement. Meanwhile the Welch destroyed the castle of Montgomery, and put to death some of the men of Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, who were there. The king, enraged at this, speedily commanded an invasion, and led an army into Wales after the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.], where he lost many men and horses. Returning thence, he ordered earl Robert to be brought before Bamborough, and commanded his eyes to be put out, unless his wife and his kinsman Moreal would surrender his castle. And this they did, being compelled by such a necessity. Whereupon the earl was sent to Windsor, put in close confinement, and Moreal disclosed the cause of his treason to the king.

A.D. 1096. William, bishop of Durham, died at Windsor in the court of the king on Wednesday, being the kalends of January [1st Jan.], but was buried at Durham. In the octave of the Epiphany [13th Jan.] a council was holden at Salisbury, where the king condemned William de Eu, who had been vanquished in duel, to lose his eyes, and to be emasculated; he ordered also that his steward William de Alderi, the son of his aunt, and privy to his treason, should be hanged; and he placed in confinement earl Odo of Champagne, the father of Stephen aforesaid, Philip, the son of Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, and some others concerned in his treason.

Pope Urban came into France, and holding a synod at Clermont during Lent, exhorted the Christians to make an expedition to Jerusalem to subdue the Turks, Saracens, Turcopolites, and other pagans; and in the very synod itself, Raymond, earl of St. Giles, and many with him, were forthwith signed with the cross of Christ, and solemnly vowed to undertake the pilgrimage for the love of God, and to accomplish what the pope had exhorted. When this was heard, the rest of the christian world dwelling in Italy, Germany, France, England, vied with each other in preparing for the expedition. Their leaders were Aymer, bishop of Le Puy, the bishop of Ostia, with many other bishops, Peter the monk, Hugh the Great, the brother of Philip, king of France, Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, Stephen, earl of Chartres, Robert, earl of Normandy, Robert, earl of Flanders, the two brothers of duke Godfrey, Eustace, earl of Boulogne, and Baldwin, earl Raymond aforesaid, and Boemund, son of Robert Wiscard.

Samson was consecrated as bishop of Worcester by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, at London, in the church of St. Paul, on Sunday, the 17th of the kalends of July [15th June].

After this Robert, earl of Normandy, when intending to set out for Jerusalem with the other crusaders, sent messengers to England, and besought his kinsman king William to renew the peace between them, and to lend him ten thousand marks of silver, as security for which he was willing that he should have the province of Normandy. In order to meet his demands, William commanded that each of the nobles of England should lend him money in proportion to his ability, as speedily as possible. Wherefore the bishops, abbots, abbesses, broke up the gold and silver ornaments of their churches, the earls, barons, and sheriffs spoiled their knights and villeins,

and presented the king with a large sum of money. And William crossed the sea in the month of September, made peace with his brother, lent him six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds, and received Normandy as security.

A.D. 1097. William, king of the English, returned to England during Lent; and after Easter [5th April] he invaded Wales for the second time with an army of horsemen and infantry, intending to massacre all the male inhabitants; but he was unable to capture or kill any one of them, but lost some of his own men, and many horses. After this he sent Eadgar, etheling, with an army into Scotland, to expel his uncle Donald who had usurped the throne, and to establish in his stead Eadgar, son of king Malcolm, his cousin.

The Christians took the city of Nice on Saturday, the 13th of the kalends of July [19th June]. A star, called a comet, was visible for fifteen days from the 3d of the kalends of October [29th Sept.]. Some affirmed that they saw at that time a strange sign in the heavens, as it were burning, and in the form of a cross. Soon after a dissension arose between the king and archbishop Anselm, because from the time at which he had been made archbishop, he had not been suffered to hold a synod, nor to correct the evil practices which had grown up throughout England; the latter crossed the sea, and after having remained for a time in France, he proceeded to Rome to pope Urban. The king himself, about the feast of St. Andrew [30th Nov.], set out from England into Normandy. Baldwin, abbot of the monastery of St. Edmund, a man of exceeding piety, by birth a Frenchman, and well skilled in the art of medicine, died in a good old age on Tuesday, the 4th of the kalends of January [29th Dec.], and rests in the middle of the choir in the principal church.

A.D. 1098. Walchelin, bishop of Winchester, died on Sunday, the 3d of the nones of January [3d Jan.]. And Thurold, abbot of the monastery of St. Peter of Burh, and Robert, abbot of Newminster, died. In the summer, William the younger, king of the English, reduced the city of Maine, and a great part of that province. Meanwhile, Hugh, earl of Chester, and Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, invaded the island of Mevania, commonly called Anglesege, with an army, and slew many of the Welch whom they captured therein, and blinded others, having previously cut off their hands and feet; and then emasculated them. And they brought forth from his church a certain priest, advanced in years, named Kenned, from whom the Welch received advice in the matters in which they were engaged; and having emasculated him and put out one of his eyes, they cut off his tongue; but on the third day, by the mercy of God, his speech was restored to him. At that time Magnus, king of Norway, son of king Olave, son of king Harold Hardrada, after having subdued the Orkneys, came hither with a small fleet. When he was attempting to land, Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, came out against him with a large force on the very sea-shore, and, as it is reported, he fell, having been hit by an arrow sent from the hand of the king, about seven days after he had so cruelly treated the aforesaid priest.

The city of Antioch was taken by the Christians on Wednesday,

the 3d of the nones of June [3d June], where, after a few days, the spear with which the Saviour of the world was pierced while suspended on the cross (being revealed by Andrew the apostle, the mildest of saints), was discovered in the church of St. Peter the apostle. The Christians, filled with courage by this discovery, on Monday, the 4th of the kalends of July [28th June], took with them the spear, sallied out of the city, and giving battle to the Pagans, drove back at the point of the sword Curbara, chief of the chivalry of the soldan of Persia, Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Publicans, Azimati, Persians, Agulani, and the people of many other nations; they put many thousands of them to death, and by the blessing of God gained a complete victory. An unusual light continued to shine during nearly the whole of the night of the 5th of the kalends of October [27th Sept.]. In the same year the bones of the king and martyr Canute were taken out of the tomb, and placed in a shrine with honour. Roger, duke of Apulia, having assembled a large army, besieged the city of Capua, which had revolted from him. Pope Urban, accompanied in obedience to his command by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, proceeded to the council which he intended to hold at Bari on the kalends of October [1st Oct.], in which council many points of catholic faith were discussed by the successor of the apostles with eloquence and reason. Here a question being mooted on the part of the Greeks (who were desirous to prove by the authority of the evangelists that the Holy Spirit proceeded only from the Father), the aforesaid Anselm so discussed, argued, and summed up the question, that there was no one in the council who did not admit that he was fully satisfied.

A.D. 1099. Pope Urban, in the 3d day in Easter week [10th April], held a great council at Rome, in which various laws having been repealed, and new ones enforced against the enemies of holy church, with the consent of the whole council he launched the sentence of excommunication against all laymen giving and all persons receiving at their hands the investitures of churches, and against all those who should consecrate any one to the discharge of the duties of a preferment so given. He also excommunicated all those who subjected themselves to laymen out of regard to any ecclesiastical dignity; for he said that it was accursed, that hands which had been exalted to so lofty an eminence as to create by their impress the all-creating God (a power granted to none of the angels), and to offer Him, for the salvation and redemption of the whole world, in the presence of the most high God the Father, should be debased to such a depth of ignominy as to become in subjection to the hands of those persons who day and night are polluted by immodest contacts, or defiled by the unlawful effusion of blood and by rapine. "So be it, so be it," was exclaimed by all, and so with this the council finished. After this the archbishop proceeded to Lyons.

William the younger, king of the English, returned from Normandy into England, and held a court in the feast of Pentecost [29th May], and gave the bishopric of Durham to Ralph, whom he had

appointed extortioner over the whole kingdom, and whom Thomas, archbishop of York, soon after consecrated there. On Thursday, the ides of July [15th July], Jerusalem was taken by the Christians, and afterwards on the 11th of the kalends of August [22d July], on the same day of the week, Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, was elected king by all the army. Pope Urban died on Thursday, the 4th of the kalends of August [29th July]. The Christians fought a battle with Amiravis, the commander of the army, and second in power in the kingdom of the king of Babylon, before the city of Ascalon, the day before the ides of August [12th Aug.], on the same day of the week, and by the blessing of Christ he obtained the victory. Paschal, a venerable man, who had been ordained priest by pope Hildebrand, was elected pope by the people of Rome on the ides of August [13th Aug.], and on the following day, namely, on Sunday the 19th of the kalends of September [14th Aug.], was consecrated. On the 3d nones of November [3d Nov.], the sea rose over the shore and overwhelmed many towns, drowning men and innumerable oxen and sheep. Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, died on the 3d nones of December [3d Dec.].

A.D. 1100. Pope Clement, who was also called Wibert, died. On Sunday, the ides of July [15th July], the church which abbot Serlo, of pious memory, had constructed from its foundation at Gloucester, was dedicated with great honour by bishops Samson of Gloucester, Gundulf of Rochester, Gerard of Hereford, and Harvey of Bangor. On Thursday, the 4th of the nones of August [2d Aug.], in the eighth indiction, William the younger, king of England, while engaged in hunting in the New Forest, which is called Ytene in the English tongue, was struck and killed by an arrow, carelessly aimed by a Frenchman, Walter, surnamed Tirell; and he was brought to Winchester, and buried in the old minster in the church of St. Peter. And no wonder, if (as common report affirms) the Almighty should thus have exhibited his power and his anger. For in times long past, (for instance, during the reigns of king Edward, and the other kings of England his predecessors,) this same tract of land abounded in churches and in inhabitants who honoured God; yet this notwithstanding, by command of king William the elder the men were expelled, their houses reduced almost to ruins, and the churches destroyed, and thus the land was rendered fit only for the habitation of wild beasts; and hence, as it is believed, the cause of this misfortune. For even the brother of William the younger, namely Richard, had fallen long before in the same forest; and a short time before, his cousin Richard, the son of Robert earl of Normandy, while he was hunting, was also killed by an arrow, shot by one of his knights. In the place where the king fell, in former times a church had been built, but it was destroyed, as we have said, in the time of his father.

During the reign of this king, (as we have partly mentioned above,) many signs appeared in the sun, moon, and stars; the sea often overflowed the shore, drowning men and cattle, and destroying many towns and houses; in the district called Barrucsire, a short time before his death, blood flowed from a fountain for three

weeks; and the devil frequently appeared in the woods in a horrible form to many Normans, and spoke with them much concerning the king, and Ralph, and some others. Nor is it to be wondered at; for in their time law was almost silenced, and money ruled supreme in all appeals to justice. In their time, some men obeyed the will of the king rather than justice; and Ralph—disregarding the ecclesiastical law and all the rules of his order, for he was a priest,—received from the king, first the abbeys, and then the bishoprics, whose pastors had recently died, that he might put them up for sale; and from this source he was enabled to pay a large sum of money annually to the king, and as his cunning and shrewdness were great, in a short time he so increased, that the king appointed him pleader and taxer for the whole kingdom. When he had at length acquired this power, he pillaged all the richer Englishmen in the kingdom, by depriving them of their goods and lands: and he unceasingly oppressed the poorer by a heavy and unjust tax, and, in many ways,—both before he obtained his bishopric and even while he possessed it,—did he vex both great and small, even up to the time of the king's decease; for on the very day of his death, he held in his own hands the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the bishoprics of Winchester and Salisbury. This king reigned thirteen years, all but thirty-eight days; his younger brother Henry succeeded him; and on Sunday, the nones of August [5th Aug.], was consecrated king in Westminster, by Maurice, bishop of London. On the day of his consecration he made free the holy church of God, which in his brother's time had been sold and placed to farm; he removed all the evil customs and unjust exactions, by which the kingdom of England had been oppressed; he established a firm peace in his dominions, and commanded its preservation; he restored the law of king Eadward to all in common, with the emendations which his father had made; but he retained in his own hands the forests, which he had established and of which he had taken possession. Not long after he committed to custody in the Tower of London, Ralph, bishop of Durham, and recalled Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, from France. Meanwhile Robert, earl of Flanders, and Eustace, earl of Boulogne, returned home from Jerusalem, and were followed by Robert, earl of Normandy, with his wife, whom he had married in Sicily. During this, Henry, king of England, assembled the chief men of England at London, and took to wife Mathilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of the Scots, and queen Margaret; she was consecrated queen and crowned by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. On Sunday, being the feast of St. Martin [11th Nov.], Thomas, archbishop of York, a man of venerated memory, and extraordinary piety, affable and beloved by all, departed this life at York, on Sunday, the 14th of the kalends of December [18th Nov.], and was succeeded by Gerhard, bishop of Hereford.

A.D. 1101. Ralph, bishop of Durham, after Christmas, with great cunning made his escape from prison, crossed the sea, and going over to Robert, count of Normandy, persuaded him to invade England. And many of the nobles of this land sent messengers to

him, and prayed him to come speedily to England, promising him the crown of England. The city of Gloucester was consumed by fire, with the chief monastery, and others, on Friday, the 8th of the ides of June [6th June]. Robert, earl of Normandy, assembled a great number of horsemen, archers, and footmen, and collected his ships at a place called in the Norman tongue, Ultresporte. When the king gained intelligence of this, he ordered his sailors to guard the sea, and to see that no one approached England from the coast of Normandy. And having assembled an immense army from the whole of England, he encamped not far from Hastings in Sussex; for he thought for certain that his brother would land on that part of the coast. But by the advice of bishop Ranulph, earl Robert so worked upon the minds of some of the king's sailors by promises of all kinds, that, setting aside their allegiance, they deserted to his enemies, and became their pilots to England. All being ready, Robert embarked with his army, and about the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula [1st Aug.], he landed in a place called Portesmuth; and straightway marching his army to Winchester, he encamped in a convenient position. When his arrival was known, some of the English nobles deserted to him, as they had previously intended; others concealed their intentions and remained with the king; but the bishops, the mercenary soldiers, and the English remained faithful to him, agreeing among themselves that they were ready to go to battle with him. The wiser men of both sides, having taken wholesome counsel together, brought about a peace between the brothers, on condition that the king should pay annually to the earl a sum of three thousand marks, that is, two thousand pounds of silver, and should restore freely to every one the honours which he had formerly possessed in England and might have lost by reason of his allegiance to the earl; while it was agreed that Robert should make restitution to all who had been deprived of honours in Normandy in the king's cause, and this he was to do free of all cost. The peace being concluded, the king's army returned home; but part of the earl's returned to Normandy, and part remained with him in England. Godfrey, king of Jerusalem, the powerful duke of Lorraine, son of Eustace the elder, earl of Boulogne, died, and lies buried in the church of the Golgotha. After his death, the Christians unanimously chose his brother Baldwin for their king. Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, son of earl Roger, began to fortify with a wide, deep, and lofty wall, the bridge which Aegelfled, queen of the Mercians, had built during the reign of her brother Eadward the elder, on the western bank of the river Severn, in a place called in the Saxon tongue, Brycge. And this he did against the king, as the issue proved. He commenced the construction of another also in Wales, in a place called Caroclove.

A.D. 1102. The aforesaid Robert, earl of Belesme, who at that time governed the county of Ponthieu, and possessed many castles in Normandy, fortified strongly, against king Henry, the city of Shrewsbury, the castle therein, and the castles of Arundel and Tyckyll, supplying them with provisions, machines, arms, horse-

soldiers, and footmen. He also hastened the completion of the walls and towers of the castles of Brycge and Caroclove, by carrying on the works night and day; and he excited the Welchmen, who were in subjection to him, to the more prompt, faithful, and speedy performance of his wishes, by awarding to them with a liberal hand honours, lands, horses, arms, and gifts of all sorts. His project, however, was speedily interrupted, for his designs being discovered and clearly published, the king declared him to be a public enemy. Wherefore, having assembled together as many Welchmen and Normans as they could muster, he and his brother Arnold laid waste a part of the county of Stafford, and carried away into Wales many horses and cattle, and some few men. But the king without delay besieged his castle of Arundel, and after having erected fortresses before it, he went away. Then he commanded Robert, bishop of Lincoln, to besiege Tyckyll with a part of his forces; and he himself besieged Brycge with the army of nearly all England, and began to construct there machines and a fortress. Meanwhile he very easily bribed the Welch, by moderate presents, in whom Robert had great confidence, to break their oaths, and to desert from him and join against him. Within thirty days the city and all the castles having been surrendered, he subdued his enemy Robert and drove him ignominiously out of England; and punished his brother Arnold shortly afterwards for his perfidy by a similar expulsion.

After this the king was at London, at Michaelmas [29th Sept.], with all his nobles, ecclesiastical and secular; where he invested two of the clergy with bishoprics, namely, Roger, his chancellor, with the see of Salisbury, and Roger, his larderer, with that of Hereford. Here also archbishop Anselm held a great council on questions pertaining to the christian faith, in which he associated with himself Gerard, archbishop of York, Maurice, bishop of London, William, bishop elect of Winchester, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, Samson, bishop of Worcester, Robert, bishop of Chester, John, bishop of Bath, Herbert, bishop of Norwich, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, Harvey, bishop of Bangor, and the two recently invested bishops, viz. Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and Roger, bishop of Hereford; Osbern, bishop of Exeter, was detained by infirmity, and unable to attend the meeting. In this council many abbots, both French as well as English, were deposed and deprived of the preferments of which they had unjustly become possessed, or in which they had lived unrighteously; namely, Guy, abbot of Pershore, Aldwin of Ramsey, the abbot of Tavistock, Haimoe of Cerne, the abbot of Micelenei, Aegelric of Middleton, Godric of Peterborough, Richard of Ely, Robert of St. Edmund's. Roger, bishop elect of Hereford, aforesaid, was taken ill at London, and died; and the queen's chancellor, named Reignelm, was promoted in his stead by a similar investiture. Henry, king of the English, gave Mary, the queen's sister, in marriage to Eustace, earl of Boulogne.

A.D. 1103. A great dissension arose between king Henry and archbishop Anselm, the archbishop refusing to consent to the

giving of investitures by the king, and to consecrate or communicate with those to whom the king had already given churches, because the apostolic pope had interdicted this as well to himself as to all others. Wherefore the king commanded Gerard, the archbishop of York, to consecrate the bishops to whom he had given investitures, namely, William Giffard and Roger, who was his chaplain, to whom the king had already given the church of Salisbury. Gerard performed the command of the king, but William set both that and the benediction of archbishop Gerard at defiance, having regard to the justice of the case. Wherefore, by the command of the king, he was despoiled of all his possessions and sent out of the kingdom; the others remained unconsecrated. But Reignelm shortly before this had surrendered the bishopric of Hereford to the king, believing that he had given offence to God in receiving the investiture of a church from the hands of a layman. After this the king held his court in Easter [29th March], at Winchester. Archbishop Anselm, after the many insults and contumelies of all kinds which he had suffered, by the request of the king proceeded to Rome on the 5th of the kalends of May [27th April], in accordance with an agreement made between himself and the king, taking in his suite William, bishop elect of Winchester, and the abbots who had been deprived of their abbeys, namely, Richard, abbot of Ely, and Aldwin of Ramsey. Robert, earl of Normandy, came into England to confer with his brother, and before he returned he remitted to William the three thousand marks of silver which that king was bound to pay annually to him according to their agreement. In the province called Berkshire, in a place called Heamstede, blood was seen by many to flow out of the ground. In the same year, on the 3d ides of August [11th Aug.], a great storm of wind arose, which caused damage to the fruits of the earth throughout England, such as the men then alive had never seen in past times.

A.D. 1104. Walter, abbot of Evesham, died on the 13th of the kalends of February [20th Jan.], and Serlo, abbot of Gloucester, on the 4th nones of March [4th March]. Henry, king of the English, held his court at Westminster at Whitsuntide. On Tuesday, the 7th of the ides of June [7th June], four circles of a white colour were seen round the sun, about the sixth hour, one under the other, as if they had been painted. All who saw it marvelled, because such things had never been seen before by any one of them. William, earl of Moreton, was disinherited of all the land which he possessed in England. It would be difficult to describe the misery which the land suffered at that time by reason of the exactions of the king. The body of St. Cuthbert the bishop, by reason of the incredulity of certain abbots, during the pontificate of bishop Ralph, was exhumed, and it, as well as the head of St. Oswald, king and martyr, and of St. Beda, and the relics of many saints, was found to be evidently uncorrupted. This was done by Ralph, abbot of Seez, afterwards bishop of Rochester, and by the brethren of Durham, in presence of earl Alexander, brother of Eadgar, king of Scots, afterwards king. And because it was permitted to

him to be present at so sacred a ceremony, he gave many marks of gold and silver, and caused to be prepared a shrine, in which the sacred body, enveloped in new vestments, was honourably preserved.

A.D. 1105. King Henry crossed the sea, and nearly all the Norman nobles, as soon as he arrived, despising the earl, their lord, and unmindful of the allegiance which they owed him, grasped the gold and silver which the king had brought with him out of England, and surrendered to him their castles and the fortified cities and towns. And he burned Bayeux and the church of St. Mary there, and took Caen from his brother; he then returned to England, because he was unable to reduce the whole of Normandy, intending however to return next year with a larger supply of money, and subdue the remainder, to the disinheritance of his brother. Earl William de Moreteon injured the property and men of the king, wherever he could lay hands on them, in revenge for the loss of his possessions in England.

A.D. 1106. Robert, earl of Normandy, came to England to confer with his brother Henry, whom he found at Northampton. Then the earl requested him to restore what he had taken from him in Normandy; but the king said no to everything; and the earl retired enraged, and crossed the sea. In the Friday of the first week of Lent, the 14th of the kalends of March [16th Feb.], in the evening, an extraordinary star appeared, and shone for twenty-five days, in the same form and at the same hour, between the south and west. It was itself small and dim, but the light which issued from it was exceedingly clear, and a brilliancy like a large beam darted into the star itself from the east and north. Many affirmed that they saw at that time several extraordinary stars. On Holy Thursday two moons were visible at night, shortly before daybreak, one in the east and one in the west, both being full, and on that day the moon was fourteen days old. In this year arose a most execrable dissension between the emperor of Germany and his son. Henry, king of England, crossed the sea before the month of August, proceeding into Normandy, and nearly all the Norman chiefs surrendered to him, except Robert de Belesme, William de Moreteon, and a few others who remained steady to earl Robert.

Henry, king of England, on the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], came to Bec, where he and archbishop Anselm met, and all the disputes which had hitherto divided them at length came to a peaceable termination. Not long after this the archbishop, by the command and request of the king, returned to England. An army was assembled, and the king marched to a castle belonging to the earl of Moreteon, called Tenercebrei, and besieged it. While he was thus engaged, earl Robert, the king's brother, came up against him with his army on the vigil of St. Michael [28th Sept.], and with him Robert de Beleasme, and William, earl of Moreton; but the right and the victory were on the king's side. Robert, earl of Normandy, William, earl of Moreteon, and Robert de Stuteville were taken prisoners there; but Robert de Beleasme escaped by flight. William Crispin and many others were also taken prisoners.

After this the king subdued the whole of Normandy, and governed it according to his own will, intelligence of which he sent by letters to archbishop Anselm.

A.D. 1107. Eadgar, king of Scots, died on the 8th of the ides of January [6th Jan.], and his brother Alexander succeeded him. Peace having been established in Normandy under the rule of the king, and Robert, earl of Normandy, and William, earl of Moreton, having been sent on to England in custody, the king returned to his kingdom before Easter [14th April]. In the kalends of August [1st Aug.] an assembly of all bishops, abbots, and nobles of the kingdom was held in London in the king's palace, and for three days, in the absence of archbishop Anselm, the question of ecclesiastical investitures was fully entered into between the king and the bishops, many striving to persuade him to act according to the custom of his father and brother, and not in obedience to the precept of the apostolic see; for pope Paschal, standing firm to the sentence which had been published upon this point, had conceded all those things which pope Urban had interdicted, together with investitures. By this means the pope had brought the king to an agreement with himself upon the question of investitures. At a later period, in the presence of Anselm and of a multitude of the people, the king granted and ordained that from that time forth no person should ever be invested, by the giving of the pastoral staff or the ring, with any bishopric or abbey in England, by the king, or indeed by any layman whatever. Anselm, on his part, conceded that no bishop elect should be deprived of consecration by reason of the homage which he had done to the king. Gerard, archbishop of York, placing his hand in the hand of Anselm, in accordance with his wish, promised, on his fealty, that he would show to him and his successors in the archbishopric, the same submission and obedience as the bishop elect of Hereford had promised to himself before his consecration to the church of Hereford. The following bishops elect, namely, William of Winchester, Roger of Salisbury, Reignelm of Hereford, William of Exeter, and Urban of Glamorgan, in Wales, came at the same time to Canterbury; and on Sunday, the 3d of the ides of August [11th Aug.], all these individuals were consecrated by Anselm. The suffragan bishops of the same see, namely, Gerard, archbishop of York, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, John of Bath, Herbert of Norwich, Robert of Chester, Ralph of Chichester, and Ranulph of Durham, all assisted him in the service. There was certainly no person of that day who remembered in past times the election and ordination at one time of so many bishops in England, except in the time of Eadward the elder, when archbishop Pleigmund ordained in one day seven bishops to seven churches. In this year Maurice, bishop of London, Richard, abbot of Ely, Robert, abbot of St. Edmund's, Miles Crispin, Robert Fitz Haimon, Roger Bigod, and Richard de Redvers, the king's councillors, departed this life.

A.D. 1108. Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, died, on the nones of March [7th March]. Henry, king of England, having established peace, enacted a law that if any man were caught in theft or robbery,

he should be hanged. He also enacted that debased and false money should be corrected with great severity; condemning those who were caught in the making of false coin, to lose, without the possibility of bail or ransom, their eyes and the lower parts of their bodies. And since it frequently happened that coin, upon examination, was found to be bent, broken, and therefore rejected, he enacted that no penny or halfpenny (which he also ordained should be round), and even no farthing should be entire.[1] From which edict great advantage followed to all the kingdom, for the king caused these secular changes to be made for the relief of the burdens of the land. Gerard, archbishop of York, died, and Thomas, the cousin by the father's side, of his predecessor Thomas, succeeded him.

These following statutes were made concerning archdeacons, priests, deacons, subdeacons, and canons of whatever rank, by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas, archbishop elect of York, with him, and all the bishops of England, in presence of the glorious king Henry, by assent of his barons, in the year 1108. "It is enacted that priests, deacons, and subdeacons shall live chastely, and shall not have any women in their houses, except those connected with them by the closest relationship, according to what the holy Synod of Nice has declared. Those priests, deacons, or subdeacons, however, who, after the interdict of the Council of London, have retained their wives, or married others, if they be desirous of again celebrating mass, are to separate from them entirely, and neither to suffer them to enter their own houses, nor are they themselves to visit these women; they are not knowingly to meet in any house, nor are such wives to reside within the boundary of the church; and if it be necessary, for any legitimate purpose, to hold converse with them, they are to meet out of doors in the presence of two lawful witnesses.

"If, by the testimony of two or three lawful witnesses, or the common report of his parishioners, any of the clergy be accused of the violation of this statute, he shall purge himself in the presence of proper witnesses of his own order: six if he be a priest, four if a deacon, two if a subdeacon. He who fails in this purgation shall be judged a transgressor of the sacred statute.

"Those priests who, contemning the sacred altar and holy orders, shall prefer to live with women, are to be removed from their divine office, deprived of all ecclesiastical preferment, placed without the choir, and declared infamous.

"Those rebel and contumacious persons who have not left their wives, and yet presumed to celebrate mass, shall be called to satisfaction; and if they neglect to appear in eight days, they shall be excommunicated.

"The same sentence, including the relinquishment of women, the avoidance of their conversation, and the imposition of censure, if the statute be transgressed, embraces all archdeacons and canons.

"All archdeacons shall swear that they will not receive money to overlook the infraction of this law, nor allow priests whom they

[1] This sentence is obscure, and possibly is corrupt; although the MSS. afford no means of correcting it by giving it a different interpretation.

know to have wives, to sing mass or to appoint substitutes. Deans shall do the same.

" The archdeacon or dean who refuses to swear to this, shall lose his archidiaconate or his deanery.

" Priests who decide to leave their wives and to serve the holy altar of God, shall be suspended for forty days, during which time they shall appoint substitutes, and shall suffer a penance prescribed by their bishops."

Philip, king of France, died, and his son Louis succeeded him. Henry, king of England, crossed the sea. Archbishop Anselm, in accordance with the request of the king, consecrated Richard, the elect of London, as bishop of that diocese in his chapel at Paggaham, William, bishop of Winchester, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and William, bishop of Exeter, assisting him in the service; the accustomed profession of obedience and submission being first of all made from the said bishop. After this he came to Canterbury, and consecrated Ralph, abbot of Seez, to the church of Rochester, in place of Gundulf, on the 3d of the ides of August [11th Aug.], William, bishop of Winchester, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and Richard, bishop of London, assisting him. This Richard, after the custom of his ancestors, honoured on the same day his mother-church of Canterbury with a magnificent gift.

A.D. 1109. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, died at Canterbury on Wednesday the 11th of the kalends of May [21st April], and was buried with due honour on the following day, being Holy Thursday. Henry, king of England, returned about rogation week to England, and held his court at Westminster in Whitsuntide [13th June]. Thomas, archbishop elect of York, was consecrated by Richard, bishop of London, at London, on the 5th of the kalends of July [27th June], and afterwards on Sunday, being the kalends of August [1st Aug.], he received at York the pall which the pope had sent to him; and on the same day consecrated Turgod, prior of Durham, to the bishopric of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, which is called Cenrimunt. In the same year the king changed the abbey of Ely into an episcopal see, and appointed Hervey, bishop of Bangor, to that church. A comet was seen about the milky way in the month of December, its tail being directed to the north.

A.D. 1110. Henry, king of England, gave his daughter to Henry, king of the Germans. In the same year many signs appeared throughout England. A severe earthquake was felt at Shrewsbury. The river called Trent was dried up at Nottingham from the morning up to the third hour of the day, for the space of a mile, so that men walked dry-foot on its bed. A comet appeared on the 6th of the ides of June [8th June], and was visible for three weeks. Henry, king of the Germans, came to Rome, took pope Paschal, and put him in confinement, but afterwards made peace with him at the bridge of the Via Salaria, where they celebrated the feast of Easter in the Campus.

In this form the reconciliation between the king and the pope was made; and this is the oath of the king:—

"I, king Henry, will set free, on next Thursday or Friday, the lord pope; and the bishops and cardinals, and all the captives and hostages who have been taken for or with him, I will cause to be safely conducted within the gates of the city beyond the river Tiber: I will never again take or permit to be taken those who remain in the allegiance of the lord the pope Paschal, and I will keep peace and security with the Roman people, and of the city beyond the Tiber and island, through me and mine, in persons and in things, provided they keep peace with me. I will faithfully aid the lord the pope to keep his position as pope quietly and securely. I will restore the patrimonies and possessions of the Romish church which I have taken away, and I will faithfully aid her to recover and keep all which she ought to possess, as my ancestors have done; I will obey our lord the pope, having regard to the honour of my kingdom and empire, in the same manner as catholic emperors have obeyed catholic Roman pontiffs. All these things will I faithfully observe without fraud or deceit."

These are the jurors on the part of the king: Frederic, archbishop of Cologne, Gebehard, bishop of Trent, Burchard, bishop of Munster, Bruno, bishop of Spires, Albert, chancellor, earl Herman, Frederic, count palatine, earl Berengar, earl Frederic, marquis Boniface, Albert, earl of Blandry, earl Frederic, earl Godefrid, marquis Warnerius.

A second convention between the pope and the king:—"Our lord the pope Paschal, being the one hundred and fifty-sixth pope, is willing to concede to king Henry and his kingdom, and will confirm and corroborate this his privilege under anathema, that it shall be lawful for the king, after the election of a bishop or abbot without simony, with the royal assent, to invest him with a ring and staff. And the bishop or abbot so invested by the king, shall freely accept consecration from the bishop to whom the right shall pertain. If any be elected by the clergy and people, except he be invested by the king, he shall not be consecrated; and archbishops and bishops shall have the liberty of consecrating those invested by the king. In none of these things shall the lord the pope molest king Henry, nor his kingdom, nor his empire."

This is the oath on the part of the pope:—

"Our lord the pope Paschal shall not molest our lord the king Henry, nor his empire, nor his kingdom, touching the investiture of bishoprics or abbacies, nor for any injustice done to himself and his people, nor shall he do any evil to him or any other person in this cause; and he shall by no means pronounce an anathema against the person of the king, nor shall it remain in the power of the pope to refuse him coronation, as is contained in the agreement; and he shall aid to the best of his power the kingdom and empire of the king by the influence of his office: and this the pope shall do without fraud and treachery."

These are the names of those bishops and cardinals who, by the command of the pope, have confirmed the privilege and agreement by oath to the emperor Henry: Peter, bishop of Porto, Centius, bishop of Sabina, Robert, cardinal of St. Eusebius, Boniface,

cardinal of St. Mark, Anastasius, cardinal of St. Clement, Gregory, cardinal of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul; also Gregory, cardinal of St. Chrisogonus, John, cardinal of St. Potentiana, Risus, cardinal of St. Lawrence, Rainer, cardinal of Sts. Marcellus and Peter, Vitalis, cardinal of St. Balbina, Duuzo, cardinal of St. Martin, Theodbald, cardinal of John and Paul, John, deacon of St. Mary in Schola Græca.

This is the privilege of the lord the pope, which he granted to the emperor concerning the investitures of bishoprics :—

"*Paschal the Bishop, Servant of the servants of God, to his most beloved son in Christ, Henry, the glorious King of the Germans, and by the grace of God august Emperor of the Romans, greeting, and the apostolic benediction.* God's providence has decreed that a singularly close attachment should exist between your kingdom and the holy Roman church; your predecessors, in consequence of their honour and more abundant prudence, obtained the crown and empire of the city of Rome; to which dignity, dearest son, the Divine Majesty has advanced you by the ministry of our holy office. The prerogative of that dignity, which our predecessors have conceded to the catholic emperors, your predecessors, and have confirmed by writing, we also concede to you, our beloved friend, confirming it by this instrument; to wit, that you are permitted to confer upon the bishops or abbots of your kingdom, who have been elected without violence or simony, the investiture of the staff and ring; and that after the investiture they may canonically receive consecration from the bishop to whom that office may pertain. If any be elected against your assent, except he be invested by you, let him not be consecrated. Let bishops or archbishops have liberty from you of consecrating bishops or abbots canonically. For your predecessors out of their royal possessions have so amply endowed the churches of their kingdom, that it is absolutely necessary that the same kingdom should be defended by abbots or bishops, and that the popular riots, which often happen in elections, should be subdued by the royal authority. Wherefore, by God's assistance, you ought to rely on your own prudence and carefulness to preserve the eminence of the Roman church and the safety of the rest by benefits and services. If any person, ecclesiastical or secular, shall audaciously attempt to pervert the import of this concession, let him be bound by the chain of an anathema, except he repent, and suffer the loss of his honours and dignities; and may the Divine Mercy preserve those who observe it, and grant you happily to reign to his honour and glory."

With these conventions and oaths between the lord the pope and the king, peace was made in the feast of Easter. Then the king came to Rome in the ides of April [13th April], and the pope having celebrated mass in the church of St. Peter, consecrated him emperor, and gave him and all his people absolution, and pardoned all the injuries which he himself had received. Henry, king of England, transferred into Wales the Flemings, who inhabited Northumberland, with all their furniture, and commanded them to inhabit the land called Ros. And he also commanded that the new monastery, which

had been built by William, bishop of Winchester, within the walls of Winchester, should be rebuilt outside the walls; and soon after crossed the sea. In this year there was a very severe winter, a heavy famine, and a great mortality among men, a plague among animals, both beasts of the field and domestic animals, and a great destruction of birds.

A.D. 1111.

A.D. 1112. The decision of a council against the heresy concerning the investiture :—

In the thirteenth year of the pontificate of pope Paschal II., the fifth indiction, in the month of March, on the 15th of the kalends of April [18th March], a council was held at Rome, in the Lateran, in the Constantine church. In this council, when the pope had returned with his archbishops, bishops, cardinals, and a great multitude of clergy and laity, on the last day of the council, having made a profession of the catholic faith in the presence of all, in order that none might doubt of his belief, he said ; " I embrace all Holy Scripture, namely, the Old and New Testament, the law of Moses, and the holy prophets. I embrace the four gospels, the seven canonical epistles, the epistles of the glorious doctor the blessed Paul the apostle, the sacred canons of the apostles, the four general councils (even as I embrace the four gospels), namely, the councils of Nice, Ephesus, Constantinopole, and Chalcedon ; the council of Antioch, and the decrees of the holy fathers, pontiffs of Rome, especially the decrees of my lord pope Gregory VII., and pope Urban, of blessed memory. What they accepted, I accept ; what they held, I hold ; what they confirmed, I confirm ; what they condemned, I condemn ; what they rejected, I reject ; what they interdicted, I interdict ; what they prohibited, I prohibit, in all and through all ; and in these things I will always persevere."

When he had finished, Gerard, bishop of Engoulesme, legate in Acquitain, rose for all ; and by the common assent of pope Paschal and all the council, he read as follows :—" All we, assembled in this sacred council with the lord the pope, do, by censure canonical and authority ecclesiastical, by the judgment of the Holy Spirit, condemn, and judge to be void and of no effect, and altogether quash, and (lest it have any authority or efficacy) totally repudiate the privilege, (which is no privilege, but ought rather to be called a violation of the law,) that, namely, which, for the liberation of prisoners and the church, has been extorted from pope Paschal by the violence of king Henry ; and it is therefore condemned, because it contains the clause, that one canonically elected by the clergy and people, unless he be first invested by the king, shall not be consecrated ; which is against the Holy Spirit and the canonical institutions."

When this charter had been read, the whole council exclaimed at once, " Amen, Amen ! so be it, so be it !" The archbishops who were present with their suffragans, were these : John, patriarch of Venice, Semies of Capua, Landulf of Benevento, those of Amalfi, Reggio, Otranto, Brindisi, Capsa, Gyrontium ; and of the Greeks, Risano, and the archbishop of San Severino ; the

bishops, Centius of Savona, Peter of Porto, Leo of Ostia, Cono of Palestina, Girard of Engoulesme, Galo of Leon, legate for the archbishops of Bourges and Vienne, Roger of Volturara, Geoffrey of Sienna, Roland of Pampeluna, Gregory of Tarragona, William of Troia, Gibin of Syracuse, legate for all the Sicilies, and other bishops to the number of nearly one hundred. Siguin and John of Toscolano, bishops, though at Rome on that day, were not present at the council. Afterwards, they read the condemnation of the privilege, and consented to it and accepted it.

Samson, the twenty-fifth bishop of Worcester, died on Sunday, the 3d of the nones of May [5th May]. Henry, king of England, placed earl Robert of Belesme in custody, in Carisbrook, in the month of October.

A.D. 1113. The city of Worcester, with its cathedral church, and all the other churches, and the castle, was consumed by fire, on Friday, the 13th of the kalends of July [19th June]. There perished in the flames one of the monks, who had been most useful to the monastery, with two servants, and fifteen citizens. Henry, king of England, returned to England in the month of July, and placed earl Robert de Belesme, whom he had brought over from Normandy, in the closest confinement at Warham. Thomas the prior, and Colemann, celebrated monks of St. Mary of Worcester, men of rare worth, departed this life, on Saturday, the 4th of the nones of October [4th Oct.].

> Thus by a common fate they pay the debt of nature;
> Yet theirs are the highest joys, theirs the most perfect peace;
> For with the saints they inherit the life which knoweth no end.

Teoulf, the king's chaplain, was made bishop of Worcester, on Sunday, the 5th of the kalends of January [28th Dec.], at Windsor.

A.D. 1114. Mathilda, daughter of Henry, king of the English, on the 8th of the ides of January [6th Jan.], was married at Mayence, to Henry, emperor of Rome, and consecrated queen. Thomas, archbishop of York, died on Tuesday, the 6th of the kalends of March [24th Feb.]. Ralph, bishop of Rochester, on Sunday, the 6th of the kalends of May [26th April], was elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury, at Windsor. The city of Chichester, with the principal monastery, was burnt, on Tuesday, the 3d of the nones of May [5th May], by negligence. Thurstan, the king's chaplain, was elected on the day of the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], at Winchester, to the archbishopric of York. Arnulf, abbot of Burgh, was elected bishop of Rochester. Henry, king of England, after he had led an army into Wales, crossed the sea, before the Feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.]. The river called Medewege became so shallow for many miles, on the 6th of the ides of October [10th Oct.], that even in the middle of the stream the smallest vessels were quite unable to keep afloat from want of water. The Thames, on the same day, suffered the same failure; for between the bridge and the Royal Tower, even under the bridge, the water was so shallow, that not only horses but a great multitude of men and boys crossed on foot, the water scarcely reaching up to their knees. This want of water lasted from the middle of

the preceding night to the middle of the following night. We have heard, from credible sources, that a similar want of water was experienced on the same day at Yarmouth, and in other places throughout England.

A.D. 1115. In this year the winter was so severe, that nearly all the bridges in England were ruined by the frost. The emperor Henry, after he had laid siege to Cologne for a long time, and had lost many of his men in a pitched battle, made peace by oath in the city of Nussa. Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, on Sunday, the 5th of the kalends of July [27th June], assumed the pall at Canterbury, where the bishops of all England were assembled, at the hands of Anselm, legate of the holy Roman church. And on the same day Teoulf, bishop of Worcester, was consecrated with great honour. Wilfrid, bishop of St. David, died in Wales; up to his time the bishops had been Britons. In the octave of the apostles St. John and St. Paul [6th July], a great council was celebrated at Châlons, by Cono, cardinal of the Roman church; in which he excommunicated the bishops who were not present at the council; he also degraded some, and deprived many abbots of their staffs and deposed them from their seats, interdicting them from the exercise of the ecclesiastical office. Henry, king of the Romans, returned to England, in the middle of July. Bernard, the queen's chancellor, was elected bishop of St. David's in Wales, on Saturday, the 14th of the kalends of October [18th Sept.], and on the same day was promoted to the priesthood, by William, bishop of Winchester, at Southwark, and on the morrow, in the presence of the queen, he was consecrated bishop at Westminster, by archbishop Ralph. Regnelm, bishop of Hereford, died on the 6th of the kalends of November [27th Oct.], in whose stead Gosfrid, the king's chaplain, was elected. Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, ordained at Canterbury, on St. Stephen [26th Dec.], Arnulf to the see of Rochester, and Gosfrid to Hereford.

A.D. 1116. Griffin ap Rees ravaged Wales in the spring, and burned the castles, because king Henry would not give him a portion of the land of his father. An assembly of nobles and barons of all England was held at Salisbury, on the 14th of the kalends of April [19th March], and they did homage and swore allegiance in the presence of king Henry to his son William. The dissension which had continued for a whole year between Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thurstan, archbishop elect of York, was mooted here. This archbishop elect, on receiving admonition from the pope to do that which he was bound to do to the church of Canterbury, and to receive his benediction according to ecclesiastical customs, made answer that he was willing to accept the benediction, but that he would by no means make the profession which was demanded of him. But king Henry, when he understood that Thurstan still remained in his disobedience, openly declared that he should either follow the custom of his predecessors, both in making the profession and in other matters belonging of ancient right to the church of Canterbury, or that he should entirely lose both the archbishopric of York and the benediction. When he heard this, being led astray

by the impulse of his temper, he renounced the archbishopric, promising the king and archbishop that he would never claim it while he lived, and that he would make no demand for it whoever was put in his place. Owen, king of Wales, was slain, and Henry, king of England, crossed the sea; Thurstan, archbishop elect of York, accompanying them, in the hope that he might recover the investiture of his archbishopric, and obtain the benediction from the archbishop by the royal command without the exaction of the required profession. About the month of August, Anselm returned from Rome, having brought the pall from Rome for the archbishop of Canterbury; and he came to Normandy, bringing letters from the apostolic see, by which there was conceded to himself the office of legate in England, which he intimated to the kingdom of England by his letters. Hereupon, by the advice of the queen and some of the nobles of England, Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, after the feast of the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], crossed the sea, went to the king, whom he found residing at Rouen; and having carefully discussed with him the business on which he had come, point by point, by his advice he set out on his journey to Rome.

A.D. 1117. By command of king Henry, a new building was commenced at Cirencester. In Lombardy a great earthquake took place, and, according to the testimony of those who knew about it, it lasted for a space of forty days, during which time many buildings were thrown down; and, what is wonderful, a large town was suddenly moved from its own position, and may be now seen to stand in a place far removed from other towns. While some men of patrician rank were assembled in a tower at Milan, for the transaction of state affairs, a voice at the door resounded in the ears of all, calling one of them by name, and entreating him to come forth at once. When he delayed, a form appeared before them, and by earnest prayers prevailed upon him to leave. As soon as he was gone the tower suddenly fell, and buried all who were present in its ruins. Robert, bishop of Stafford [Coventry], and Gilebert, abbot of Westminster, died on the 8th of the ides of December [6th Dec.].

HERE ENDS THE CHRONICLE OF FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

HERE BEGINS THE CONTINUATION OF THE CHRONICLE OF FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

A.D. 1118. Pope Paschal, of holy memory, died on the 14th of the kalends of February [19th Jan.], and a certain John, a native of Cajeta, succeeded him, his name being changed to Gelasius. He was bred up for a monk in the monastery of Mount Cassino from infancy, and when he attained man's estate became chancellor to the venerable apostolic popes Desiderius, Urban, and Paschal. The king of Germany, who was also emperor of Rome, hearing that the pope had departed this life, hurried to Rome, and appointed as pope the bishop of Braga, who had been excommunicated in the preceding year at Beneventum by Paschal, when Gelasius left the city; and he then called him Gregory, instead of his former name, Maurice. Mathilda, queen of England, died at Westminster on the kalends of May [1st May], and was honourably buried in the monastery itself. Many of the Normans who had sworn allegiance to king Henry went over to Louis, king of France, and his chiefs, who were the adversaries of the king, thus not fearing to set aside the claims of their natural lord. The aforesaid pope Gelasius came over sea to Burgundy, and his arrival was immediately made known to the whole of France. On the nones of July [7th July], Florence of Worcester, the monk, died. His deep knowledge and great industry have rendered this Chronicle of chronicles pre-eminent over all others.

> The earth covers his body, may his soul find rest in heaven,
> And reign for ever there with the saints in the presence of God.

After the dedication of the church at Momerfeld by Gosfrid, bishop of Hereford, all who had come to that service set out to return home; but the air which had been before remarkably serene, became clouded, and a great storm of thunder and lightning arose, and some of those on their journey back, being overtaken by it and unable to return, rested in a certain spot at which they happened to have arrived. They were five in number, three men and two women; one of the latter was killed by a stroke of lightning, and the other having been set on fire from the middle down to the soles of the feet, perished miserably, the men alone scarce escaping with their lives. Five of their horses also were struck and killed.

A.D. 1119. Pope Gelasius died, and was buried at Cluny; Guy, bishop of Vienne, succeeded him, whose name was changed to Calixtus. Gosfrid, bishop of Hereford, died on the 3d of the nones of February [3d Feb.], and Herbert, of Norwich, on the

11th of the kalends of August [22d July]. A war having arisen between Henry, king of England, and Louis, king of France, and the earl of Anjou, and the earl of Flanders, king Henry, seizing the opportunity, took the initiative in making peace with the earl, and accepted his daughter in marriage for his son William, whom he had already made the heir of all his kingdom. The earl of Anjou went to Jerusalem. After this king Henry, by the advice of his nobles, made peace with the king of France, by which his son William received Normandy, to be held of the king of France. The king also made peace not only with his nobles, who had unjustly and unfaithfully deserted him, but also with the earl of Flanders. An earthquake was felt in many places in England on Sunday, the 4th of the kalends of October [28th Sept.], about the third hour of the day. Pope Calixtus appointed a general council at Rheims on the 13th of the kalends of November [20th Oct.], where there was a great assembly of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and princes of different provinces, and an immense multitude of clergy and people. The bishops of England, who were then staying with the king in Normandy, namely, William of Exeter, Ranulph of Durham, Bernard of St. David's, and Urban of Glamorgan, and the bishops and abbots of Normandy, were sent by the king himself to the council. Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, was not able to attend by reason of sickness. Thurstan, archbishop elect of York, sought permission of the king to go thither, and at length obtained it, pledging his faith that he would, on no account, accept the episcopal consecration from the pope. Bound by this promise, he hastened on his journey, and came to the pope; and soon, setting aside his promise, by the aid of bribes he brought the Romans over to his own side, and through them besought the pope that he would with his own hand consecrate him bishop. And he was consecrated to the archbishopric of York, and many of the bishops of France were present at his consecration. The bishops of England, however, had not yet come to the council; but when they became acquainted with what had been done, they told it to the king. And he being very indignant hereat, forbade Thurstan and his people to return either into England or Normandy, or indeed to any of his dominions.

A.D. 1120. Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, returned to England on Sunday the 2d of the nones of January [4th Jan.], and on Sunday the 2d of the nones of April [4th April] he consecrated a venerable clerk named David, who was chosen to the bishopric of Bangor by king Griffin and the clergy and people of Wales; and at this consecration were present Richard, bishop of London, Robert of Lincoln, Roger of Salisbury, and Urban of Glamorgan. Henry, king of England, after having concluded everything prosperously and according to his wishes, returned from Normandy into England. His son William followed him, and embarked attended by a great company of nobles, soldiers, boys, and women. When they had put out of port, relying on the extraordinary calmness of the weather, and were proceeding on the voyage, in a short time the ship in which they were sailing struck upon a rock, and

all who were on board (except one peasant who escaped by the wonderful mercy of God, and he, as it is related, not even worthy to be mentioned by name) were swallowed up by the waves. The most noble of these were William, the king's son, Richard, his brother, Richard, earl of Chester, Otthuel, his brother, William Bigod, Geoffrey Riddel, Walter de Everci, Geoffrey, archdeacon of Hereford, the countess of Perch, daughter of the king, the countess of Chester, the king's niece, and many others, whom we pass by for brevity's sake. This shocked and distressed the mind of the king (who had reached England after a prosperous voyage), and of all who heard it, and caused them to ponder upon the hidden judgments of a just God.

A.D. 1121. Henry, king of England, having now been a widower for a long time (and that he might no longer lead an improper life), by the advice of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, and the nobles of the kingdom, whom he assembled together at London, on the Epiphany of our Lord [6th Jan.], determined that he would choose for his wife Adelaide, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, a maiden adorned with the comeliness of a modest countenance. Messengers are despatched; and they brought the future queen, with great state, from the parts beyond the sea, to the court of the king. Meanwhile, two clerks were elected to the government of churches which had been vacant for some time, namely, Richard, who was keeper of the royal seal under the chancellor, and Robert, whose duty it was to serve the king in the care of his bread and drink. The former of these was made bishop of Hereford, the latter of Chester. Herbert, also, monk of the abbey of Westminster, was appointed abbot of the same place. Richard was elected on Friday, the 7th of the ides of January [7th Jan.], and on Sunday, the 17th of the kalends of February [16th Jan.], was consecrated bishop at Lambeth, by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, with the assistance of Richard, bishop of London, Robert of Lincoln, Arnulph of Rochester, Urban of Glamorgan, Bernard of St. David's. The maid aforesaid, being elected queen, was espoused to the king on Saturday the 4th of the kalends of February [29th Jan.], by William, bishop of Winchester, by command of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury; and on the morrow, namely, on the 3d of the kalends of February [30th Jan.], was consecrated queen by the same archbishop, and crowned. After this the archbishop came to Abingdon, with the king, and on Sunday, the 3d of the ides of March [13th March], he consecrated the aforesaid Robert to the bishopric of Chester; William, bishop of Winchester, William of Exeter, Urban and Bernard, Welsh bishops, being present and assisting in the consecration. After a few days, a certain member of the chapel royal, named Everard, was elected to the bishopric of Norwich, and consecrated at Canterbury, by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, on the 2d of the ides of June [12th June], Arnulph, bishop of Rochester, Richard of Hereford, and Robert of Coventry, assembling for this purpose. Pope Calixtus, having collected forces from all parts, took the above-mentioned Maurice, surnamed Burdinus, whom the emperor had established, by the name of Gregory, in the

apostolic see; and contumeliously thrust him into a monastery, after having stripped him of all his honours. Henry, king of England, led an army against the Welsh, and, taking hostages from them, reduced the whole of Wales to his own dominion. A certain clerk, an Irishman by birth, and by name Gregory, being chosen bishop of Dublin by the king, the clergy, and the people of Ireland, came to England, that he might be ordained, according to ancient custom, by the archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England; whereupon by the command of the archbishop, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, promoted him to the rank of the deaconship and priesthood, at his castle called Devizes, on Saturday, the 11th of the kalends of October [21st Sept.]. He was ordained bishop on Sunday, the 6th of the nones of October [2d Oct.], at Lambeth, by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury; and Richard, bishop of London, Roger of Salisbury, Robert of Lincoln, Everard of Norwich, and David of Bangor, were present at his consecration. The principal church at Tewksbury was consecrated with great pomp, by Teoulf, bishop of Worcester, Richard of Hereford, Urban of Glamorgan, and the aforesaid Gregory of Dublin, on Monday, the 9th of the kalends of November [24th Oct.].

A.D. 1122. The city of Gloucester, with the principal monastery, for the second time were destroyed by fire, on Wednesday, the 7th of the ides of March [9th March], in the twenty-second year of the reign of king Henry; the former conflagration happened in the first year of his reign, on Thursday, the 11th of the kalends of June [22d May]. Ralph, the twenty-fifth archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life at Canterbury, on Thursday, the 14th of the kalends of November [19th Oct.]. John, bishop of Bath, died on the 4th of the kalends of January [29th Dec.]; during his lifetime he had sold all the town of Bath to king Henry, for five hundred pounds.

A.D. 1123. Robert, the eighteenth bishop of Lincoln, in the month of January, while at Woodstock, when on horseback, and holding a conversation with king Henry, suddenly lost his speech and sank to the ground; he was carried away to an house, where he died. Ranulph, also, the king's chancellor, departed this life in a miserable manner. William, canon of St. Osgith's of Chiche, was elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury, at Gloucester, where the king held his court, on the Purification of St. Mary [2d Feb.]; and he was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, by William, bishop of Winchester, with the assistance of many others, on the 14th of the kalends of March [16th Feb.]. With his assent, in Lent, the bishopric of the city of Lincoln was given to Alexander, archdeacon of Salisbury. Afterwards the same archbishop William (in company with Thurstan, archbishop of York, Bernard, bishop of St. David's, Sigefrid, abbot of Glastonbury, and Anselm, abbot of St. Edmund) went to Rome for his pall. Alexander, king of Scots, died on the 7th of the kalends of May [25th April]. Henry, king of England, after the feast of Pentecost [3d June], went over sea. William, archbishop of Canterbury, having received the pall from pope Calixtus, and Thurstan, archbishop of York, with his companions, returned from Rome, and joined the

king, who was staying in Normandy. And not long after this, archbishop William returned to England, and on the 11th of the kalends of August [22d July], being then at Canterbury, he consecrated Alexander, bishop of Lincoln; and on the 7th of the kalends of September [26th Aug.], and in the church of St. Paul apostle, at London, he consecrated Godefrey, the queen's chancellor, bishop of Bath. Teoulf, the twenty-sixth bishop of Worcester, died on Saturday, the 13th of the kalends of November [20th Oct.], at his vill of Hantun. Robert, abbot of Tewkesbury, departed this life on the 6th of the ides of December [8th Dec.]. David, brother of Alexander, king of the Scots, succeeded him in the kingdom.

A.D. 1124. Arnulf, the twenty-third bishop of Rochester, died in the month of March. Galeran, count of Mellent, was captured in Passion-week by the soldiers of king Henry, in Normandy, and was placed, with many others, in close confinement at Rouen. Gosfrid, abbot of the new monastery of Winchester, died. The reverend prior of the church of Worcester, named Nicholas, died on Wednesday, the 8th of the kalends of July [24th June]. May he, by the mercy of God, rejoice in the kingdom of heaven! William, archbishop of Canterbury, as the king had commanded, crossed the sea. Pope Calixtus died, and was succeeded by Honorius, bishop of Ostia.

A.D. 1125. The coiners who were taken in England with false money, suffered the cruel sentence of the king, by amputation of their right hands, and the loss of the lower parts of their bodies. Afterwards, in consequence of a change in the value of money, all things became dear; whence a severe famine arose, and reduced a great multitude of men nearly to death. Simon, the queen's chancellor, and Sigefrid, abbot of Glastonbury, men of remarkable piety and probity, were elected (when they were in Normandy) to be bishops; Simon to the bishopric of Worcester, and Sigefrid to that of Chichester. Hugh, archdeacon of two bishops of Worcester, namely, Samson and Teoulf, a man of great prudence, died on the 12th of the kalends of April [21st March]. The feast of Easter having ended [29th March], Simon and Sigefrid, the bishops elect, came to England, in company with archbishops William and Thurstan, and a Roman cardinal, by name John; and Sigefrid was ordained bishop of the church of Chichester, by archbishop William, on the 2d of the ides of April [12th April]. There were present at his ordination the Roman cardinal, Thurstan, archbishop of York, Everard of Norwich, Richard of Hereford, Bernard of St. David's, David of Bangor, Urban of Glamorgan, and John, bishop elect of Rochester. Simon, bishop elect of Worcester, was received at Worcester by the clergy and people with a festive procession, on the 8th of the ides of May [8th May], being the day of the Ascension of the Lord; and on the 10th of the kalends of June [23d May] he was ordained priest at Canterbury, by William, archbishop of Canterbury. The emperor Henry died, and was buried at Spires, where his grandfather also lies.

Lothair, the ninety-eighth emperor of the Romans, reigned thirteen years. Simon, bishop elect of Worcester, accompanied by

Godfrey, bishop of Bath, came to Canterbury, and was ordained priest on the Saturday in Whitsun-week [17th May], by William, archbishop of Canterbury, and on the next day was consecrated with great pomp bishop of the holy mother church of Worcester; and along with him John, archdeacon of Canterbury, was ordained bishop of Rochester. At their consecration were present Richard, bishop of Hereford, David of Bangor, Godfrey of Bath, Sigefrid of Chichester. When Simon of Worcester came to the seat of his bishopric, a great multitude of the people assembled; after which he was received by a honourable procession, and enthroned with the celebration of a mass in honour of the Holy Trinity. On the same day, that is, on the 9th of the kalends of June [24th May], that servant and faithful friend of God, in all his house, by name Benedict, who in the preceding year had been elected abbot of Tewkesbury, (one who had been brought up there in the monkish habit from a boy, and in process of time, by the permission of Wulfstan the bishop, from whom he had already taken all the ecclesiastical orders, having become in peace and love one of the monks of Worcester,) was consecrated by the same new bishop, Simon, to the office of abbot of the church of Worcester. There were present at the consecration of the same bishop, the following; namely, Richard of Hereford, Godfrey of Bath, David of Bangor, and his diocesans, the abbots, Guy of Pershore, William of Gloucester, Godfrey of Winchelcumbe, and instead of his abbot, who was prevented by sickness, Dominic, prior of Evesham, Walcer, the prior of Malvern, to whom the words of the Psalmist may be applied, "The Lord sendeth out the fountains in the valleys, and the whole assembly who met the priest in procession." These same ecclesiastics also received the said Benedict in procession.

A synod was celebrated at London, in the church of the blessed chief of the apostles at Westminster, on the 9th of September, that is, on the 5th of the ides, where, after the discussion of many causes, these canons, seventeen in number, were published and confirmed by all. John de Crema presided in this synod; he was cardinal priest of the holy and apostolic church, of the title of Saint Crisogonus, being the legate of pope Honorius in England, with William, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thurstan, archbishop of York, and the bishops of different provinces, twenty in number, and about forty abbots, and an innumerable multitude of the clergy and the people. These are the canons:—

The first canon.—Following in the footsteps of the holy fathers, by our apostolic authority we forbid the ordination of any person in the church for money.

II. We interdict the exaction of any fee for the chrism, for oil, for baptism, for penance, for the visitation of the sick or unction, for the communion of the Body of Christ, or for burial.

III. Moreover we ordain, and decree by apostolic authority, that in the consecration of bishops, or the benedictions of abbots, or the dedications of churches, no cope, nor tapet, nor napkin, nor basin, nor anything else whatever, shall be exacted by violence, unless it shall be spontaneously offered.

IV. No abbot, no prior, no monk or clerk shall accept a church, tithe, or any ecclesiastical benefice from the gift of a layman, without the assent and authority of his own bishop. If he shall presume to do this, the donation shall be void, and he himself shall be subjected to the canonical censure.

V. We enact, moreover, that no person shall claim for himself a church or prebend by paternal inheritance, or shall appoint a successor to himself in any ecclesiastical benefice, which if he presume to do, we forbid that it have any effect, saying with the Psalmist, "O my God, make them like a wheel, and (as they have said) Let us possess the sanctuary of God as an inheritance."

VI. Furthermore we enact, that clerks who hold churches or ecclesiastical benefices, and avoid ordination, in order to be able to live more freely in the world; and after having been urged thereto by their bishops, should they still continue to contemn promotion to orders, they shall be deprived of their churches and benefices.

VII. None but a priest shall be promoted to the dignity of dean or prior; none but a deacon to the rank of archdeacon.

VIII. No person shall be ordained priest or deacon except on a definite title. Whoever shall have been ordained absolutely shall lose his assumed dignity.

IX. No abbot, no clerk or layman whatever, shall presume to eject any person ecclesiastically ordained to a church, without the sentence of his own bishop. He who shall presume to do otherwise will subject himself to excommunication.

X. No bishop shall presume to ordain or adjudge the inhabitants of another diocese, for each stands or falls to his own master; nor is any one bound by a sentence which is not pronounced by his own judge.

XI. No person shall presume to take into communion one who has been excommunicated by another. If he shall have knowingly done this, he shall himself be deprived of christian communion.

XII. We command, also, that two archdeaconries or preferments of different ranks shall not be assigned to the same person.

XIII. We prohibit by apostolic authority all priests, deacons, subdeacons and canons, from cohabiting with wives, or concubines, and with all women generally, except it be in the case of a mother, a sister, an aunt, or those women who are removed from all suspicion. Whoever shall be proved by confession or conviction to have violated this decree, let him suffer the loss of his own orders.

XIV. We altogether prohibit usury and filthy gain to all sorts of clerks. Whoever shall have confessed or have been convicted of such a crime, is to be degraded from the orders which he holds.

XV. We command the excommunication of fortune-tellers, soothsayers, and dealers in all kinds of auguries, and those who consent to them, and we brand them with perpetual infamy.

XVI. We forbid the contraction of marriages as well between those connected by blood as those connected by affinity. If any such shall have been joined together in marriage, they are to be separated.

XVII. We forbid not only the acceptance of the testimony of husbands accusing their own wives of consanguinity, but further that of the witnesses whom they may bring forward; but let the ancient authority of the fathers be observed.

"Does this please you?" "It pleases us." "Does this please you?" "It pleases us." "Does this please you?" "It pleases us.'

This same cardinal, having left England, went to Normandy and finally returned to Rome. The archbishop William also, considering the church of the kingdom of England to have suffered a heavy scandal in the humiliation of the church of Canterbury, crossed the sea himself on his way to Rome, to obtain what aid he could in the management of his affairs which had fallen into disorder, and to prevent the further progress of the evil. He came, therefore, to Rome, and was honourably received by pope Honorius, who had succeeded Calixtus, and who committed to the archbishop the exercise of vicarial authority over England and Scotland, and appointed him legate of the apostolic see.

A.D. 1126. Henry, king of England, returned to England on the Nativity of our Lord [25th Dec.], and held his court with great magnificence in Windsor Castle, and there united together the nobility of the whole kingdom by his decree. Here, when the archbishop of York was desirous of crowning the king, thereby putting himself on an equality with the archbishop of Canterbury, herein following the example of his predecessors, he was repulsed by the judgment of all, and the general sentiment of all unanimously declared that the office of conferring the crown of the kingdom in no manner appertained to him. The bearer of the cross which he caused to be carried before him into the king's chapel, along with the cross which he carried, was thrust out of the chapel; for according to the judgment of the bishops and some prudent men skilled in ecclesiastical law, it was held to be a ruled point that it is not lawful for any metropolitan to bear a cross before him beyond the bounds of his own jurisdiction. When these festivities were concluded, the king and all the nobility proceeded to London, and there, by command of the king, archbishop William (being the legate of the Roman church), and all the other bishops of England, with the nobles of the land, on their allegiance and oath, bound themselves to the daughter of the king, that they would defend the kingdom of England for her behoof against all persons, should she survive her father; unless he, before his death, should beget a son in lawful wedlock, who in that case should succeed him. On the death of her husband, the emperor Henry, (who had lived in marriage with her for many years,) without children, she returned to her father, and resided in his court, as was becoming, with the greatest honour. On the death of the king's son William, (which we have above narrated,) there was none to succeed as legitimate heir of his kingdom, for which reason he transferred the rights of his kingdom to his daughter, the sister of this William, on the condition which we have mentioned. Henry, also, by the advice of his barons, granted to the church of Canterbury, and to William the archbishop, and to all his successors,

the custody and constableship of the castle of Rochester to hold for ever; and he gave them permission to make in the same castle a fortification or tower of what kind soever they pleased, and have and keep it for ever; and that the soldiers who should be sent to guard the castle should come in and go out as was convenient, and should form the garrison of the same castle. Robert, surnamed Peccatum, bishop of Coventry, departed this life, and reposes at Coventry. Hugh, abbot of St. Augustine's, died.

A.D. 1127. William, archbishop of Canterbury, assembled a general council of all bishops and abbots, and of the religious persons of England, at the monastery of St. Peter, situated in the western part of London. He himself presided at this council, as archbishop of Canterbury and legate of the apostolic see, together with William, bishop of Winchester, Roger of Salisbury, William of Exeter, Hervey of Ely, Alexander of Lincoln, Everard of Norwich, Seifred of Chichester, Richard of Hereford, Godfrey of Bath, John of Rochester, Bernard of St. David's in Wales, Urban of Glamorgan or Llandaff, and David of Bangor. At this time Richard of London and Robert of Chester were dead, and hitherto no person had succeeded to their sees. But Thurstan, the archbishop of York, sent messengers and letters, and showed reasonable cause why he could not be present at that assembly. Ranulph, bishop of Durham, on his way thither, was seized with sickness, and was unable to complete the journey, as the prior of the church and the clerks whom he had sent thither in support of the truth of his assertion attested. And Simon, bishop of Worcester, had gone over sea to visit his relations, and had not yet returned. Great multitudes of clerks and laymen, as well of the rich as of the middle orders, having collected there, the meeting was exceedingly numerous. It sat for three days, namely, the 3d of the ides of May [11th May], and the following day, and the fourth after that, the 17th of the kalends of June [16th May]. A few things were done concerning secular affairs, some determined, some deferred, and some, by reason of the tumult of the stormy crowd, withdrawn from the ears of the judges. We have thought it advisable to record in this work the decrees and statutes which were passed by the common consent of the bishops in this council, as they were publicly recited and set forth. They are these:—

I. We entirely prohibit, by the authority of the blessed Peter, the chief of apostles, and our own, the buying or selling of ecclesiastical benefices, or of any ecclesiastical preferments whatsoever. Whoever shall have been convicted of having violated this statute, if he be a clerk, either a regular canon or a monk, let him be degraded from his orders: if a laic, let him be held outlawed and excommunicate, and be deprived of his right over the same church or preferment.

II. We entirely interdict, by apostolic authority, the ordination or promotion of any person for money in the church of God.

III. We condemn the exaction of monies for the admission of canons, monks, and nuns.

IV. None is to be appointed dean but a priest; none arch-

deacon but a deacon. If any person in orders below those here specified be already nominated for those preferments, he is to be admonished by the bishop that he proceed to the proper orders. If in disobedience to the monition of the bishop he refuse to be ordained, he is to be deprived of the dignity to which he had been nominated.

V. We altogether forbid priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and all canons, to cohabit with unlawful women. If they will retain their concubines (which God forbid) or their wives, they are to be deprived of their orders, preferment, and benefice. Parish priests (if there be any such) we expel without the chancel, and pronounce them infamous. We command, by the authority of God and our own, all archdeacons and ministers whose duty this is, with all diligence and solicitude to eradicate this deadly evil out of the church of God. If they be found negligent in this, or (which God forbid) if they be consenting thereto, they are, for the first and second offence, to be sufficiently corrected by the bishop, and for the third to be canonically punished with more severity.

VI. The concubines of priests and canons, except they shall have been lawfully married there, shall be expelled from the parish. If afterwards they be found in the same fault, in whosesoever province they may be, they are to be taken by the ministers of the church; and we command, under pain of excommunication, that they are not to be detained by any power lesser or greater, but to be freely delivered to the minister of the church, and to be given up to ecclesiastical discipline or custody.

VII. We prohibit under anathema any archdeacon from holding different archdeaconries in different bishoprics; let him retain that only to which he was first appointed.

VIII. Bishops are to forbid the priests, abbots, monks, and priors subject to them from holding farms.

IX. We command that tithes be wholly paid, for they are the property of the most high God.

X. We forbid by canonical authority any person from giving or receiving churches, or tithes, or other ecclesiastical benefices, without the consent or authority of the bishop.

XI. No abbess or nun is to use garments of higher value than lambs-wool or cat-skin.

King Henry, who was meanwhile residing in London, gave his assent to the acts of this council, and permitted and confirmed by his royal authority and power the statutes of the council which had been celebrated at Westminster by William, archbishop of Canterbury, and the legate of the holy Roman church. A certain Hugh, of the see of Rochester, having been appointed abbot by William, archbishop of Canterbury, in Chichester, on Sunday, the 2d of the ides of June [12th June], was promoted to the rank of abbot of St. Augustine's, an honour which he well deserved. Richard, bishop of Hereford, died at his vill called Dydelebrig, on Monday, the 18th of the kalends of September [15th Aug.]; his body was brought to Hereford, and buried in the church beside his predecessors. Henry, king of England, went over sea.

A.D. 1128. Thurstan, archbishop of York, consecrated Robert (whom Alexander, king of Scotland, had intruded into the church of St. Andrews, at the petition of David, the brother and successor of Alexander,) bishop at York, in which office he had invited the assistance of Ranulph, bishop of Durham, and one Ralph, formerly ordained bishop of the Orkneys. This Ralph, having been ordained neither by the assent or election of the nobles of the land, nor the clergy, nor the people, was rejected by all and accepted by none as a bishop. He, because he was bishop of no city, attaching himself sometimes to York, sometimes to Durham, was supported by them, and employed by both as their vicar in the services of the bishoprics. Robert was consecrated by those persons, and, though he was a canon of York, was not permitted by the Scots to make profession of subjection or obedience to the church of York or its bishop. A certain canon of the church of Lyons, an honest and aged man, was elected to the bishopric of London; for Richard, bishop of the same city, was dead, and this man, named Gilebert, and surnamed Universalis, was appointed in his stead by king Henry and archbishop William, with the assent of the clergy and people. He was consecrated at Canterbury by the archbishop himself, in the mother church, on Sunday, the 11th of the kalends of February [22d Jan.], Seifrid, bishop of Chichester, and John of Rochester assisting and ministering to him in this office, in the presence of the abbots and other great and noble persons assembled at Canterbury for this purpose. His profession was first taken, after the custom of his ancestors, by which he promised that he would show to the archbishop and all his successors canonical subjection and obedience in all things.

Urban, bishop of Glamorgan or Llandaff,—because he considered that he had not been justly dealt with in disputes concerning certain matters, which in the general council of the past year he had mooted against Bernard, bishop of St. David's,—after the conclusion of the feast of the Purification of St. Mary [2d Feb.], crossed the sea, went to Rome, and communicated the cause of his journey to the pope, certain of his own people attesting the truth of his statement. The pope supported his cause by wishes and words, and directed letters to Henry, king of England, and archbishop William, and all the bishops of England, commanding them all, by virtue of his apostolic authority, to see that no person in anything opposed the just demands of Urban. The venerable Godefrey, abbot of Shrewsbury, died on Wednesday, the 9th of the kalends of April [24th March]. Gosfrid, prior of Canterbury, at the request of David, king of Scots, and with the assent of archbishop William, was elected abbot of a certain place in Scotland called Dunfermelin, and was ordained by Robert, bishop of the church of St. Andrews. Urban, bishop of Llandaff, returned to England after a prosperous journey, and by the king's command the apostolic mandates concerning him were put in force. One of the monks of the church of Shrewsbury, called Herbert, having been chosen abbot, was consecrated by archbishop William, at Lewes, and placed as abbot over the church of Shrewsbury. Hugh,

abbot of Chertsey, died. The count of Flanders, named William, surnamed Miser, was surrounded by his enemies and wounded, and his sufferings increasing, finished his life in a lamentable manner, on the 6th of the kalends of August [27th July], and was buried at St. Bertin. Ranulph, bishop of Durham, died on the nones of September [5th Sept.]; and Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, departed this life on the 4th of the kalends of December [28th Nov.].

A.D. 1129. William, bishop of Winchester, died, on the 8th of the kalends of February [25th Jan.], and was buried at Winchester. In the month of July, Henry, king of England, returned from Normandy into England; his nephew Henry, abbot of Glastonbury, was elected to the bishopric of Winchester, in the month of October, and consecrated by William, archbishop of Canterbury, on Sunday, the 15th of the kalends of December [17th Nov.]. Roger, nephew of Geoffrey de Clintun, archdeacon of Buckingham, was elected to the bishopric of Chester, ordained priest on the 12th of the kalends of January [21st Dec.], and on the following day was consecrated bishop, at Canterbury, by William, archbishop of Canterbury; and Simon, bishop of Worcester, by command of the archbishop, afterwards enthroned him in the episcopal chair of Coventry. A monk of Gloucester, a man of the highest piety, Reignold by name, was elected abbot, and ordained at Worcester, by the same Simon, bishop of Worcester, on Monday, the 6th of the kalends of February [27th Jan.].

A.D. 1130. Hugh, abbot of Reading, was chosen archbishop of Rouen. Christ Church, Canterbury, was dedicated with great pomp, by William, archbishop of the same city, on Sunday, the 4th of the nones of May [4th May]; at the consecration of which were present the following: John bishop of Rochester, Gilebert of London, Henry of Winchester, Simon of Worcester, Alexander of Lincoln, Roger of Salisbury, Godfrey of Bath, Everard of Norwich, Sigefrid of Chichester, Bernard of St. David's, Audoen of Evreux (a continental diocese), and John of Seez. On the 4th day after this, that is, on the nones of May [7th May], the city of Rochester was consumed by fire, the king being a spectator; and on the following day, namely Ascension Sunday, the new church of St. Andrew was consecrated, by archbishop William, some of the aforesaid bishops assisting him in this service. The prior of Lewes was elected abbot of the church of Reading, and afterwards ordained; moreover, the prior of Winchester, Ingulfus, having been elected abbot of Abingdon, was ordained by Roger, bishop of Salisbury. William, abbot of Glastonbury, having voluntarily laid aside his pastoral duties, by reason of age, with the consent of the friars, elected a monk called Walter, who was ordained abbot on Sunday, the 3d of the nones of August [3d Aug.], by Simon, bishop of Worcester. Serlo also, canon of Salisbury, was ordained abbot by the same bishop, at Blockeley, a vill belonging to the bishop, and was placed over the church of Cirencester. Robert, prior of the church of Lanthony, being elected to the bishopric of Hereford, was consecrated at Oxford, by William, archbishop of Canterbury. Henry, king of England, went over the sea.

A.D. 1131. Reignold, the venerable abbot of Ramsey, died, on the 13th of the kalends of June [20th May], and William, abbot of Gloucester, and Hervey, bishop first of Bangor, and afterwards first bishop of Ely, died, on the 3d of the kalends of September [30th Aug.], in the ninth indiction.

A.D. 1132. A comet was visible for nearly five days, on the 8th of the ides of October [8th Oct.]. The greatest part of the city of London, with the mother church of St. Paul the apostle, was consumed by fire, in the week of Whitsuntide, which was on the 2d of the ides of May [14th May]. In the 33d year from the commencement of the reign of Henry, king of England, on Wednesday, and on the same day, according to the revolution of the year, on which his brother and predecessor, king William Rufus, was slain, and on which Henry himself, in the first year of his reign, had assumed the government, the following phenomenon was seen. While the king was waiting near the sea-shore for the purpose of crossing over to the continent (the wind being frequently favourable to the passage), at length, on the day aforesaid, about noon, when he had come down to the sea-shore, and was about to cross, surrounded, as is the custom of kings, with troops of his soldiers, suddenly a cloud appeared in the air, which was visible, though not of the same size, throughout the whole of England. For in some places the day seemed to be only gloomy, but in others the obscurity was so great, that men had need of candle-light to do anything. Wherefore the king and his immediate attendants, and many others, wondering and raising their eyes to heaven, beheld the sun shining as it were in appearance like a new moon; but it did not long preserve one form or aspect, for sometimes it was broader, sometimes narrower, sometimes more curved, sometimes straighter, now of its ordinary firmness, then again moving, and trembling and liquid like quicksilver. Some assert that an eclipse of the sun had taken place; if this be true, the sun was then in the head of the Dragon, and the moon in his tail, or the sun in his tail and the moon in his head, in the fifth sign, and the seventeenth degree of that sign. And the moon was then in her twenty-seventh day. On the same day, and about the same hour, many stars appeared. And on the same day, when the ships were at anchor near the shore, ready for the king's voyage, the sea being remarkably calm and a very moderate wind blowing, the great anchors of one of the ships were suddenly torn out of the ground as though by some violence, and the ship being set in motion, (to the wonder of many who attempted to hold her, but were unable,) moved the ship next to her, and thus eight ships were set in motion by some unknown forces, and all of them were injured. Many also said, that on the same day, and about the same hour, they had seen many churches in the province of York dripping as if by a profuse perspiration. All these things happened, as it has been said, on Wednesday, the 4th of the nones of August [2d Aug.]. And on the sixth day of the same week, namely, on the 2d of the nones of the same month [4th Aug.], in the morning, a great earthquake took place in many parts of England. Some

people also said, that in the following week, on Tuesday, the 6th of the ides of the same month [8th Aug.], when the moon was three days old, they saw her first as she generally appeared at such an age, and after a short interval in the evening of the same day, they saw her full, after the manner of a shield, round and very brilliant. Many also said that on the same night they had seen two moons, distant from one another by about the length of a lance.

A.D. 1133. King Henry, however, crossed the sea, and left England for Normandy, never again to return alive, never again to see England. In the month of November, the city of Worcester, as was often the case, was burnt.

A.D. 1134. Robert, brother of king Henry, formerly earl of Normandy, was afterwards taken in war by him when in Normandy, at a certain castle called Tenercebrei, and for some time was placed in confinement in England; he died at Cairdif, was carried to Gloucester, and buried in the pavement of the church, before the altar, with great honour. Godfrey, bishop of Bath, died on the 17th of the kalends of September [16th Aug.]; he was succeeded, in due time, by a monk named Robert, a Fleming by descent, but born in England; Robert was made a bishop from a monk, for so Henry bishop of Winchester had arranged it before he became legate of the church of Rome, as he now is.

A.D. 1135. Henry, king of England, died on the 4th of the nones of December [2d Dec.], having reigned thirty-five years and four months, being in the sixty-ninth year of his age; and Stephen, the son of his sister, being chosen to the kingdom of England, was consecrated king at London, on Sunday, the 13th of the kalends of January [20th Dec.]. Here also, by virtue of his royal prerogative, he graciously held his court at Christmas, along with all the nobles of England. After the conclusion of this holy festival, the body of king Henry, lately deceased, was brought from Normandy into England, and the king, attended by a great multitude of nobles, went to meet it; and by reason of the love which he bore to his uncle, he supported the bier on his royal shoulders, and with his barons caused the body to be carried to Reading. Amid the celebration of masses, divers precious offerings, alms given to a numerous multitude of poor persons, and obsequies properly celebrated, after his remains had been exposed on the bier, his tomb was erected according to custom in the principal church of the most blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, which king Henry himself, for the good of his soul, had endowed with lands, woods, meadows, pastures, and various ornaments; he was buried before the altar, with great pomp and honour. May king Henry, wealthy in earthly possessions, rescued from pain, enjoy the delights of heaven!

After his death, during the reign of Stephen, as well as long before, in every part of Normandy and England, the bond of peace was broken asunder, and the greatest disorder prevailed. Every man raised his hand against his neighbour; discord arose, and found its way into the residences of the nobles, and wasted the possessions of noble and ignoble. Every man spoiled another of his property: the strong oppresses the weak by force, prevents any

complaint being made by threatening further violence; the man who resists is slain. The nobles of a wealthy land, rolling in riches, care little how unjustly the wretched poor are treated; they care only for themselves and their friends. They store their castles and towns with provisions, guard them with an armed military force; their chief fear is some political change, and thus they neglect to consider that this is in the hand of God, for "his ways are past finding out." Instead however of having everything settled peaceably, out of fear of the king, (whom every one ought to regard as an angry lion,) in many places, especially in Wales, depopulations and depredations never cease, and from this one might easily see that England was ruled by governors possessed of small prudence and feeble determination, nay, rather by injustice than justice. Amid dominant avarice and the worst self-seeking, there was no room for temperance, the mother of all virtue. Stephen, king of England, reached Devonshire with an army of horse and foot, with the intention of besieging the castle of Exeter, which Baldwin, surnamed Redvers, had fortified against him. At length the garrison surrendered, provisions having failed them; and after a treaty had been offered and accepted, Baldwin, with his wife and daughters, was outlawed and expelled from England. The venerable Ansger, abbot of Reading, died on the 6th of the kalends of February [27th Jan.], and Godfrey, bishop of Bath, on the 17th of the kalends of September [16th Aug.].

A.D. 1136. Immediately after the death of king Henry, on the 4th of the nones of December [2d Dec.], a serious battle took place on the kalends of January [1st Jan.], at Gower, between the Normans and Welsh, where five hundred and sixteen of both sides perished. Their bodies were horribly scattered about the field and devoured by wolves. Afterwards a great irruption was made by the Welsh, which was the occasion of a vast and wide-spread destruction of churches, towns, wheat, and cattle, a burning of castles and other fortified places, a slaughter, dispersion, and selling to foreign lands of numberless men, both rich and poor, among whom the noble and amiable Richard Fitz Gilebert was surprised and slain by an ambush of the Welsh on the 17th of the kalends of May [15th April], and his body was carried to Gloucester and honourably buried in the chapter-house of the brethren. Afterwards in the same year, a very bloody battle was fought at Cardigan, in the month of October, in the second week, in which there was so great a slaughter that (not taking into account the men who were carried away into captivity) there remained ten thousand women, whose husbands, with numberless children, had been either drowned, or burned, or put to the sword. And it was a wretched sight to see, when the bridge over the river Teuwi broke down, and a bridge consisting as well of human bodies as of the horses which had been drowned therein was made for those who went to and fro. William, archbishop of Canterbury, died at one of his vills, in the 15th year of his patriarchate, on the 12th of the kalends of December [20th Nov.], and was buried at Canterbury. Guy, abbot of Pershore, a man of great prudence, died on the nones of

August [5th Aug.]. Benedict, abbot of Tewkesbury, a man of great religion and chastity, died on the ides of March [15th March].

A.D. 1137. Stephen, king of England, before Easter, which was on the 4th of the ides of April [11th April?], went over sea in the month of March, and sojourned in foreign parts. Griffin ap Rees, king of Wales, was put to death by the artifice of his wife. After the Welsh had suffered much in the defence of their native land, not only at the hands of the rich Normans, but also of the Flemings, and when many had fallen on both sides, they at length subdued the Flemings, and ceased not to commit devastations all round, burning the towns and castles, and murdering all who resisted them, innocent or guilty, indifferently. One of these, a soldier named Paganus, a man, as it is related, of wonderful strength, when intending to capture and slay a party of Welsh freebooters, was thrust through the head with a lance, and died, and his body was taken to Gloucester, and is buried in the chapter-house of the brethren. On the Friday in the week of Pentecost, which fell on the 6th of the ides of June [8th June], the city of York was burned, together with the principal monastery. Not long after the city of Rochester was consumed. On Thursday, the 4th of the kalends of August [29th July], the church of Bath, and in the same month of August the city of Leicester, were consumed. As we have learned from the relation of some credible witnesses, one day while the people were standing at the celebration of mass at Windsor, a light shone into the interior of the church; astonished at this, some persons went out of doors, and on looking upwards saw an extraordinary star shining in the heavens; and on their return they perceived that the light which they had noticed within the church, had descended from the star. Miracle succeeded miracle. Many beheld the cross which was standing over the altar moving and wringing its hands, now the right hand with the left, now the left hand with the right, after the manner of those who are in distress. Next followed this miracle: the whole cross began to tremble, and for nearly half an hour streamed all over with perspiration, but returned afterwards to its former condition. At Southwell, an archiepiscopal town, while a grave was being prepared for an interment, the relics of some saints, and a glass vessel containing some very clear water, supported on uprights, which apparently protected it from being broken, were found; this being given to the sick and taken by them, they were restored to their former health. The first of these miracles I relate as I heard it; the second was narrated to me by Henry, bishop of Winchester. Thurstan, archbishop of York, with Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and some other bishops and nobles of the kingdom, held a council at Northampton in the presence of many persons.

The see of Rome had now been disturbed for seven years by a double papacy, that of Gregory, who was also called Innocent, and of Peter, who was called Leo, in whose cause a war arose between Lothaire, emperor of the Romans, and Roger, duke of Apulia. Both these men were wealthy, but one was the superior in religion and

dignity; the other (to his own confusion) more liberal with his gold. But imperial dignity, as is meet and just, excels all kingly dignity in all things. Both appointed a pope at Rome. Lothaire affirmed that Gregory was canonically elected; Roger made a grant of the papacy of the city of Rome to Peter [surnamed] Leo. But this dissension between them being displeasing to the cardinals and the prefect of the city, for the love of gold they received as pope, first Gregory, to the expulsion of Leo, and then Leo, to the exclusion of Gregory. At length Gregory was established by Lothaire and ruled the apostolic see. Peter Leo, the whelp of the ancient Peter the Lion, sits at the Lateran, like another pope; but if ambition for the dignity stimulated both, neither was pleasing to God. While these things were happening in the world, they were preserved for the judgment of God, whose judgments are as a deep abyss. By reason of so great a dissension existing for so many years in the chief of all churches through the world, by the common advice of the princes a day was appointed, on which a battle was to be fought between the Romans and Apulians, in order that the all-powerful God, the judge of all men, may assign the victory to whom He shall please. The emperor Lothaire, though laid up with illness, having assembled an immense army, encamped in Apulia. Roger, having raised an army of many thousands of infantry and cavalry, met him. A battle was fought, God disposing the event so that the emperor and his army gained the victory and triumphed, and Roger and his army lost the battle and commenced a retreat; his crown, with which he had caused himself to be crowned king, adorned with gold and precious stones, and the royal spear blazing with gold, were at length discovered by treachery and delivered as an acceptable gift to the emperor, who, returning to his country not long after, lost his kingdom and his life. Louis, king of France, died, and his son Louis succeeded him. In the month of December, Stephen, king of England, returned to England; and on the Nativity of the Lord, held his court at Dunstaple, a town in Bedfordshire.

A.D. 1138. Conrad, the 99th emperor of the Romans, duke of Bavaria, the nephew of Henry the elder, who had for empress the daughter of Henry, king of England, reigned twelve years. In old times, a race coming from the north penetrated the land of Thuringia for the purpose of settling there; whereupon the inhabitants granted them a large portion of their territory, as these foreigners requested. The people increased and multiplied exceedingly. After the lapse of a long period they refused to pay the Thuringians the tribute which was due to them. As is the custom of this nation, an armed convention was hereupon held by both parties, in order that the debt might be demanded by the one, and discharged by the other. This was done once and again without a wound; on the third occasion it was agreed by both parties that they should peacefully meet without arms. A large body of the foreigners, perceiving the feebleness of the Thuringians, agreed that the land was ill ruled both in the council-chamber and the field of battle. On the appointed day they crowded to the discus-

sion, carrying secretly with them long sheathed knives for their own defence. The question was discussed, not peacefully, but in anger. What need of more words? The Thuringians were conquered; the foreign and savage race triumphed; for having drawn their long knives, they slew many of the Thuringians. The old inhabitants were expelled from their land in disgrace, nearly all their country passed to those to whom inconstant fortune had given the victory. At length, the land which up to that time had been called Thuringia, was afterwards, by a change of name, called Saxony, from these long and victorious knives.

After the conclusion of the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, Stephen, king of England, besieged and took the castle of Bedford, as he had before that of Exeter, hereby preserving the meaning of his name. In consequence of the arrival of a messenger with intelligence of the irruption of the enemy, the devastation of the land, the burning of towns, the siege of castles and cities, he proceeded with a strong force to Northumberland, where he remained for a short time, and having with difficulty, though successfully, accomplished the object of his expedition, he returned. It was related by those who knew, that a dreadful irruption was made into Northumberland and the surrounding country, during nearly six months, by many enemies of different races. Many were captured, robbed, imprisoned, and tortured; ecclesiastics were put to death for the sake of the property of their churches, and scarce any one can compute the number of the slain either on our side or theirs. On the death of pope Leo, Innocent succeeded him, and all who had adhered to the side of Peter against him, came to him and were reconciled, after having made satisfaction in all things. This pope consecrated at Rome, on Easter-day [3d April], Alberic, abbot of Vercelli, as bishop of Ostia.

HOW THE DEVIL BECAME A MONK, BEING TAKEN IN THE SNARE OF HIS OWN MALICE, WHILE IN THE SHAPE OF A BOY.

At this time a report flew to all parts that the following miracle had taken place. In the archbishopric of Treves there is a noble monastery, which is called Prum, dedicated in honour of SS. Peter and Paul, apostles, and founded in old times by Pepin, king of France, father of Charlemagne. In it the following extraordinary occurrence is related to have happened, which is attested by all who at that time were residing there. One morning, when the cellarer of the monastery had entered the wine-cellar with his servant for the purpose of procuring wine as usual for the sacrifice of the altar, he found one of the casks which he had left full on the preceding day emptied down to the bung-hole, and the wine spilled over the whole of the pavement. Lamenting the accident which had happened, he severely reprimanded the attendant who was standing by, saying, that he must have put in the spigot very negligently on the evening before, and that the damage had thus arisen. Having said this, he commanded him with threats to tell no person what had happened; for he was afraid that if the abbot were to hear of it, he would deprive him of his office and disgrace him. When it

was evening, before the brethren went to rest, he again entered the cellar, and carefully closed the taps of the wine casks, and after shutting the door, went to bed. In the morning, as soon as he entered the cellar according to custom, he saw that another vessel had been emptied, as on the previous day, down to the bung-hole, and the wine was running about. Seeing this, and not knowing to whose negligence to blame the damage, he took the matter heavily to heart, marvelling greatly, and strictly commanding his servant to tell no man what had occurred. Before he went to bed that evening, he fastened all the bungs with the utmost care, and in sorrow and anxiety lay down to rest. Rising early in the morning, and opening the cellar, for a third time he saw that the bung had been taken out of a cask, and that the wine had streamed out of the hole. Being alarmed at this, (and not without cause,) and fearing to conceal any longer the common loss, he hastened to the abbot, and throwing himself at his feet, told him all that he had seen; the abbot, after taking counsel with the friars, commanded that the bung-holes of such barrels as contained wine should be anointed all round, towards the evening, with chrism; and this was accordingly done. At daybreak, the aforesaid friar, when he entered the cellar according to custom, found a marvellously little black boy sticking by the hands to one of the bungs; he speedily seized him, and bringing him before the abbot, "Behold," said he, "master, this little creature whom you see has caused us all the damage which we have suffered in our cellar:" saying which, he related to the abbot how he had found the dwarf sticking to the barrel. The abbot, astonished at the incredible dwarfishness of the urchin, after consultation, ordered that a monk's dress should be prepared for him, and that he should be brought up in the cloister with the scholars of his own age. This was done, and the boy, as the abbot had commanded, associated with the scholars day and night, never however taking drink or meat, and never speaking in public or private; while the others were at rest by night or in mid-day, he sat upon his bed constantly weeping, and pouring forth incessant lamentations. Meanwhile, the abbot of another house, coming to pray in the monastery, was detained there for some days; and while the scholars were frequently passed before him, while he sat with the abbot and the superiors of the house, the little boy, stretching forth his hands to him, cast a tearful glance at him, as if to make some request. When he repeated this frequently, the abbot, wondering at his smallness, asked of those who sat near him, for what purpose they kept so small a boy in the monastery with them? They, smiling, said, "Master, this small boy is not what you think him;" and they narrated to him the damage which he had done them, and how he had been found sticking by the hands to the bung of a cask; and how taciturn he had been, while coming in and going out among them. Hearing this, the abbot was afraid, and groaning deeply, said, "Expel him with all haste from your monastery, lest ye incur a greater loss, or run a more serious risk: for he is clearly a devil concealed in human form; but by the mercy of God protecting you, through

the merits of the saints, whose relics ye have here, he has been unable to injure you any further."

Forthwith, at the command of the abbot of the same church, the boy was produced; and as soon as they had stripped him of his monkish garments, he vanished from among them, as if it had been smoke.

Stephen, king of England, held a council at Northampton, in the octave of Easter, which was on the 4th of the ides of April [10th April], and archbishop Thurstan presided, together with the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, and all the nobles of England. In this council, an archdeacon, named Robert, being chosen by a few, was made bishop of the church of Exeter, at that time destitute of a bishop in consequence of the death of William de Warawast. Two abbeys were also given away, that of Winchcombe to a monk of Cluny, as it is related, a kinsman of the king, by name Robert; the other, that of York, to a monk. One of these, the elect of Winchecumbe, was ordained abbot of the church of Winchecumbe by the venerable bishop Simon, on the day of Pentecost, the 11th of the kalends of June [22d May]. The king having removed his troops from Northampton, went to Gloucester; his arrival having been expected, the citizens met him at a distance of more than five miles with great joy, and conducted him into their city with honour; and there, on the third Rogation day [10th May], he was received with the honours of a procession by the monks. There he laid his royal ring upon the holy altar, which was brought back to him on the same day by the royal chaplains, after the payment of fifty shillings. Then Milo, at that time his constable, conducted him to the palace with honour, where the citizens on the ensuing day swore allegiance to him. On the third day, which was [Holy] Thursday, the king returned with his court to the monastery, and was present at the solemnization of masses and processions in honour of our Lord's Ascension. After this festival was concluded, the king heard of a castle which was being fortified against him at Hereford, and marched thither with all speed; on his arrival there, he discovered that what he had heard was true. He remained in the same place for near four or five weeks, and sent orders through England that forces should come to his assistance, for the purpose of subduing all his enemies. While the king was there, the city of Hereford below the bridge of the Wye was burnt. Not long after, the lamentable conflagration of the city of Oxford reached the ears of the king and all his court. The garrison of Hereford, seeing that the king would gain a victory over them from the great magnitude of his army, entered into a treaty and surrendered themselves. And since he was, nay is, a king who loves peace and gentleness, he injured no person, but permitted his enemies to go free. The king took the town called Wibbeleage, which Geoffrey de Talbot, afterwards a fugitive, had held against him; by whose art and ingenuity in those parts the rebels had been upheld in their rebellion; and this and the aforesaid castle of Hereford he garrisoned with soldiers. Meanwhile, Alberic, bishop

of Ostia, came to England as legate, to root up, destroy, build, and plant all things necessary. After letters from the apostolic see had been read before the king and the nobles of England, out of reverence of the apostolic see, he was at length received, though after some delay. Going the round of England, he observed all things, and kept in mind whatever ought to be corrected by the provision and appointment of a council. The king, after having resided for some time at Hereford, left it along with his people. After his departure, on Thursday, the 17th of the kalends of July [15th June], the whole city beyond the river Wye was burned by the aforesaid Geoffrey, none of our men, but seven or eight of the Welsh, having been killed. I omit saying anything of the bloodshed of many others, for I am ignorant on this point, but I pray

> That every Christian may repose in peace.
> If John offend, may he be corrected by the reader of these.

Then the king, the Nativity of St. John [24th June] being near, set out for Oxford, and hearing that the castle of Devizes was being fortified against him, sent messengers to the builder of the castle, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, then stationed at Malmesbury, and commanded him to come and speak with him. The bishop, it is said, set forth on this journey with great unwillingness, as though he should never return, and took with him his two nephews, the bishops of Lincoln and Ely, with a great assembly of soldiers, armed and mounted. Seeing this, the king, suspecting treason, ordered his men to arm and to be ready, if need should arise, to defend him. While the king was discussing various matters with the bishops, a great and furious tumult arose between the soldiers of both sides concerning their lodgings; when the king's soldiers ran to their arms, the bishop's men took flight, leaving all their armour behind them. Roger, bishop of Salisbury, with the bishop of Lincoln, and his son Roger, surnamed Pauper, was captured by the king; the bishop of Ely escaped, and having reached the castle of Devizes, he fortified it, and held it against the king.

While the king, being angry, was preparing to pursue him, he placed the captured bishops in custody, namely one of them, Roger, in a cow-house, in the oxen's rack, and the other under a vile shed, while he resolved to hang the third unless the castle were speedily surrendered to him. Seeing this, and fearing for his son's safety, Roger bound himself by an oath that he would neither eat nor drink until the king gained possession of the aforesaid castle, which he accomplished; for during three days he neither did the one nor the other. Thence the king advanced with his royal retinue, on his march to London. But Geoffrey de Talbot, deserting the peace-loving king with his followers, repaired to the son of the earl of Gloucester, who then held the castle of Bristol against the king, and offered himself for the defence of that place. One day, as if to give assistance to a certain straggler, but more, as it afterwards appeared, to reconnoitre Bath, with a view to its subsequent assault, in company with two valiant knights, William Hoset and

another, he proceeded thither; and this being known, Robert, bishop of Bath, thinking to triumph over the king's enemies, marched cautiously and in battle array to meet them; whereupon two of them took to flight, and Geoffrey was made prisoner. The garrison of Bristol being incensed thereat, approached Bath in hostile fashion with their lord, the earl's son; they despatched an envoy after the prelate, and threatened that unless their fellow-soldier, Geoffrey, were set free, they would hang the bishop and his companions. Hereupon the bishop, like a timid hireling, brought forth Geoffrey out of prison and delivered him up to them. When this reached the king's ears, his anger was hot against the bishop, regarding him as the abettor of his enemies; and had he been influenced by anger rather than by the love of peace, he would have deprived him of his pastoral staff. But since the bishop had thus acted under constraint and against his own will, the king gave not place to his wrath, upon which, according to the rule of the apostle, it is sinful to let the sun go down. The king, however, afterwards did what he had resolved on in council, for he sent a large army to Bath, that they, by strengthening the city, might defend it from the enemy. Not long afterwards the king marched against Bristol, where, at that time, there had sprung up, as from hell, a series of cruelties worthy of the days of Nero or Decius, through the means of a certain kinsman of the earl, Philip Gay by name. By his agency there were invented there various cruel torments, which thence were disseminated far and wide throughout England, and reduced the whole island nearly to nothing. The king, therefore, having wasted and burnt the surrounding lands and towns of the earl of Gloucester, laid siege to the castle; but at length, weary of the tedious blockade, he diverged to besiege the earl's other castles, Cary in Dorsetshire, and Harptree in Somersetshire; and then, having thrown up and manned castles in front of them, he departed and marched with the whole of his army to Dudley castle, which Ralph Paignel held against him. There he set fire to the surrounding country, and took and carried off much cattle; and then went by sea, together with a large body of his soldiers, to besiege Shrewsbury castle, which William Fitz Alan held against him. This William, however, having heard of the king's approach, secretly took flight with his wife, his sons, and some others, leaving in the castle those who had sworn to him that they would not surrender it. After a siege of many days, a machine was prepared to assault it, constructed in the following fashion, as was related by those to whom it was known. A large mass of timber was heaped up and brought forward, the castle moat, by the king's command, was filled, fire was kindled, the smoke rose in the air and smothered all. The royal gate was forced open. The wretched defenders, falling from or creeping out of the castle, all sought safety in flight, and by the king's orders they were pursued and all put to death. Five of the most noble men among them were hung. The enemy being thus vanquished, the king departed thence and marched upon Wareham. A treaty having been entered into, Ralph Paignel was reconciled to the king for a time.

In the meantime a conspiracy was set on foot against the king by the aforesaid earl of Bristol and Milo the constable. They abjured the fealty that they had sworn, and despatched messengers to the city of Anjou, to summon the ex-empress, king Henry's daughter, promising her that within the space of five months she should be the mistress of her father's kingdom, as it had been sworn unto her during the lifetime of her father. This was the beginning of evil. This grievous breach of faith, yea almost the last, brought ruin upon the whole country.

While this was going on, David, king of Scotland, issuing for the third time with a great multitude of men and horses from the fastnesses of the confines of his kingdom, began to burn fields, towns, and castles round the borders of Northumberland, and to devastate nearly the whole country. As he now threatened to march as far as York and the Humber, Thurstan, archbishop of York, summoned a meeting of the province, and caused them by common assent and counsel to promise by oath that they would resist the king. The king of Scotland was still more irritated herewith, so much so that he would be restrained by no dissuasions, but marching as far as the river Tees, on the 8th day of the Assumption of St. Mary [22d Aug.], which fell on a Monday, he gave orders to surprise our men, there being a thick fog on the morning of that day. And thus, hoping to steal upon us unawares, he left many towns untouched, and contrary to custom forbade his men to set fire to any place. Our forces, meanwhile, being tardily warned by a certain esquire, were nearly taken by surprise, but they armed and arrayed themselves with the greatest haste, and sent out archers to the extreme van, by whom the Scottish army suffered much loss. Then the royal barons themselves marched with the soldiers, for they had all dismounted and placed themselves in the front ranks, and so they fought hand to hand with the enemy. Whereupon in the very first charge victory crowned their efforts; for the Scots, giving way immediately, either fell, or fled in the greatest terror. Our men, however, being on foot and all their horses at a distance, were unable to pursue them long, otherwise they had either captured or slain the king himself, his son, and all his host. As it was, nearly ten thousand of his men fell in different places, and fifty of the flower of his army were made prisoners. He himself escaped by flight, but with the greatest fear and dishonour. His chancellor, William Comyn, was captured by the bishop of Durham, but being freed from his chains he gave thanks to God, heartily hoping he should never again fall into such peril. The king's son, also, attended by one knight only, came on foot to Carlisle, his father barely escaping by woods and thickets to Roxburgh. His army, which consisted of French as well as of English, Scotch, and Galwegians, and men of all the isles which belonged to him and his realm, was innumerable. Out of two hundred of his mailed warriors only nineteen carried back their armour, for each had thrown away nearly all that he had, which became a prey to the enemy; whereby immense spoil both of horses, arms, and clothing, and many other articles, was pillaged from his army. Eustace Fitz

John was his companion, and came to the same end with himself, escaping wounded with his bare life to his castle. These were the brave men who fought in the name of Christ for king Stephen: the earl of Albemarle, Bernard de Balliol, and many others, the earl himself behaving with great valour in the fight.

The king of Scotland, after this reverse, in order to comfort his people and console himself, laid siege with all his forces and many and various engines and inventions to Wark castle, or Carram, belonging to Walter de Spec, and from his former investment of which he had been driven by the earl of Mellent; but owing to the obstinate defence by the garrison, his efforts were but of little avail. For they made frequent sallies from the castle, and either cut down or burnt his engines, slaying many men. Wherefore he now despaired of being able to take it.

On the seventh of October, on the 29th day of the moon, in the twilight of the night before Saturday, the whole firmament towards the north appeared of a red colour, and rays of divers blended colours appeared and vanished. These things were significant perchance of that mighty shedding of blood which we have mentioned as having occurred throughout Northumberland and many other parts of England. A man of great religion, a monk of the cell of Eye, by name William, who had already been elected by Simon, bishop of Worcester, was ordained abbot of Pershore on Sunday, the 12th of the kalends of December [20th Nov.]. Roger, bishop of Salisbury, a mighty builder of castles, walls, and houses, being borne down and brought to the close of life by sorrow and grief, died at his episcopal see on the 2d of the nones of December [4th Dec.], and was buried in that church, leaving in his castles an immense sum of money, which he bequeathed to the use, not of God, but of king Stephen. There are those who say that more than forty thousand silver marks were there found, and that he had likewise hoarded up an enormous amount of gold with a variety of ornaments, and knew not for whom he had amassed them. He adorned with magnificent decoration a church in honour of the holy Mother of God.

In the year 1138 from the incarnation of our Lord, and in the ninth of the pontificate of pope Innocent, being the third of king Stephen's reign, a synod was held at London in the church of St. Peter, at Westminster, on the 13th day of December, in which, after many causes had been discussed, chapters were published and confirmed by all to the number of sixteen. Over this council presided Alberic, bishop of Ostia, the papal legate in England and Scotland, with the bishops of divers provinces to the number of seventeen, of abbots about thirty, and an immense multitude of clergy and the people.

A.D. 1139. The solemnization of Christmas being over, and the Purification of the holy Mother Mary [2d Feb.] at hand, the venerable father Walter, abbot of Gloucester, in the ninth year and a half of his preferment, and about the third hour of the day, gave up the ghost, and was buried by the venerable abbots, Reynold of Evesham and Roger of Tewkesbury, on the 6th of the ides of February [8th Feb.]. After his burial two friars are despatched to

the monastery of Cluny, on the business of our elect Gilbert; on whom king Stephen, having heard the fame of his extraordinary goodness, had at the petition of his constable Milo conferred at London the church of Gloucester. Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, Simon of Worcester, Roger of Coventry, Robert of Exeter, and Reynold, abbot of Evesham, having been unanimously elected, went, at the pope's command, to the shrine of St. Peter. Having arrived there, they were received with honour by the apostolic see, and admitted to the Roman council, an event without parallel for many past ages. After having fully discussed their cause, they returned joyfully to their own country, bringing with them the synodal decrees, now enrolled far and wide throughout England. The two friars also who had been despatched to fetch the lord abbot Gilbert, returned in peace, after having presented him to king Stephen, by whom he was honourably received, and the government of the church of Gloucester was freely bestowed upon him; he arrived at Worcester on the holy day of Pentecost, which was then celebrated on the 3d of the ides of June [11th June], and he was ordained by Robert, the venerable bishop of Hereford, with great rejoicings and thanksgiving; and afterwards, on the following day, with the good wishes of many people of all conditions, he was established in his see with joy and gladness, as befitted such a man in the Lord.

In the octave of Easter, which was on the 2d of the kalends of May [30th April], Stephen, the magnificent king of the English, coming with a royal retinue to Worcester, was received by a festive procession of all the clergy and people of the surrounding country. When prayer was concluded and the accustomed blessing pronounced, the king offered on the altar the royal ring which he had taken from his finger, and on the morrow it was restored to him by common consent. Therefore, the king, filled with admiration at the humble devotion of the monks of Gloucester, yea rather of God's flock, took back the ring as he had been adjured by the love of Mary, the holy Mother of God. Thence, departing from Worcester, the king encamped at Ludlow, where a double fortification was erected for the storming of the castle which held out against him, and returning through Worcester, he marched towards London. Certain of the soldiers, caring little for the horrors of war, in their presumption demanded to try their strength on Ludlow; and in the furtherance of this enterprise a large army of men began to flock together. Truly it was a misery to behold one brandishing his spear in the face of another, and piercing him with the lance, and thus deliver him unto death, regardless of the judgment which the spirit would have to undergo. But king Stephen struck terror into these designs by his threats, for he marched a second time from Ludlow through Worcester, and reduced all to peace, and quietly marched to Oxford, which means The ford of the oxen. During his stay there, he was justified in arresting Roger, bishop of Salisbury, his nephew, the bishop of Lincoln, and also Roger his chancellor, as conspirators against his royal crown, and committing them to custody. Upon hearing this, Nigel, bishop

of Ely, fearful for himself and his people, fled with an army to Devizes, that he might there find protection, the cause for which has been fully treated of in the foregoing pages, yet seems this year to have been repeated over again. A council being afterwards held, an order was issued that all towns, castles and fortifications whatever, in which secular affairs were mainly transacted, should yield to the right of the king and his barons; but that churchmen, the bishops, namely, (God's watch-dogs I call them,) should not cease to bark in defence and protection of their flock, and keep vigilant watch lest the invisible wolf, their malignant foe, should scatter and seize upon the sheep.

In the month of October, the earl of Gloucester, bastard son of Henry, formerly king of England, with his sister by the father's side, formerly empress of the Romans, and now countess of Anjou, returned to England with a large army, and arrived at Portsmouth before the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, on the kalends of August [1st Aug.], the king being then engaged in the siege of Marlborough; by whose arrival terror pervaded all England. Upon hearing this, king Stephen was angry, and his wrath broke out upon those whose duty it was to have guarded the sea-ports. He is the king of peace, and would also that he were the king of vigour and justice, treading under foot his enemies, weighing all things in the equal balance of justice, and preserving and strengthening in the bonds of fortitude the friends of peace. When, however, he knew that the ex-queen had received the ex-empress with her large retinue at Arundel, he marched thither in displeasure. But she, dreading the king, and fearing she should lose the dignity which she held in England, swore that none of his enemies had reached England by her means, but that, saving her dignity, she had granted hospitality to men of authority as to persons once in her service. Whereupon the king, having dismissed her, commanded the ex-empress to be conducted to Bristol castle, to his brother the bishop of Winchester, with such honour as befitted his kinswoman; but he himself followed in pursuit of the earl. Hearing no certain news of him, however—for he had betaken himself into certain by-paths for a time—he marched his forces according to his previous determination. Milo the constable, after having sworn an oath of fealty to the king, went over with a large military force to his lord, while the earl of Gloucester promised him that he would faithfully assist him against the king. The misfortunes, however, which now sprang up throughout England, from this quarter, namely, the town of Bristol, are beyond the knowledge or eloquence of man to describe. For of those who resisted or obeyed the royal authority, as many as could be taken are made prisoners, and the captives all given up to chains and frightful torments; a variety of cruel punishments is devised, troops of soldiers are being hired on every side for the consummation of this work of destruction, and to these the husbandmen and the inhabitants of villages and towns, with all their property and substance, are given and sold for pay.

The queen remained in this place for more than two months, receiving homage from all, and dispensing the laws of the kingdom

of England according to her pleasure. Departing thence, she came on the 18th of the kalends of November [15th Oct.] to the town of Gloucester, where she assumed the command and took the homage of the citizens and the surrounding districts. But upon those who refused to submit to her, and preferred to remain faithful to the king, torments worthy of the age of Decius or Nero were inflicted, and death in many cases ensued; and the city, glorious in past ages, became filled with direful howlings and tortures, shocking to those who dwelt within it. In the midst of all these miseries the king laid siege to the hostile castle of Wallingford. Tired of the protracted blockade, after having erected castles against it, he marched thence and encamped at Malmesbury, where he enacted the same part against his adversaries, the workers of discord.

In the midst of these events, sad tidings came to the ears of the citizens of Worcester; and it was generally reported that their city was to be sacked, pillaged of its wealth, and destroyed by fire. When the citizens heard this, they were terrified, and consulted as to what were best to be done. Whereupon they put themselves under the protection of God, the most High Father, and his most holy Mother, and under the tutelage of the confessors Oswald and Wolstan, bishops of that city, and thus committed themselves and all belonging to them to the divine protection. Any one there present might have seen the whole furniture of all the citizens carried into the church. Oh! miserable sight! Behold, the house of God, which should have been entered with sacrifices, where the sacrifice of praise should have been offered up and the loftiest vows recorded, seems now but a warehouse for furniture. Behold the mother church of the diocese converted into an inn and council-chamber of the citizens! By reason of the number of chests and sacks, but little space remained to the servants of God in such an hostelry. Within chanted the monk, without might be heard the sobbing of the infant, and the wail of children at the breast, and cries of sorrowing mothers mingled with the voices of the singers. Oh! misery of miseries to behold! The high altar stood robbed of its decorations, the cross pulled down, and the image of Mary, the most holy Mother of God, removed from sight. Curtains and palls, albs and copes, stoles and other vestments, were hidden within the shelter of the walls. At the celebration of divine service on saints' festivals, dignity, honour, and all the wonted magnificence were wanting. Out of fear for the enemy, everything was so arranged, lest the foe, stealing upon them unawares, should bear off whatever he could find, and thus iniquity should prevail. At daybreak one morning in the beginning of winter, namely, on Tuesday, the 7th of the ides of November [7th Nov.], whilst we were engaged in divine service within the church, and had already chanted our primes, behold, our apprehensions were realized,—a great army, strong and valiant, marched from the south. The city of Gloucester, having furnished itself with a countless host of horse and foot soldiers, marches to invade, sack, and burn the city of Worcester. We, however, in our appre-

hension for the ornaments of the sanctuary, clothed ourselves in our albs, and carried the relics of Oswald our most benignant patron, we tolled all our bells, and marched in humble procession out of the church; and as the enemy were rushing in from gate to gate, we proceeded through the cemetery. Our enemies hasten to make their first united attack upon a certain fortification of great strength, situated in the southern portion of the city near the castle, which was manfully and courageously resisted by our people. The foe were repulsed at this point; but a beacon opposite the north was set on fire, and then they stormed the north side of the town; here, meeting with no resistance, an excited and unbridled rabble rush in and fire the buildings in many parts. Woe is me! much of the town was destroyed by the flames, though the larger portion remained standing and uninjured. An immense booty of various furniture was carried off from the city, and of oxen, sheep, cattle, and horses, from the country. Many people were taken in the streets and courts; they were bound in couples like hounds, and carried away unto a miserable captivity. Whether they possessed the means or no, whatever sum was fixed by their cruel captors for their ransom, that they were compelled upon their oath to promise to pay, and to pay. The deeds done on the first day of winter were very grievous. And now the prey being secured, and numbers of buildings destroyed by fire, the maddened and drunken rout retrace their steps, never to return on a like depraved errand. On the 30th day of November, the earl of Worcester came to the city, and when he had beheld the ravages of the flames, he grieved and felt that the blow had been struck for his own injury, and wishing to revenge himself for this, he marched with an army to Sudely, for he had heard that John, the son of Harold, had deserted from the king, and had gone over to the earl of Gloucester. If it be inquired what the earl did there, the answer must be such as should hardly be handed down to memory; for he returned evil for evil, by seizing and carrying off from the men there great booty of their goods and cattle, with which, on the morrow, he returned to Worcester.

After these things, the king with a large army marched from Oxford to Worcester; and what he had previously heard of its misfortunes, he now beheld with his eyes; and he grieved thereat. Having stayed there for three or five days he bestowed the honour of royal constable, of which he had deprived Milo of Gloucester, his enemy, upon William, the son of Walter de Beauchamp, sheriff of Worcester. A lying report reached the king that his enemies, having violated their sworn promises of peace, had invaded Hereford, and penetrated into the monastery of St. Ethelbert, king and martyr, as if it had been a fortified castle. Whereupon, setting out thither, he encamped at Little Hereford, or Leominster, where certain of the inhabitants swore fealty to him advisedly, while others refusing, thus spoke, "If the king will not believe our oaths, he may at least, if he will, rely upon our faithful words." When the solemn days of the Lord's Advent were at hand [3d Dec.], a treaty was made and confirmed on both sides, after which the king

returned to Worcester, where a certain clerk, (a man of exemplary piety,) Maurice by name, had been elected by the clergy and the people to the church of Bangor, and was presented to the king in the castle by the bishops Robert of Hereford and Sigefrid of Chichester; these made oath that he had been canonically elected, and would be worthy of the see, and the king confirmed their election. Being urged by the bishops to do fealty to the king, Maurice answered that he could in no wise do so. "There is a man of religion amongst us," said he, "whom I hold for my spiritual father, and who was archdeacon to my predecessor David, and he forbade me to take this oath." To which they made answer, "Reason requires that you should do what we demand." Then he exclaimed, "If you, who are men of great authority, require this, far be it from me to delay doing so," and so he swore fealty to the king.

From Worcester the king went to Oxford, and thence, with his court, to Salisbury, where he intended to celebrate his Christmas, and, as was the royal custom, to wear his crown. The canons offered two thousand pounds to him on his arrival, upon which he conferred upon them the entire exemption from all taxes upon their land; moreover he gave them twenty marks for their own use, and forty for roofing the church, and he promised that if he should obtain peace, he would refund to them what they had bestowed upon him.

A.D. 1140. A few days after Christmas the king came with his court to Reading, where fate gave a lesson teaching us of what value is the kingly dignity. There by advice of his attendants he provided two abbeys, Malmsbury and Abbotsbury, with their own pastors. These bishop Roger in his lifetime had held, after having stripped them of their honour and privileges. Malmsbury he bestowed upon a monk called John, a man of great probity, and the abbey of Abbotsbury he gave to Gosfrid. Then for the purpose of securing peace and tranquillity he marched his forces to Ely, a measure which in my opinion was entirely unnecessary, and which at the same time was a deplorable business, thereby sanctioning the thirst of vain glory among his soldiers, by permitting them to harass his army. They all agree to the proposal, they array themselves for war, the conqueror takes from the conquered everything specified in the detestable bond of avarice, and, if I may compare great things with small, they whisper to one another like Juda and his brother Jonathan dwelling in the land of Gilead, to Joseph and Azarias,—"Let us also get us a name, and go fight against the heathen that are round about us." They slaughter one another with sword and spear, little heeding what will become of the wretched souls of the slain! During the rebellion of the king's opponents, many on both sides were wounded, taken prisoners, and consigned to captivity. The bishop of Ely, perceiving the valorous charge of the king and his troop, gave ground, yea, fled like a hireling, and he taking himself to the neighbourhood of the town of Gloucester, went over to earl Robert. Nor is this wonderful, for it had been to him as the loss of his right hand

when his uncle Roger, bishop of Salisbury, died. The king, however, got possession of Ely castle, and posted his men therein. Thurstan, archbishop of York, the twenty-sixth in succession, a man of advanced age and full of days, having laid aside the old man put on the new; for bidding farewell to secular pursuits he dons the monkish habit at Pomfret, on the 12th of the kalends of February, [21st Jan.], and on the nones of February [5th Feb.], he departed this life in a good old age, and there he was buried. Milo, the ex-constable, having collected a great army, invaded Winchcombe on Thursday the 2d of the kalends of February [31st Jan.], burned the greatest part of the town, plundered it, and carried off the spoil, the mammon of unrighteousness being (albeit unjustly) required of them. Thence he marched to Sudely. Whilst he was in mind to attack it, the troops which were in the town made a stand and compelled him to retreat, leaving, as it is said, two of his men killed and fifteen taken prisoners. The king and the earl of Worcester came with a great army to Worcester, and after the lapse of a few days, first the earl and afterwards the king advanced with a vast host to Little Hereford, purposing to drive out their enemies. During the king's stay in these parts the earl, remembering the injuries inflicted upon his townsmen, invaded Tewkesbury with a large force of armed men, and burned the magnificent house of the earl of Gloucester, and everything in its vicinity, together with those of some other persons within one mile's distance of Gloucester; but at the supplication of the lord abbot of Tewkesbury and his brethren, the conqueror spared their goods. Having taken no small booty, both of men and their apparel and cattle, he mercifully commanded that the prisoners be speedily released from their fetters, and return to their own houses; and on the morrow he set out for Worcester, protesting to all that he had scarcely ever either in Normandy or England accomplished such a burning. But the king on his return to Worcester hastened his march to Oxford. The before-mentioned Maurice and Uhtred were consecrated bishops of Bangor and Landaff, by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the bishops of Hereford and Exeter. The king, on his arrival at Winchester, by advice of his barons, bestowed the bishopric of Salisbury upon his chancellor Philip, and the abbey of Fescamp upon Henry, a monk, his kinsman. An eclipse of the sun takes place while the moon occupies the tail of Draco, the sun itself illuminating the head. By advice of the barons of Philip king of France, and Stephen king of England, it was settled that the son of the latter should take to wife the French king's sister. The betrothal took place abroad in the month of February, in the presence of the queen mother of England, and before a large number of the barons of both kingdoms. A certain knight, by name Robert, was the son of a nobleman named Hulbert. He, fearing neither God nor man, but relying entirely on his own strength, with his many cunning devices, assailed the castle of Malmesbury. Whereupon many of the king's troops which were within fled to the church of the holy bishop Aldelm, as to a

sanctuary. In pursuit of these he one day entered the chapter of the monks with his armed knights, terrifying them with threats, and commanding them to give up to him the king's men with their horses if they valued the safety of their own wealth. But they, fearful of infringing the peace of God and their blessed patron Aldelm, refuse to obey these commands, till at length, (though unwillingly, and in order to appease his fury,) they deliver up the horses. After they had remained for a long time in the castle and had laid waste the surrounding country, the king came up with his army and besieged it for nearly three days. William de Ypres, as it is reported, a kinsman of this Robert, acted as the mediator upon both sides for the surrender of the castle, and at last obtained the king's consent that the castle should be delivered up upon the condition that everything should be surrendered to the king, and this was done. Robert therefore joined the earl of Gloucester, and remained for a while with him, all the while meditating treachery. Unknown to the earl, shortly afterwards, (for he was untaught by experience and bent on revenge,) he repaired with his men to Devizes, where an agreement having been first made between himself and his followers that the castle once taken should never be surrendered, he scaled the wall with cruel cunning, and giving the signal of victory to the king's soldiers who were within, he penetrated the outer defences unobserved, and acted the tyrant upon all. On the fourth day afterwards, by force and subtlety he gained possession of the inner tower, and in the pride of his heart he continually ravaged the whole neighbourhood everywhere, and whatever evil he could do he ceased not from doing. At length he went to John, a man illustrious in war, who was then the governor of the castle of Marlborough for the king's service, and he demanded with threats that he should be guided by his advice, yea, rather his instigation, and do the work of Satan against not only the king but the earl and every one else, assuring him that if he would not comply, he should immediately lose his head. John replied,—"By God's help I would sooner take a man than be taken by him," and immediately seized him and consigned him to prison, where turn for turn he caused every description of torture which he in his cruelty had inflicted upon others to be applied to himself. When all these things became known, the earl of Gloucester and Milo the ex-constable, with many men, came to the said John, to whom the earl promised to give five hundred marks, with the agreement that he should deliver up to him the said Robert on an appointed day, and give good hostages for himself. John being pacified with the promised money and hostages, gave up Robert to him, with the understanding that within fifteen days he should be restored to him. This agreement completed, the earl returned to Gloucester, carrying the said Robert with him, and a discussion followed touching the surrender of the castle of Devizes, which he demanded should be freely given up to him; but Robert refused, lest he should break the oath which he had sworn to his comrades, to wit, that the castle should not be surrendered. But being terrified by threats of the gallows, he answered that he would yield to his

request, provided he might only escape death. Within the time appointed in the agreement this malignant Robert was led back to the presence of John, to whom the earl told everything which had happened, and how Robert, under the fear of his menaces, had promised to deliver up the castle. He also asked him again to permit Robert to accompany him to Devizes, with the understanding that if he should succeed in making himself master of the castle it should be placed in John's command under him; and upon his prayers being acceded to, the earl returned immediately to Devizes with Robert. In the meantime the said John despatched letters to all, both within and without the castle, swearing that neither he nor the earl would do any injury to Robert, provided only they would firmly keep their oath in not surrendering the castle to any one. Leaving the ex-constable and a certain powerful personage named Humphrey, with some others, behind him, the earl returned to Gloucester, after giving directions to all that in case Robert refused to deliver up the castle of his own accord he should be hung.[1] Robert did refuse, as did his comrades also, lest they should appear perjured. In short, he was taken and hanged as a warning to others, after his two nephews had shared the same fate. Glory be to God Almighty that He has delivered up the wicked!

Before the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.] the earl of Gloucester marched against Bath; but the king had long before this sent out spies to entrap the enemy, and defend themselves and their possessions to the uttermost. A hostile meeting consequently took place; on the one hand the soldiers of the king, among whom were two knights, John and Roger, both valiant and warlike men; on the other, the retainers of the earl. Many were taken prisoners, and more were wounded and killed, among whom a certain knight named Geoffrey Talbot, valorous but crafty, now with the king, now with the earl, subtle in every action, was mortally hurt, and dying of his wounds on the 11th of the kalends of September [22d Aug.] was buried along with the canons at Gloucester. The royal troops however gained the victory. Before the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], Robert, son of king Henry, at the instigation of Ralph Paganel, having associated with himself the knights of the earl of Warwick along with those whom he had brought out of Gloucester, and many other common soldiers, suddenly assaulted the town of Nottingham, and finding it unprovided with military defence, commenced sacking it, while the citizens on every side fled to the churches. One of these, who had the reputation of being wealthier than the rest, having been taken prisoner, was led strongly bound to his own house and compelled to give up his gold. For this purpose he led the greedy pillagers into his cellar, where all his furniture was stored up. As soon as he perceived them intent upon pillage, and occupied in breaking open doors and locks, he craftily slipped away, and escaping through the chambers and hall, he closed all the doors behind him and fastened them with bolts.

[1] Here ends the MS. in Corpus Christi College, Oxon. The remainder is translated from the editions, fol. Francof. 1601, p. 675, and of the E. H. S. ii. 127.

After this he set fire to the place, and consigned his houses and all his goods, together with the robbers, to the flames. It is said that upwards of thirty of the men who had entered the cellar perished in that fire, by which, as it is also reported, the whole town was burnt; for the knights and the whole army swore that they were innocent of having set fire to it. By this means the whole city was destroyed by the flames, and those inhabitants who were captured outside the churches were carried away prisoners, some even as far as Gloucester. The rest of the mob, men, women and children, who had entered the churches, fearing to sally forth lest they should be taken by the enemies, nearly all perished as the churches fell a prey to the raging conflagration. A cruel spectacle and most wretched, even to the enemy themselves, to behold the temples of God, which even the heathen would have spared, consumed by fire! In like manner was Nottingham destroyed, a most noble city, it having continued from the period when the Normans subdued England down to the present time in the enjoyment of the greatest peace and tranquillity, besides being populous and wealthy. The government of the abbey of Malmesbury was conferred by Henry, bishop of Winchester, legate of the holy Roman church, upon a certain monk, by name Peter, nobly endowed with learning and science. Having donned the garb of religion at Cluny, he had for some time held the Priory de Caritate, being removed from which he was appointed to the monastery of St. Urban the pope, in the diocese of Catalonia; but calamities increasing upon him, he was compelled to abandon that place, and at the persuasion of the above-mentioned bishop of Winchester he came to England, and this year undertook the rule of the church already mentioned.

A.D. 1141. Stephen, king of England, after prolonged labours in besieging castles in which (for the peace of the kingdom) he had toiled five years and six weeks, at last at the siege of Lincoln castle, on the day of the Purification of St. Mary, being Sexagesima Sunday [2d Feb.], was surrounded and taken prisoner, by the just judgment of God, by Robert, earl of Gloucester, the son of his uncle, and Ranulph, earl of Chester; and was carried first to Gloucester on Quinquagesima Sunday [9th Feb.], and then to the town of Bristol, and there consigned to prison. Many of his adherents were captured along with him and loaded with chains. In the meantime the empress, king Henry's daughter, was staying in the city of Gloucester, and rejoiced exceedingly at this event, she having now, as she thought, obtained possession of the kingdom which had been promised to her by oath; and having taken counsel with her followers, she departed out of the city on the fifth day after Ash-Wednesday [17th Feb.]; and accompanied by two bishops, Bernard of St. David's, and Nigel of Ely, Gilbert abbot of Gloucester, with many barons, knights, and attendants, she advanced to the city of Chichester, in which she first rested after the joyful intelligence, and of which she also assumed the dominion. Departing thence, when she had come nigh to the city of Winchester, there advanced to meet her, with magnificent

state and pomp, the prelates of nearly the whole of England, many barons and chief men, knights innumerable, and divers abbots with their retinues, two convents of monks of the city, and a third of nuns, all chanting processional melodies and praises, and the clergy of the town with the citizens and much people. The most noble city of Winchester thus surrendered to her empire, and the crown of the realm of England was delivered to her dominion; by the legate himself those were accursed who curse her, and those blessed who bless her; they who oppose her were excommunicated, and those who obey her command were absolved. Departing from Winchester with her attendants, she went to Wilton, where Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, was present to welcome her. So great a concourse of people flocked together, that the gates of the town barely sufficed for the multitude who entered. Thence, after the celebration of the festival of Easter, she came within the Rogation days [4th May] to Reading, where she was received with honours, the principal men and people pouring in from all sides in submission to her. One of these leading men, Robert D'Oyley, was there summoned by her touching the surrender of Oxford castle, and upon his consenting to it she came thither and received possession, and the homage of the whole city and surrounding districts. Setting out thence with great joy and exultation, she was received in the monastery of St. Alban's with processional honours and rejoicings, and many citizens from London visited her there, and held divers discourses touching the surrender of the city.

In these days a certain horrible event befel in Worcester, which we deem worthy of relation. On Wednesday before the octave of our Lord's Ascension [11th May], about the ninth hour of the day, at the town called Walesburn, distant one mile from Hampton, the bishop of Worcester's town, a violent whirlwind and most dreadful darkness arose, reaching from earth to heaven, and striking the house of a priest named Leofrid, which it prostrated to the ground and shattered to atoms, together with its offices; the roof of the church also was torn off and cast across the river Avon, and nearly fifty houses of the country people were in like manner thrown down and ruined. Hailstones of the bigness of a pigeon's egg fell, by the blows from which one woman was killed. At this sight all present were struck with terror and dismay.

The empress, as we have before related, after a treaty with the Londoners, hastened in security to the city, attended by many prelates and nobility, and was received with processional honours at Westminster, where she remained for a few days to set the affairs of her kingdom in order, having first, as was meet, provided for the interest of God's holy church, pursuant to the advice of good men. She gave the bishopric of London to a venerable monk of Reading, Robert by name, in the presence and by the orders of his reverend abbot Edward. God's affairs being thus accomplished, the queen of England interceded with Matilda for the king her husband, who had been taken captive and committed to prison. The first and greatest nobles of England pleaded the

same cause, offering to place at her disposal many hostages, castles, and great riches, in order that the king might be restored, not to his kingdom, but simply his liberty, promising also that they would persuade him, after he had been dismissed from the kingdom, thenceforth to serve God alone as a monk or pilgrim; but she heard them not. The bishop of Winchester, too, petitioned that the government which belonged to his brother should be given to his nephew, that is, to the king's son, but neither would she hear him. The citizens also requested that they might be permitted to observe the laws of king Edward, which were excellent, and not those of Henry her father, which were severe. But she refused good advice, being influenced by a spirit of too great severity, and so she would not consent; in consequence of which a great commotion arose in the city, and a conspiracy was formed against her, so that she whom they had received with honour was now ordered to be disgracefully apprehended. Being warned however by some of the citizens, she betook herself with her attendants to an ignominious flight, leaving all her own and their apparel behind them. Perceiving this, the bishop of Winchester, who was also legate of the holy Roman church, busied himself for the deliverance of his brother; and in order to effect this he secured the courage and good will of the Londoners in his behalf. In the meantime the fugitive lady came to Gloucester, where, having taken counsel with Milo, the ex-constable, she returned with him immediately to Oxford, intending to remain there until she could collect her scattered forces. And because she had chiefly been influenced by the advice, and been supported by the assistance of Milo, insomuch as up to that time she had neither eaten one day's meals nor had any provision for her table, except through his munificence or forethought—as we have heard from Milo's own mouth—in order that she might the more straitly bind him to her service, she bestowed upon him in reward the earldom of Hereford.

On the approach of the Festival of St. Peter ad Vincula [1st Aug.], her troops having now increased in valour and numbers, she came, unknown to her brother, the earl of Bristol, to Winchester, but finding that city already revolted against her, she took up her abode in the castle. Wondering at her unlooked-for arrival, and exceedingly troubled thereat, Henry, bishop of that city, escaped out at another gate, and then and there escaped. Discord now broke out among themselves, and this wealthy city, so long famous through all lands, was encompassed with a sudden blockade, in consequence of domestic quarrels, and was drained of its inhabitants and property, while common soldiers and destructive mercenaries rage furiously to and fro. Nor was even this sufficient for the pontiff's wrath, for, goaded by fury and wishing to strike terror and dismay into their minds, he gave orders that the whole town should be set on fire and burnt; and this he accomplished. Thus, on the second of the month of August, having fired the city, he reduced to ashes the monastery of the nuns with its buildings, more than forty churches, together with the larger and better

portion of the town, and lastly, the monastery of the monks dedicated to the service of God and St. Grimbald, with its buildings. There existed in this church of St. Grimbald a great cross and a holy, formerly made by order of king Canute, and by him most handsomely adorned with gold and silver, gems and precious stones. Now, wonderful to relate, this cross, on the approach of the flames, as if conscious of the danger which threatened it, in full view of the brethren who were present, began to sweat and grow black, thus typifying the blackness of the incendiaries, while in the very instant of its catching fire a horrifying crash of mighty thunder thrice roared from heaven. The city having been thus made a prey to the flames within, and beleaguered by enemies without, the bishop is said to have addressed the following words to the earl of Northampton:—"Behold, lord Earl, I have commanded these things, do thou study to terminate them." Which words lay bare the inmost feelings of the speaker's heart. Seven weeks after the siege had been in progress, the bishop, weary at last of its protracted duration, on the evening of the day preceding the Festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [14th Sept.], commanded peace to be proclaimed throughout the city, and the gates to be thrown open. The empress had already mounted her horse, accompanied by, and under the guidance of her brother Reginald; more than two hundred of her knights were left behind as guards, under the command of the earl of Hereford; and then the bishop suddenly ordered his men to arm themselves, to make a violent charge upon the enemy, and take as many prisoners as they could. Many were thus captured, and very many here and there slain; among whom, a knight named William de Curcell, with six of his companions, was put to death, and buried at St. Grimbald's. The empress, hearing of this, was much terrified and disturbed thereat, and in consequence she repaired to the castle of Luggershall, where she arrived sorrowing and downcast; but she found no fit resting-place there, on account of her dread of the bishop. By the advice of her followers, she once more mounted her horse in male fashion, and was conducted to Devizes, but fearing that she could not find shelter there from her pursuers, she was placed already nearly half dead on a litter, and being bound with bandages after the manner of a corpse, and borne upon horses, was carried ignominiously enough into the city of Gloucester. Her brother Robert, earl of Bristol, having sallied out in another direction, was hard pressed by the pursuers and captured at Stolibridge by the Flemings, with earl Warren, and after being presented to the queen, who was staying in the town, was by her command committed to the care of William de Ypres, and imprisoned in the city of Rochester. But Milo, the earl of Hereford, hemmed in by his enemies, after having cast away his arms and furniture, and glad to escape with life alone, came in disgraceful flight, half naked, weary and alone to Gloucester. The pursuing forces of the bishop having followed John, the aider and abettor of the fugitives, to the monastery of Wherwell, when they could by no means expel him therefrom, they, on the day of the Festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross

[14th Sept.], set fire to and consumed the church of St. Cross, and with it the nuns' houses and property there; but after despoiling them of their vestments, books, and ornaments, and cruelly shedding very much human blood before the holy altar, yet could they neither capture the said John, nor drive him from his place of refuge. Alfrida, during the reign of her husband Edgar,[1] the glorious king of the English, erected this monastery in honour of St. Cross in remorse for the murder of her step-son. In this state of affairs the bishop Henry, his anger being in some degree appeased, but his covetousness much increased, at the suggestion of the prior of Newminster, (which had been just burnt down,) recovered from the ashes of the cross five hundred pounds of silver, thirty marks of gold, three crowns, and as many footstools of the purest Arabian gold and most precious stones, fashioned with surprising and fairest workmanship, and stored them up among his own treasures.

In the meantime the king and the earl were kept in durance, but the queen, busying herself exceedingly for the king, and the countess labouring earnestly for the earl, after employing divers mediators and trustworthy friends in this behalf, the result of their mutual deliberations resolved itself into the following condition:—namely, that the king being restored to his kingdom, and the earl raised to the government of the whole of England under him, they should both direct their efforts to secure the tranquillity and peace of the realm, as they had hitherto been the authors and promoters of all its dissensions and troubles. But the earl, refusing to act without the consent of his sister the empress, dissented altogether from the terms of this agreement, and spurned all hints of reconciliation with the king. Whence it came to pass that they parted mutually unpacified, and during the whole of the ensuing year the whole kingdom and country were torn to pieces with rapine, murder, and sacrilege.[2]

[1] A note in the margin of the MS. C. states, in reference to the monastery of Wherewell, that "Aelfdryth, the wife of king Eadgar, influenced by remorse for the murder of her stepson, erected this monastery in honour of Holy Cross," thereby avoiding the error of the text. See Dugd. Monast. i. 256.

[2] Here the printed copy ends abruptly. The continuation from A.D. 1152 to 1295, will be given hereafter in its own appropriate place.

THE END OF THE CONTINUATION OF

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

APPENDIX TO FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

[1]THE NAMES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF ENGLAND.

KENT.

The names of the Archbishops of the Church of Canterbury.

1. Augustine.
2. Laurentius.
3. Mellitus.
4. Justus.
5. Honorius.
6. Deus-dedit.
7. Theodore.
8. Berhtwald.
9. Tatwine.
10. Nothelm.
11. Cuthberht.
12. Breogwin.
13. Jaenberht.
14. Aethelhard.
15. Wulfred.
16. Feologild.
17. Ceolnoth.
18. Aethered.
19. Pleigmund.
20. Aethelm.
21. Wulfhelm.
22. Odo.
23. Dunstan.
24. Aethelgar.
25. Sigeric.
26. Alfric.
27. Aelfeg.
28. Living.
29. Aethelnoth.
30. Eadsi.
31. Rodbert.
32. Stigand.
33. Lanfranc.
34. Anselm.
35. Radulf.
36. William.
37. Theobald.

The names of the Bishops of the Church of Rochester.

1. Justus.
2. Romanus.
3. Paulinus.
4. Ithamar.
5. Damianus.
6. Putta.
7. Cuichelm.
8. Gebmund.
9. Tobias.
10. Aldulf.
11. Dunn.
12. Eardulf.
13. Diora.
14. Wermund.
15. Beornmod.
16. Burhric.
17. Alstan.
18. Godwin.
19. Godwin.
20. Siward.
21. Arnost.
22. Gundulf.
23. Radulf.

    He succeeded Anselm in the archbishopric of Canterbury.
24. Earnulf.
25. John.

[1] Concerning these lists, and this supplemental matter generally, the reader is requested to consult the observations in the Preface.

EAST SAXONY.

The names of the Bishops of the Church of London.

1. Mellitus.
2. Cedd.
3. Wina.
4. Erconwald.
5. Waldher.
6. Ingуald.
7. Ecguulf.
8. Wighed.
9. Eadbriht.
10. Eadgar.
11. Coenwalch.
12. Eadbald.
13. Heathoberht.
14. Osmund.
15. Aethilnoth.
16. Ceolberht.
17. Ceorulf.
18. Swithulf.
19. Heahstan.
20. Wulfsi.
21. Aethelward.
22. Ealhstan.
23. Theodred.
24. Wulstan.
25. Brihthelm.
26. Dunstan.
27. Alfstan.
28. Wulfstan.
29. Alhun.
30. Alwi.
31. Alfward.
32. Rodbert.
33. William.
34. Hugo.
35. Maurice.
36. Richard.
37. Gilbert.
38. Robert.

EAST ANGLIA.

In the reign of Sigebert, the most Christian king of the East Anglians, bishop Felix, a Burgundian, converted the East Anglians to Christianity: he was their first bishop, and fixed the episcopal see in the city of Dunwich.

The names of the Bishops of the East Angles.

1. Felix.
2. Thomas.
3. Bertgils, also called Boniface.
4. Bisa.

Afterwards East Anglia was divided into two dioceses.

The names of the Bishops of Elmham.

1. Beadwin.
2. Northbert.
3. Heatholac.
4. Aethelferth.
5. Lanferth.
6. Aethelulf.
7. Hunferth.
8. Sibba.
9. Hunferth.
10. Hunbryht.

The names of the Bishops of Dunwich.

1. Aecca.
2. Aesculf.
3. Eardred.
4. Cuthwin.
5. Aldbert.
6. Ecglaf.
7. Headred.
8. Alfhun.
9. Hidferth.
10. Wermund.
11. Wilred.

In the time of Ludeca, king of the Mercians, and Ecgbert, king of the West Saxons, Hunbyrht and Wilred were bishops of the East Angles.

12. Athulf.

In the time of king Edwy he was sole bishop of the East Angles. His successors were, also, sole bishops.

13. Alfric.
14. Theodred.
15. Theodred.
16. Aethelstan.
17. Algar.
18. Alwin.
19. Aelfric.
20. Aelfric.
21. Stigand.

But he was ejected immediately, and in his stead

22. Grimketell

was elected by bribery. He had at that time the two districts of the South Saxons and the East Angles, but he was shortly afterwards expelled, and

23. Stigand was replaced.
24. Agelmar, brother of Stigand.
25. Arfastus.
26. William.
27. Herebert.
28. Eoverard.
29. William.

SOUTH SAXONY.

In the reign of king Coenwalch, Wilfrid converted the South Saxons to Christianity, and was bishop in those parts for five years. He also sent ministers of the Word to the Isle of Wight.

The names of the Bishops of the South Saxons.

1. Wilfrid.

The names of the Bishops of the Church of Selsey.

2. Eadbert.

He was abbot of the monastery of the holy bishop Wilfred, called Selsey. He was afterwards, in accordance with a synodal decree, preferred after Wilfrid's death to the bishopric of the South Saxon province, which up to that time belonged to the district of Winchester, whereof Daniel was then bishop.

3. Eolla.
4. Sigga.
5. Aluberht.
6. Osa.
7. Giselhere.
8. Tota.
9. Wiothun.
10. Aethelulph.
11. Coenred.
12. Gutheard.
13. Alfred.
14. Eadelm.
15. Aethelgar.
16. Ordbriht.
17. Aelmar.
18. Aethelric.
19. Grimkytel.
20. Heca.

The names of the Bishops of the Church of Chichester.

21. Stigand.

He transferred the episcopal see from Selsey to Chichester.

22. William.
23. Radulf.
24. Sigefrid.

WEST SAXONY.

Surrey, Berkshire, Southampton, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire.

Saint Birin was the first bishop of the West Saxons. He came into England by order of pope Honorius, and converted king Cynegils and his people to the faith, and baptized them: he was sole bishop of West Saxony, and had his espiscopal see in the city of Dorchester.

The names of the Bishops of the Church of Dorchester.

1. Birin.
2. Aegelberht.

The names of the Bishops of the Church of Winchester.

3. Wine.

In the time of bishop Aegelberht, king Coenwalch divided West Saxony into two dioceses. Aegelberht was grievously offended at this, resigned his bishopric, and returned to Gaul; and Wine became bishop of both dioceses; but being shortly afterwards driven by the king from his bishopric, he was made bishop of London.

4. Leutherius.

Leutherius was sole bishop of the Gewissi [West Saxons].

5. Headdi.

Saint Headdi was sole bishop of the Gewissi. On his death the bishopric of that province was divided into two dioceses; at that time Ini was king of the West Saxons, Brihtwald archbishop of Canterbury, and Ecgwin bishop of the Hwiccas. One diocese was given to Danihel, and the other to Aldelm, a relation of the said king.

6. Daniel.
7. Hunfrith.
8. Kinehard.
9. Aethelhard.
10. Egbald.
11. Dudd.
12. Kineberht.
13. Alhmund.
14. Wigthein.
15. Herefrid.
16. Eadmund.
17. Helmstan.
18. Suithun.
19. Alhfrith.
20. Denewlf.
21. Frithestan.
22. Birnstan.
23. Alpheag the bald.
24. Aelfsi.
25. Ethelwald.
26. Alpheag the martyr.
27. Kenulf.
28. Athelwold.
29. Alfsi.
30. Alfwin.
31. Stigand.
32. Walcelin.
33. William.
34. Henry.

Edward, the first king of the English, and Pleigmund, archbishop of Canterbury, very wisely determined to appoint a separate bishop to each tribe of the Gewissi, with a bishopric to each, and dividing into five what had formerly been two. Having made that arrangement, Pleigmund consecrated seven bishops to the seven churches on one and the same day in the city of Canterbury, viz: Frithestan to the church of Winchester, Aethelstan to the church of Cornwall, Werstan to the church of Sherborne, Aethilhelm to

the church of Wells, Eadulf to the church of Crediton, Bernethun to the South Saxons, and Coenulf, bishop of the city called Dorchester, for the South Mercians.

The names of the Bishops of the Church of Sunning.

1. Aethelstan.
2. Odo.

This holy man succeeded Wulfhelm in the archbishopric of Canterbury.

3. Osulf.
4. Alfstan.
5. Alfgar.
6. Sigeric.
7. Alfric.

These two were archbishops of Canterbury.

8. Brightwold.
9. Heremann.

He united the bishopric of Sherborne, which he had received from king Eadward, to his own bishopric, and fixed his pontifical throne for both bishoprics at Sherborne. But in the reign of king William the elder he transferred his see thence to Old, Sarum by synodal authority and that king's royal munificence.

10. Osmund.
11. Roger.

The names of the Bishops of the Church of Sherborne.

1. Aldelm.

Saint Aldelm, a kinsman of Ina, the most beloved king of the West Saxons, was a most excellent harp-player, a most eloquent Saxon and Latin poet, a most skilful singer, a famous teacher of elegant diction, and a marvel of erudition as well in the liberal sciences as in ecclesiastical literature. He was first a pupil of the learned Maidulf, and afterwards of archbishop Theodore and Adrian his assistant abbot. While yet abbot of Malmesbury, he wrote a famous book against the heresy of the Britons, the perusal whereof brought many of them over to the catholic celebration of Easter Sunday. He wrote also other treatises, for he was a man of universal learning.

2. Forther.
3. Herewald.
4. Aethelmod.
5. Denefrith.
6. Wigberht.
7. Alhstan.
8. Heahmund.
9. Aethelheag.
10. Alfsi.
11. Asser.
12. Aethelward.
13. Werstan.
14. Aethelbald.
15. Sighelm.
16. Alfred.
17. Alfsi.
18. Alfwold.
19. Aethelric.
20. Aethelsi.
21. Brihtwin.
22. Aelmar.
23. Byrhtwin.
24. Aelfwold.

The names of the Bishops of the Church of Wells.

1. Aethelm.
2. Wulfhelm.

Both of these were archbishops of Canterbury.

3. Alpheag.
4. Wulfhelm.
5. Brihthelm.
6. Kyneward.
7. Sigar.
8. Alfwin.

9. Living.
10. Aethelwin.
He was previously abbot of Evesham.
11. Byrhtwin.
12. Bodeca, a Saxon.
13. Gisa.
14. John.
15. Godefrid.
16. Robert.

The names of the Bishops of the Church of Crediton.

1. Eadulf.
2. Aethelgar.
He succeeded St. Dunstan in the archbishopric.
3. Alfwold.
4. Sidemann.
5. Alfric.
6. Alfwold.
7. Alfwold.
8. Eadnoth.
9. Living.
On the death of his uncle Brihtwald he united (by king Edward's permission) the bishopric of Cornwall to the bishopric of Devonshire.
10. Leofric.
11. Osbearn.
12. William.

HECANA.

The names of the Bishops of the Magesetas, or people of Herefordshire.

1. Putta.
2. Tyrhtel.
3. Torhtheras.
4. Walhstod.
5. Cuthberht.
6. Podda.
7. Ecca.
8. Ceadda.
9. Aldberht.
10. Esna.
11. Ceolmund.
12. Utel.
13. Wulfhard.
14. Beonna.
15. Eadulf.
16. Cuthwulf.
17. Mucel.
18. Deorlaf.
19. Cynemund.
20. Eadgar.
21. Tidhelm.
22. Wulfhelm.
23. Alfric.
24. Athulf.
25. Aethelstan.
26. Leovegar.
27. Walter.
28. Rotberht.
29. Gerard.
30. Reignelm.
31. Gosfrid.
32. Richard.
33. Robert.

HWICCIA.

How the Episcopal See came to be placed at Worcester.

The glorious and holy king Aethelred succeeded to the kingdom of his brother Wlfar, the renowned king of the Mercians, who was the first of the Mercian kings to embrace the faith of Christ. Osher, subregulus of the Hwiccas, a most praiseworthy man, being desirous that Hwiccia, over which he presided with regal authority, should be dignified and ennobled by the possession of a bishop of its own, counselled and earnestly entreated him [Aethelred] that he

would beautify and exalt his [kingdom of Hwiccia], which was the chief of the kingdoms of England, with more bishops than one, a thing that he knew some kings of England had formerly done. The king having been previously exceedingly anxious to do this very same thing, fell in with his requests and wholesome advice, and having commanded the attendance of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and requested him to divide the kingdom into a greater number of dioceses, and appoint bishops thereto in convenient places, the archbishop applauded the king's praiseworthy design, and hastened to give effect to it. So, in the year 701 from the incarnation of our Lord, according to the Gospel, but in the year 679, according to Dionysius (whose mistake is yet followed by the holy church),—he, with the consent of the said king and his nobles, divided the [single] diocese of which Saxulf was then the bishop, into five dioceses. And inasmuch as the city of Worcester was, as well when the Britons and Romans were dominant in Britain as now, the renowned metropolis of all Hwicca or Magesitania, he very properly placed the seat of the bishopric there, and made it the chief of the divided Hwiccian dioceses. Tatfrith, a most energetic and learned man, from the monastery of the abbess Hild, was chosen bishop thereof; but before he could be ordained he was snatched off by an untimely death.

II. The second [of the five dioceses] was that belonging to the bishopric of Lichfield; and he appointed thereto Cuthwin, a religious and modest man.

III. The third was the Mid-Anglian; the aforesaid bishop Saxulf made choice of this for himself, and fixed the episcopal see in the city of Leicester.

IV. The fourth was for the province of Lindsey, over which he placed the holy Aethelwin, a brother of the holy Aldwin, who was abbot of the monastery called Partaneum, and directed that the episcopal see should be in the city called Siddena.

V. The fifth was the South-Anglian: to this he appointed as bishop Aetla, a man of singular worth and sanctity, from the aforesaid monastery of abbess Hild, and fixed the see of his bishopric in the city called Dorchester. Afterwards, the venerable Bosel was elected to supply the place of Tatfrith, and was, like the rest, ordained by archbishop Theodore, and had his episcopal see in the said city of Worcester, which was at that period adorned with high walls and fortifications, and excelled most cities in renown and magnificence.

The names of the Bishops of the Hwiccas.

1. Bosel.
2. Oftfor.
3. Ecgwin.
4. Wilfrid.
5. Milred.
6. Weremund.
7. Tilher.
8. Heathored.
9. Deneberht.
10. Heaberht.
11. Alhwin.
12. Wereferth.
13. Wilferth.
14. Aethelhun.
15. Kinewold.
16. Dunstan.

17. Oswald.
18. Aldulf.
19. Wulstan.
20. Leofsi.
21. Brihteag.
22. Living.
23. Aldred.
24. Wulstan.
25. Samson.
26. Teoulf.
27. Simon.
28. John.

MERCIA.

The names of the Bishops of Lichfield.

When Penda, the pagan king of the Mercians, was slain, and the christian king Oswiu took possession of his kingdom and converted the Mercians and people of the neighbouring provinces to the faith of Christ, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 656, Diuma was made first bishop of the Mercians, Mid-Anglians, Lindisfari, and of the adjacent provinces; the second was Ceollach, both of these were Scots; Trumher was the third, being the first bishop under king Wulfer; Jarumann was the fourth: the fifth was Ceadda, whose episcopal see was at a place called Licetfeld [Lichfield], where all subsequent bishops of that province fixed their see; the sixth was Winfrid, and the seventh was Saxulf. These five last were Englishmen.

1. Diuma.
2. Ceollach.
3. Trumher.
4. Jarumann.

The names of the Bishops of Lichfield.

5. Ceadda.
6. Winfrid.
7. Saxulf.

After Saxulf the Mercian province had two bishops, namely, Headda and Wilfrid.

8. Headda.
9. Aldwin, also called Wor.

It was again divided into two dioceses.

10. Huita.
11. Hemele.
12. Cuthfrid.
13. Berthun.
14. Higbert.
15. Aldulf.
16. Herewin.
17. Aethelwald.
18. Hunberht.
19. Cineferth.
20. Tunbriht.

He was bishop in the time of Burhred, king of the Mercians, and Alfred king of the West Saxons.

21. Aelle, also called Aelfwin.

He was bishop in the time of Aethelstan, king of all England.

22. Alfgar.
23. Cinsi.
24. Wynsi.
25. Aelfeg.
26. Godwin.
27. Leovegar.
28. Brihtmar.
29. Wulsi.
30. Leofwin.
31. Peter.
32. Rotbert of Limesia.
33. Rotbert Peche.
34. Roger de Clinton.
35. Walter.

MID-ANGLIA.

The names of the Bishops of Leicester.

1. Cuthwin.
2. Wilfrid.

After Saxulf, the province of the Mercians had two bishops, namely, Headda and Wilfrid. Wilfrid, bishop of Hexham, being driven from his bishopric, received from king Aethelred the bishopric of Leicester; but after a few years he was ejected, and Headda presided over both dioceses. Aldwin afterwards did the same.

3. Aldwin.
4. Totta.
5. Eadberht.
6. Unwona.
7. Werenberht.
8. Rethun.
9. Aldred.
10. Ceolred.

He was bishop in the time of Burhed, king of the Mercians, and of Alfred king of the West Saxons.

11. Leofwin.

He presided over the two dioceses of Leicester and the Lindisfari, then united, in the time of Eadgar, king of the English.

12. Aelnoth.
13. Aescwi.

By his assistance and cooperation St. Oswald consecrated the monastery of Ramsey, which had been entirely built by him and Aethelwin, ealdorman of the East Angles.

14. Alfhelm.
15. Eadnoth.
16. Aetheric.
17. Eadnoth.
18. Ulf.

But he was in a short time ejected.

19. Wulfwi.
20. Remigius.

He transferred the see to Lincoln.

21. Rotbert.
22. Alexander.
23. Rotbert.

LINDSEY.

Ecgfrid, king of the Northumbrians, having routed in battle Wulfer, king of the Mercians, obtained possession of the province of Lindsey, and expelled bishop Saxulf therefrom. In his place, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 678, Ealhed, king Ecgfrid's chaplain, was ordained by archbishop Theodore as the first special bishop thereof; but, inasmuch as Aethelred, king of the Mercians, recovered that province by force of arms in the following year, he laid down his bishopric and returned to Northumbria; and archbishop Theodore afterwards made him bishop of Ripon. After his departure, king Aethelred, at the suggestion of Osher, king of the Hwiccas, requested archbishop Theodore to divide his kingdom into a greater number of dioceses, and appoint bishops thereto in convenient places. He was delighted at the request, and divided Saxulf's bishopric into five dioceses, and afterwards added a sixth.

The names of the Bishops of the Lindisfari.

1. Ealhed.
2. Aethelwin.
3. Eadgar.
4. Kinebirht.

5. Alowioch.
6. Ealdwlf.
7. Ceoluulf.
8. Ealdulph.
9. Brihtred.

He was bishop in the time of Burhed, king of the Mercians, and Alfred king of the West Saxons.

DEIRA.

The names of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Northumbrians.

Paulinus, a man beloved of God, was sent [to these parts] by archbishop Justus, and converted Eadwin, king of the Northumbrians, and all his people to the faith of Christ, having previously received an episcopal see at York. But the king having been slain, and the affairs of the Northumbrians being in a state of disorder, he returned by ship to Kent, where he was honourably received by archbishop Honorius and king Eadbald, and at their request accepted the bishopric of the church of Rochester, vacant by the death of Romanus. He died there and left his pall, which he had received from pope Honorius.

The names of the Archbishops of York.

1. Paulinus.
2. Ceadda.

After presiding over the church of York for three years, St. Ceadda withdrew to devote himself to the care of his monastery, called Lastingaig, leaving Wilfrid to act as bishop, not only of the church of York, but also of all the Northumbrians and Picts. Wilfrid being driven from the bishopric by king Egfrid, two bishops were consecrated by archbishop Theodore in his stead, viz: Bosa for York, and Eata for Hexham. Three years after Wilfrid's departure he added two more bishops, viz: Tunberht for Hexham (Eata remaining at Lindisfarne), and Trumwine for the province of the Picts. Eathed however, who had returned from Lindsey, he set over the church of Ripon. On Tunberht's deposition, Eata returned to the see of Hexham, and Cuthbert was set over the church of Lindisfarne. On the death of Eata, John was ordained in his stead. After a long exile, Wilfrid again resumed the bishopric of Hexham. On the death of Bosa, John was substituted for him at York.

3. Bosa.
4. John.
5. Wilfrid.
6. Ecgberht.
7. Coena.
8. Eanbald.
9. Eanbald.
10. Wulfsi.
11. Wigmund.
12. Wulfher.
13. Aethelbald.
14. Redeward.
15. Wulstan.
16. Oskytell.
17. Oswald.
18. Aldulf.
19. Wulstan.
20. Aelfric.
21. Kinsi.
22. Aldred.
23. Thomas.
24. Gerard.
25. Thomas.
26. Thurstan.

The name of the Bishop of Ripon.

1. Eathed.

The names of the Bishops of Hexham.

1. Wilfrid.
2. Eata.
3. Tunberht.
4. Eata.
5. John.
6. Wilfrid.
7. Acca.
8. Friotheberht.
9. Alhmund.
10. Tilberht.
11. Aethelberht.
12. Heardred.
13. Eanberht.
14. Tidferth.

BERNICIA.

Saint Aidan was sent by the Scots by whom he had been ordained bishop, and preached the word of faith in those provinces in which king Oswald held sway, and asked and obtained from that king an episcopal see in the island of Lindisfarne. On his death the Scots ordained and sent Finan, who was made bishop in his stead. On the death of Finan, Colman succeeded to the bishopric; he too was sent by the Scots. Colman resigned his bishopric and returned to his own country, and then Tuda, who was also ordained bishop by the Scots, succeeded to the bishopric. When Tuda was taken from the world the bishopric was divided into two dioceses. Ceadda was ordained to the church of York, and Wilfrid to the church of Hexham.

The names of the Bishops of Lindisfarne.

1. Aidan.
2. Finan.
3. Colman.
4. Tuda.
5. Eata.
6. Cuthberht.
7. Eadberht.
8. Eadferth.
9. Aethelwold.
10. Cinewlf.
11. Higbald.
12. Ecgbert.
13. Eardulf.
14. Cutheard.
15. Tilred.
16. Wigred.
17. Uhtred.
18. Sexhelm.
19. Aldred.
20. Alfsi.
21. Aldhun.
22. Eadmund.
23. Edred.
24. Agelric.
25. Agelwin.
26. Walcer.
27. William.
28. Randulf.

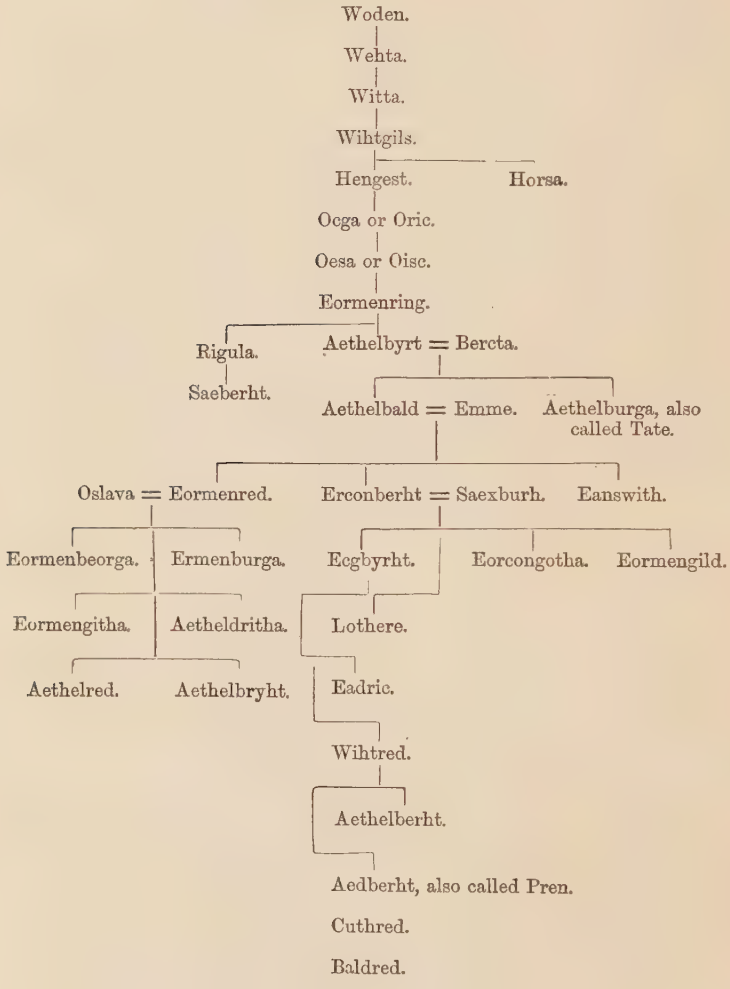
THE TERRITORY OF THE PICTS.

The names of the Bishops of Whitherne.

1. Trumwine.
2. Pehtelm.
3. Frithewald.
4. Pehtwin.
5. Aethilberht.
6. Beadwlf.
7. Heathored.

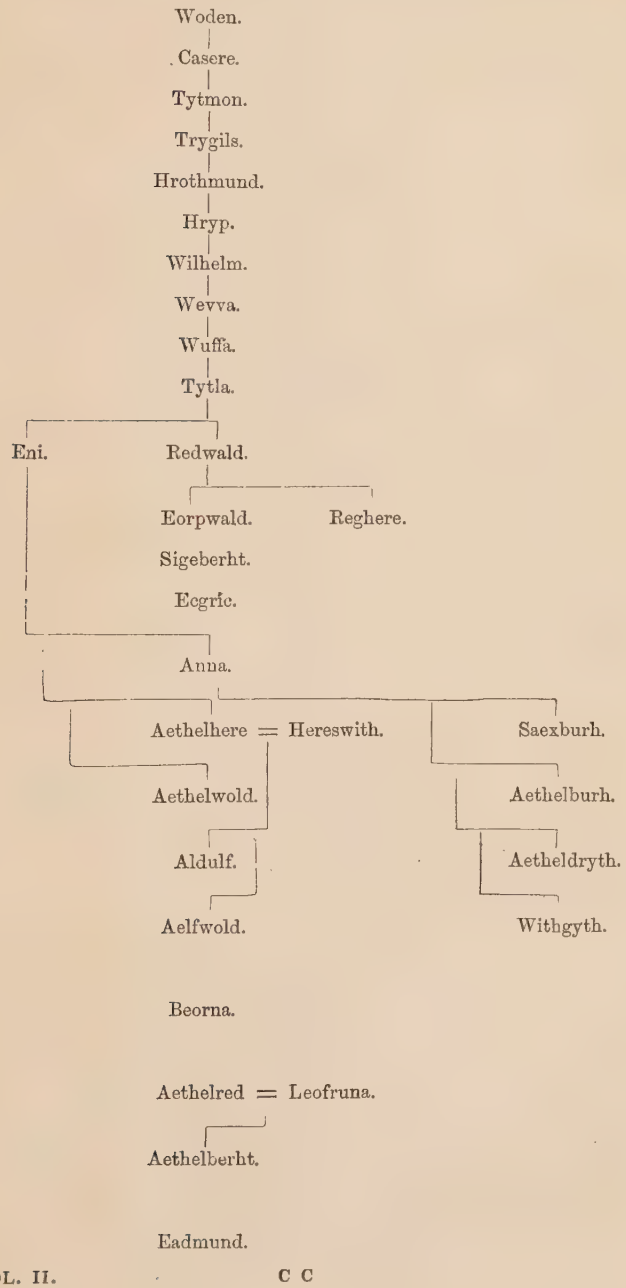
HERE BEGINNETH THE ROYAL GENEALOGY OF THE ANGLES, FROM ADAM DOWNWARDS.[1]

The Genealogy of the Kings of the Kentish People.

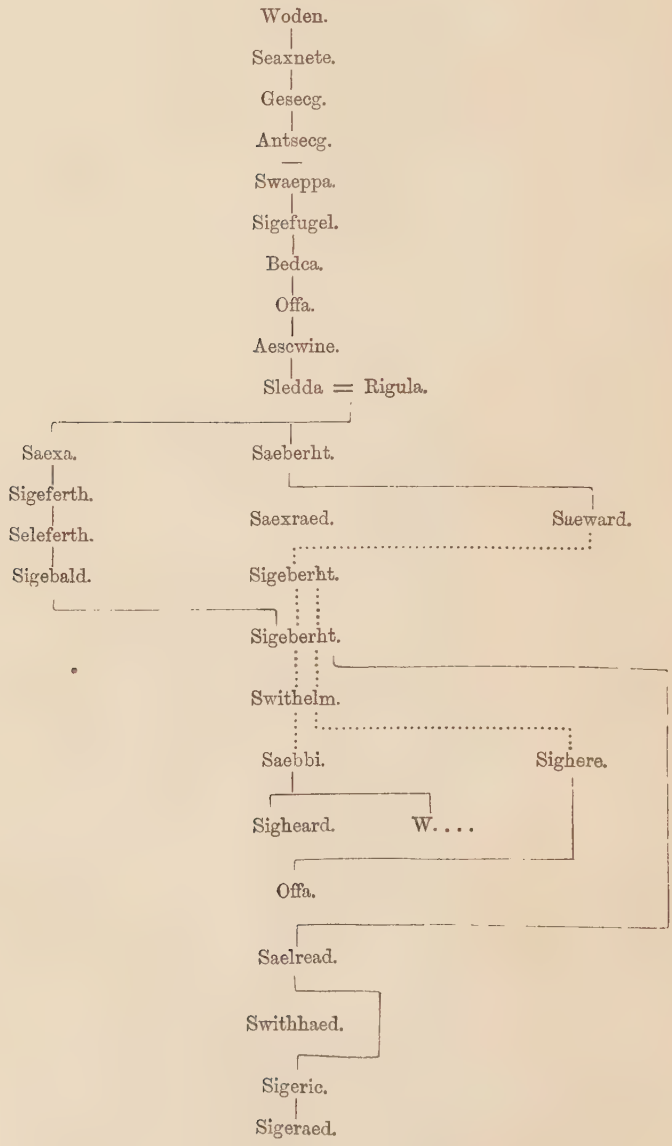


[1] The Genealogy from Adam to Woden having been already given in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 855; and in Florence of Worcester, A.D. 849, is not here repeated.

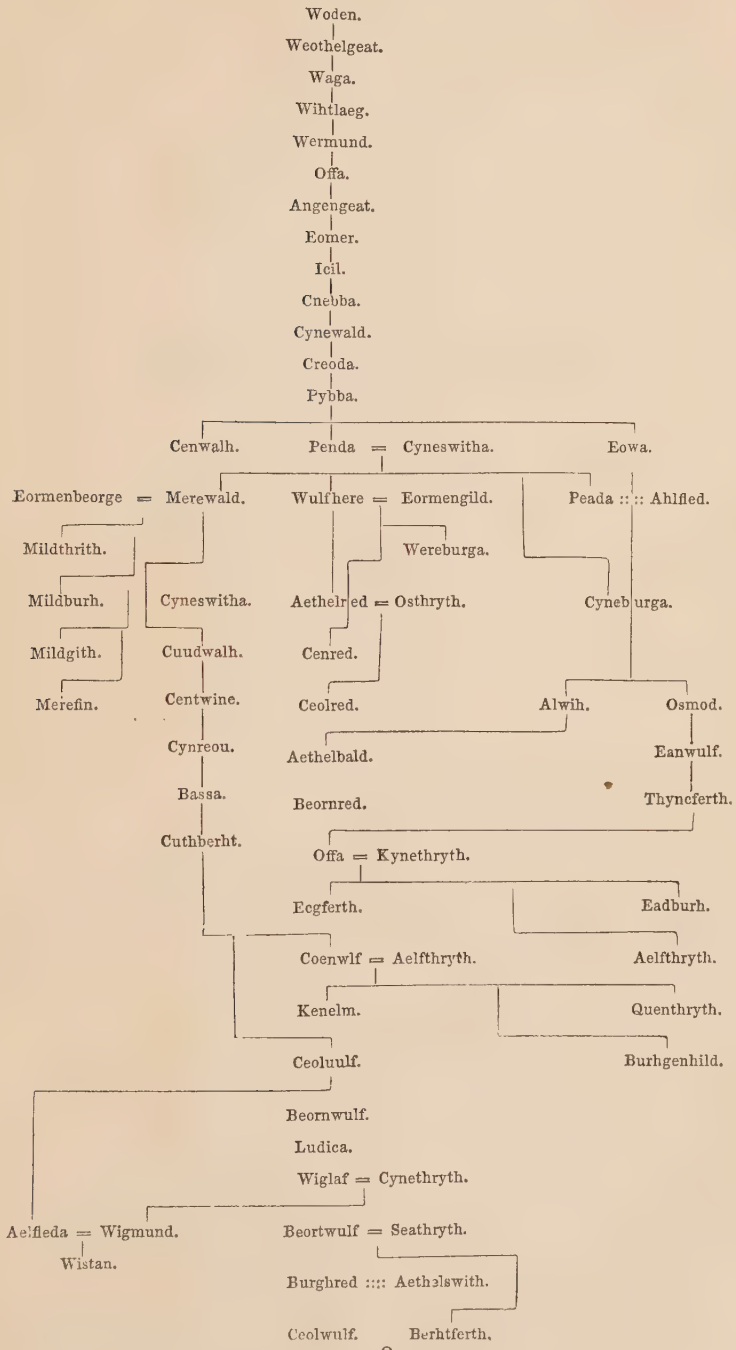
The Genealogy of the Kings of the East Angles.



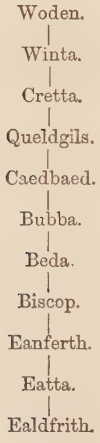
The Genealogy of the Kings of the East Saxons.

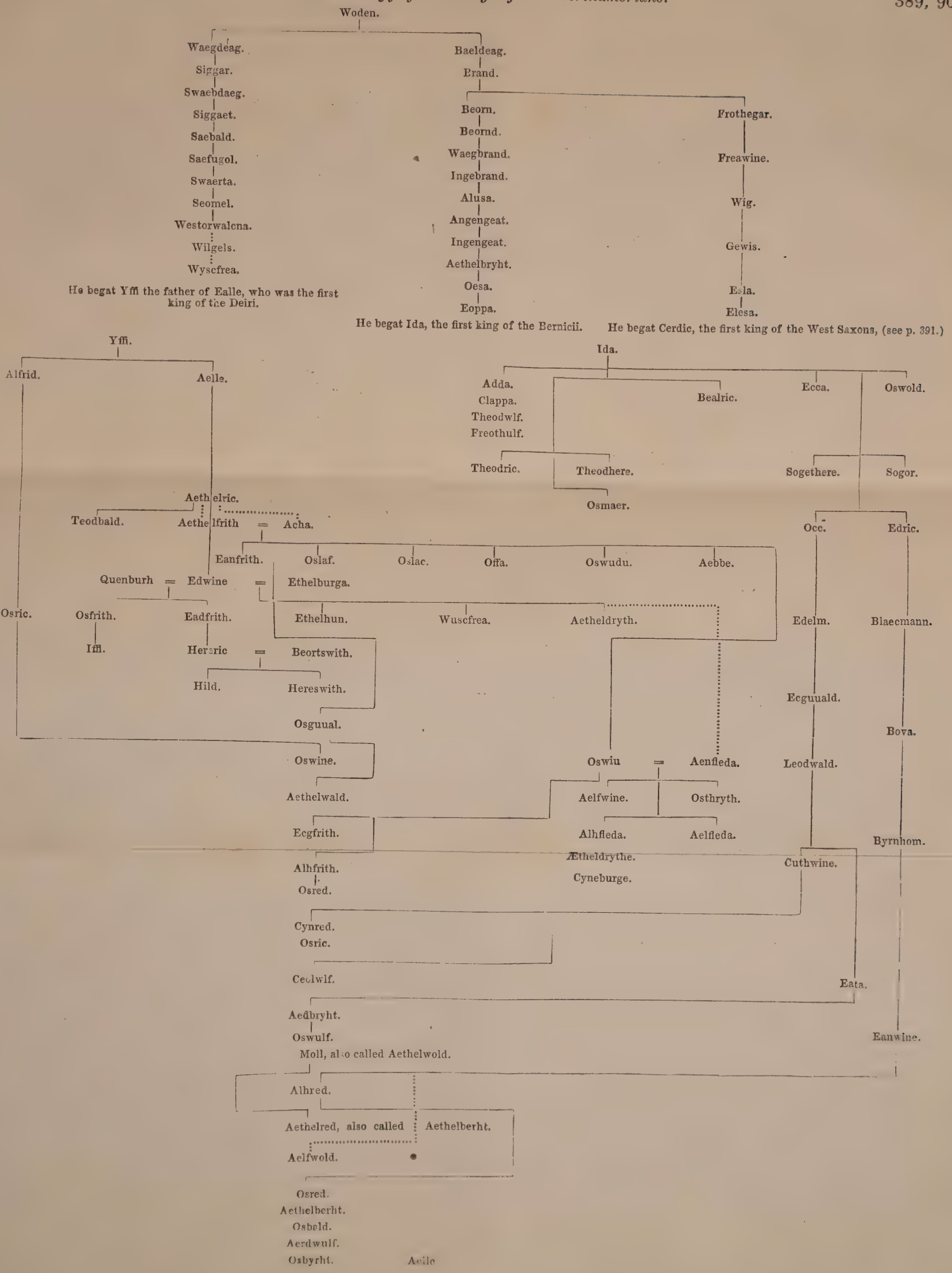


Genealogy of the Kings of the Mercians.

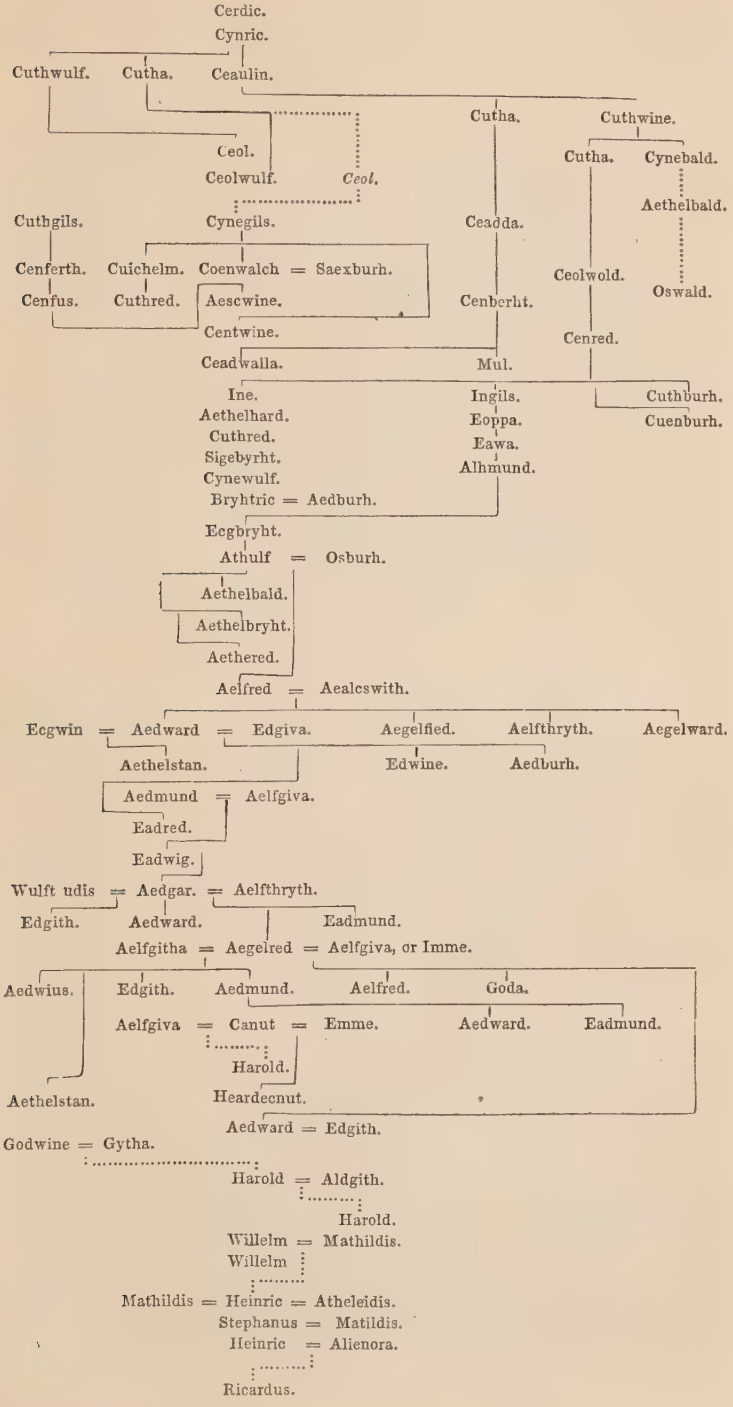


The Genealogy of the Kings of the Lindisfari.




Woden.
Waegdeag.
Siggar.
Swaebdaeg.
Siggaet.
Saebald.
Saefugol.
Swaerta.
Seomel.
Westorwalcna.
Wilgels.
Wyscfrea.
He begat Yffi the father of Ealle, who was the first king of the Deiri.
Baeldeag.
Brand.
Beorn.
Beornd.
Waegbrand.
Ingebrand.
Alusa.
Angengeat.
Ingengeat.
Aethelbryht.
Oesa.
Eoppa.
He begat Ida, the first king of the Bernicii.
Frothegar.
Freawine.
Wig.
Gewis.
Esla.
Elesa.
He begat Cerdic, the first king of the West Saxons, (see p. 391.)
Yffi.
Alfrid.
Aelle.
Osric.
Aethelric.
Teodbald.
Aethelfrith = Acha.
Quenburh = Edwine = Ethelburga.
Osfrith.
Eadfrith.
Ethelhun.
Wuscfrea.
Aetheldryth.
Iffi.
Heresic = Beortswith.
Hild.
Hereswith.
Osguual.
Oswine.
Aethelwald.
Ecgfrith.
Alhfrith.
Osred.
Cynred.
Osric.
Ceolwlf.
Aedbryht.
Oswulf.
Moll, also called Aethelwold.
Alhred.
Aethelred, also called Aethelberht.
Aelfwold.
Osred.
Aethelberht.
Osbald.
Aerdwulf.
Osbyrht.
Aelle
Ida.
Adda.
Clappa.
Theodwlf.
Freothulf.
Bealric.
Ecca.
Oswold.
Theodric.
Theodhere.
Osmaer.
Sogethere.
Sogor.
Eanfrith.
Oslaf.
Oslac.
Offa.
Oswudu.
Aebbe.
Occ.
Edric.
Edelm.
Blaecmann.
Ecguuald.
Bova.
Oswiu = Aenfleda.
Leodwald.
Aelfwine.
Osthryth.
Alhfleda.
Aelfleda.
Ætheldrythe.
Cyneburge.
Byrnhom.
Cuthwine.
Eata.
Eanwine.

The Genealogy of the Kings of the West Saxons.



The Genealogy of the Kentish Kings.

In the time of the emperor Martian, the Anglo-Saxons, on the invitation of the Britons, sailed over to Britain in three ships, under pretence of fighting in defence of that country, but in reality with intent to subdue it. Their first leaders were Hengst and Hors; Hors was slain in battle, by the Britons, but Hengest, having gotten the victory, began to reign in the year 455 from the incarnation of our Lord; and was the first of the Angles who was king of the Kentish-men.

St. Augustine, who was sent by the blessed pope Gregory, converted Aethelbert, king of the Kentish-men, to the faith of Christ, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, in the 597th year of our Lord's incarnation; he built the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, a short distance to the east of the city of Canterbury, and enriched it with divers presents. Moreover, he built the church of St. Paul the apostle, in the city of London, and the church of St. Andrew the apostle, in the city of Rochester. To the bishops of each of these churches, and also to the archbishop of Canterbury, he gave many presents, and added landed possessions and revenues for the use of their successors. His queen, Berta, was daughter of the king of the Franks: St. Aethelburg, their daughter, was the queen of Eadwin, king of the Northumbrians; she built a monastery, at a place called Limene, and lies buried there. Rigula, sister of the said king Aethelbert and queen of the East Saxons, gave birth to St. Sebert, king of that province. King Aethelbert died, and entered the kingdom of heaven, in the fifty-sixth year of his reign.

His son Eadbald succeeded him: who, desiring to consult the welfare of the church, and favour it in every way he could, studied to live according to the divine ordinances. His queen, Emma, was daughter of the king of the Franks: they had a daughter, St. Eanswith, who lies buried at a place called Folcestan, and a son, the regulus Eormenred. Eormenred's queen, Oslava, bore him four daughters and two sons; namely, St. Ermenberg, who was the queen of Merewald, king of the West Angles, St. Ermenburg, St. Aetheldrith, St. Ermengith, and the holy martyrs Aethelred and Aethelbriht, whom Thunor, the prefect of Egbert, king of the Kentish-men, martyred by his orders. King Eadbald died, in the 25th year of his reign, and left his son Erconbert his successor. He was the first of the kings of the Angles who ordered the idols to be destroyed in his kingdom, and the fast of the forty days [of Lent] to be observed. His queen, St. Sexburg, daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles, built for him a monastery, in Sheppey. St. Ercongota, daughter of the said king Erconbert and his queen, St. Sexburg, being sent into Gaul, served God all her life, under the abbess St. Aethelburg (her aunt by the mother's side), in the monastery of Brie [Fare-moustier en Brie], and lies buried there.

Their other daughter, Ermenilda, was queen of Wulfer, king of the Mercians. King Erconbert died, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, leaving his kingdom to his son Egbriht, who died in July, in the ninth year of his reign, and was succeeded in the kingdom by his brother Lothere. Lothere was wounded in a battle against the South Saxons, whom Eadric, the son of Egbert, collected against him, and died while his wounds were being dressed, in the month of February, in the twelfth year of his reign. Edric, the son of his brother Egbert, succeeded to his kingdom, and reigned one year and a half. His brother Wihtred succeeded him in the kingdom, and built the church of St. Martin at Dover. King Wihtred died, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, leaving his son Aethelbert heir to his kingdom: the latter died in the thirty-sixth year of his reign; and was succeeded by his brother Eadberht, also called Pren. Kenulph, king of the Mercians, while he was ravaging Kent, took him [Eadbert] prisoner, and led him away into Mercia. Cuthred succeeded him, and died in the ninth year of his reign. He was succeeded by Baldred, who was driven from his kingdom by Ecgbert, king of the West Saxons, in the year of our Lord's incarnation, according to [the computation of] Dionisius, 823. For 368 years, down to this point, the Kentish kingdom stood; but afterwards it became subject to the West-Saxon rule.

The Origin of the Kingdom of the Kings of the East Angles.

The kingdom of the East Angles arose later than the Kentish kingdom, but before the West-Saxon kingdom. It was governed by several powerful kings, but Redwald was more powerful than any: for all the southern provinces of the Angles and Saxons, with their kings, to the confines of the river Humber, were subject to him. He slew Aethelfrid, king of the Deiri and Bernicians, in a battle in which his son Reinher was killed: and helped Eadwin, the son of Aella, to obtain the kingdom. His other son, Eorpwald, succeeded to the rule; and, with all the province, at king Eadwin's persuasion, embraced the faith of Christ. He was shortly afterwards slain in battle, by a pagan named Ricgbert: he was succeeded by Sigbert, his half-brother on the mother's side. Sigbert gave to St. Fursey, who came over to him from Ireland, a grant of land, and assigned a spot for the erection of a monastery, in a certain fortified place, called in the English language Cnobheresburh [Burgh-castle]; and afterwards he abdicated his kingdom (preferring a celestial one), and transferring it to his kinsman Ecgric, he became a monk in the monastery which he had prepared for himself. A long time afterwards, in order to encourage the soldiers, although much against his will, he was led out to battle against Penda, king of the Mercians (mindful of his profession, he would carry only a wand in his hand), and was slain, together with king Ecgric: Anna, the son of Eni, who was Redwald's brother, succeeded to their kingdom. His daughter, St. Sexburg, was married to Erconbert, the Kentish

king. St. Aethelburg, another daughter, was made abbess of the monastery of Brie [Fare-moustier en Brie] in Gaul. The third, St. Aetheldrith, first became queen of the Northumbrians, and afterwards abbess of Ely. The fourth, St. Withburg, was a nun in the same monastery [of Ely]. Their father, king Anna, was slain by Penda, king of the Mercians, leaving his brother Aethelhere heir to his kingdom. By his queen, the holy Hereswith, sister of the abbess Hild, he had two sons, named Aldwulf and Alfwold: he was slain by Oswi, in a battle against king Penda. He was succeeded by his brother Aethelwold; on whose death Aldwulf succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned for several years. After Aldwulf's death, his brother Alfwold succeeded to the government of the kingdom. During the reign of Offa, king of the Mercians, Beorna reigned in East Anglia; and after him Aethelred, who by his queen Leofruna had [a son named] Aethelbert. He held the kingdom of the East Angles for a short time only after his father, for he was slain (although he had committed no offence) by Offa, king of the Mercians, during the continuance of a treaty of peace. For the next sixty-one years, very few powerful kings reigned in East Anglia, until St. Eadmund, the last of them, obtained the supreme power, and he was martyred in the sixteenth year of his reign, by the pagan king, Hinguar.

From this time the Anglo-Saxons ceased to reign in East Anglia for nearly fifty years. For East Anglia was without a king for full nine years, being given up to the plunderings and utter devastations of the pagan Danes, who endeavoured at that time to bring all England under their sway. Afterwards the Danish king, Guthrum, reigned there, and also in nearly all East Saxony, for twelve years; and Eohric, whom the Angles slew in battle, fourteen years. Subsequently both provinces were under the tyranny of Danish earls, until king Eadward the Elder, after slaying many and compelling others to go beyond sea, received the submission of the rest, and annexed both kingdoms to the West Saxon kingdom.

East Saxony.

The kingdom of the East Saxons had its rise after the Kentish kingdom, in like manner as the kingdom of the East Angles had. Their kings were nearly always subject to other sovereigns, and oftener, and for a longer period, to the Mercian kings. Previously to Sebert, who was the nephew of Aethelbert, the Kentish king, by his sister Rigula, they were idolaters: but he, on the preaching of Mellitus, was the first to embrace the word of truth. When he departed for the heavenly kingdom, he left his sons, Sexred and Seward, who remained obstinate pagans, the heirs of his earthly kingdom. They were shortly afterwards slain in battle, by the West Saxons. They were succeeded by Sigebert, surnamed the Little, son of the said Seward. On his death, Segebert, the son of Segebald, succeeded to the government of the kingdom. On the exhortations of Oswi, king of the Northumbrians, he turned to the

faith of Christ, and was baptized in Northumbria, by bishop Finan; and in his reign the East Saxons, on the preaching of the holy bishop Cedd, received the faith which they had before rejected. After a long lapse of time, he was slain by his own relations; for he obeyed the gospel precepts, and was too indulgent to his enemies, and was wont to pass over too easily their offences against him. His brother Suithelm succeeded him in the kingdom, and was baptized in East Anglia, by the said Cedd. After his death the helm of the kingdom was taken by Sebbi, son of king Seward, who was the son of the holy king Sebert, and by Sigher, son of king Sigebert the Little. After the death of Sigher, Sebba was king: in the thirtieth year of his reign he assumed the monastic habit, at the hands of Waldher, bishop of London, and shortly afterwards died, and entered the kingdom of heaven. His sons, Sigheard and Swefred, reigned in his stead. After their deaths, Offa, the son of king Sigher, was made king. He was a most charming and graceful youth, and it was the fondest wish of all his people that he might hold and maintain the sceptre of the kingdom: by the exhortations and persuasion of the holy Kineswith, daughter of Penda, king of the Mercians, [a maiden] whom he deeply loved, he quitted his country and kingdom for the gospel's sake, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, in company with Kenred, king of the Mercians, and the holy Ecgwin, bishop of the Hwiccas: there he received the tonsure; and, ending his life in the monastic habit, attained to the vision of the blessed apostles, which he had so earnestly longed for. Selred, son of king Sigebert, succeeded him in the kingdom. He was slain in the thirty-eighth year of his reign; whereupon Suithred obtained the regal throne, and held it for several years.

After his death, but few kings reigned separately over the East Saxons. For in the same year when the Kentish kingdom came to an end, they voluntarily, and in company with the Kentish-men and the South Saxons, made submission to Ecgbert, the brave king of the West Saxons, and remained in subjection to him and his successors, until Guthrum, the Danish king, got the mastery over them. But London, with the adjacent territory, remained subject to the Mercian kings as long as they reigned.

Mercia.

The kingdom of the Mercians had its origin after the commencement of the Kentish kingdom. The Mercians, who, with their kings, were for many years idolaters, little by little extended the bounds of their kingdom. But Penda, who began to reign in the 626th year of our Lord's incarnation, according to the computation of Dionysius, extended it much further than any of his predecessors. Moreover, he slew in battle two Northumbrian kings, namely, St. Eadwin and St. Oswald, and three of the kings of the East Angles, namely, St. Sigebert, Ecgric, and Anna. His queen, Kineswith, bore him five sons, namely, Peada, Wulfer, St. Aethelred, St. Merewald, and St. Mercelm [Mercelin?], and two daughters, namely,

St. Kineburg and St. Kineswith. He reigned nearly thirty years. Oswiu, king of the Northumbrians, slew him, with thirty of his chief men, in battle, and brought his kingdom under his own sway: but to his son Peada, whom his father had made governor of the Mid-Angles, and who had been baptized in Northumbria, by bishop Finan, he gave the kingdom of the South Mercians: for he was his kinsman, having married his daughter Ahlfleda; but he was basely slain in the first year of his reign. Three years after king Penda was slain, the ealdormen of the Mercians raised his son Wulfer to the throne, and so bravely recovered their liberty and territorial limits. Wulfer was the first of the Mercian kings who received the washing of regeneration: he married St. Ermenild, daughter of Erconbert, the Kentish king, by his queen St. Sexburg, and had by her Kenred, and Wereburg, a most saintly virgin. His brother, St. Merewald, king of the West Hecanas, married St. Ermenberg, daughter of the petty king Ermenred, brother of the said king Erconbert, and by her had three daughters, namely, St. Milburg, St. Mildrith, and St. Mildgith, and one son, St. Merefinn. On Merewald's death, Mercelin his brother reigned in his stead. Alfrid, king of the Northumbrians, married their sister Kineburg. Her piety towards God induced her to abandon the nuptial bed, and she became a nun in the monastery which her brothers, Wulfer and Aethelred, built for her, and which was called after her, "Kineburga's Castle:" her sister Kineswith also became a nun in the same monastery. King Wulfer died in the seventeenth year of his reign. He was succeeded by his brother, St. Aethelred, who married Ostrith, sister of Ecgfrid, king of the Northumbrians, and by her had a son, named Ceolred. Aethelred became a monk, in the thirtieth year of his reign, and gave up his kingdom to his nephew, Kenred. Kenred abandoned secular affairs, in the fifth year of his reign, and went to Rome, where he ended his days in the monastic habit. He was succeeded by Ceolred, son of his uncle Aethelred, who died in the ninth year of his reign. Aethelbald, the son of Alwi, who was the son of Eova, who was the brother of king Penda, succeeded him. The tyrant Beornred slew him at Seggeswald, in the forty-first year of his reign, and usurped his kingdom. The king's corpse was carried to Rheopedun, and royally buried. In the same year his cousin Offa, grandson of Eanulf, and son of Thingferth, slew the usurper Beornred in battle, and reigned in his stead. Offa's queen, Kinethrith, bore him two daughters; to wit, Eadburg, who married Brihtric, king of the West Saxons, and Alfrith, who remained a virgin, and one son, named Ecgferth. He died in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Ecgferth, who died in the same year. To Ecgferth succeeded the glorious Kenulf, the son of Cuthbert, who was grandson of the grandson of the grandson of king Pybba. By his queen, Alftrith, he had St. Kenelm, and two daughters, named Quendrith and Burgenild. He died in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and lies buried at Wincelcumb: he left his son, St. Kenelm, heir to his kingdom, who was murdered in the same year by the treacherous arts of his sister Quendrith. His uncle Ceolulf succeeded him; but

two years afterwards was expelled, and Beornulf took possession of the kingdom. After the lapse of two years, Beornulf was slain in battle by the East Angles. His kinsman Ludecan succeeded him; but, two years afterwards, was slain by the East Angles, while he was endeavouring to avenge his predecessor.

Wiglaf succeeded Ludecan in the kingdom. His queen, Kinedrith, bore him a son named Wigmund, who had a son named Wistan, by Aelfled, daughter of Ceolulf, king of the Mercians. King Wiglaf died in the thirteenth year of his reign, and lies buried at Rheopedun: Beorhtwlf succeeded him. Beorhtwlf's queen, Saethrith, bore him a son named Beorhtferth, who slew St. Wistan. Wistan's body was carried to the monastery of Rheopedun, which was very celebrated in those days, and was buried there in the mausoleum of his grandfather, king Wiglaf. Heavenly wonders were not wanting at the place of his martyrdom: for from the spot where he was murdered, in his innocence, a column of light shot up to heaven, and remained visible to all the neighbourhood for thirty days. King Beorhtwlf died in the thirteenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by Burhred, who married Aethelsuith, daughter of Aethelulf, king of the West Saxons. In the twenty-second year of his reign an army of pagan Danes expelled him from his kingdom: he shortly afterwards went to Rome, where he did not long survive, and lies buried in St. Mary's church, in the Saxon School. In the same year that Burhred was driven from his kingdom, the pagan Danes committed the temporary government of the Mercian kingdom to his thane, Ceolulf: but after three years they divided part thereof among themselves, and gave part to him, permitting him to reign over it: he was the last of the kings of the Mercians. After his death, Alfred, king of the West Saxons, in order that he might utterly expel the army of pagan Danes from his kingdom, recovered London and the adjacent territory by his bravery, and obtained possession of that part of the Mercian kingdom which Ceolulf had held.

The origin of the Kingdom of the Kings of the Bernicii.

In the year 547 of our Lord's incarnation, according to the computation of Dionysius, Ida, the son of a very valiant chief, named Eoppa, began to reign in Bernicia. By his queens he had six sons, named Adda, Bealric, Theodric, Aethelric, Osmear, and Theodher: and by his concubines, six others, named Occa, Alric, Ecca, Oswald, Sogor, and Sogother: and he reigned twelve years. His eldest son Adda succeeded him.

The commencement of the Kingdom of the Kings of the Deiri.

In the 559th year of our Lord's incarnation, according to the computation of Dionysius, Aella, the son of a very valiant chieftain named Iffi, began to reign in Deira, and he reigned for nearly thirty years. Meanwhile, and during Aella's lifetime, the following kings reigned over the Bernicians: Adda, the eldest son

of Ida, for seven years; Clappa, for five years; Theodulf, for one year; Freothulf, for seven years; Theodoric, for seven years; and Aethelric for two years. On Aella's death Aethelric expelled his son Edwin, then three years old, from the kingdom, and reigned over both provinces for the space of five years. On his death, his son Aethelfrid took the helm of the kingdom. His queen, Acha, a daughter of king Aella, bore him seven sons, namely, Eanfrid, Oslaf, Oslac, St. Oswald the king, king Oswiu, Offa, and Oswudu; and one daughter, namely the holy abbess Aebba. His brother, Theodbald, was slain in a battle wherein he conquered Aidan, king of the Scots. And he too was slain in battle by Redwald, king of the East Angles, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. He was succeeded by St. Edwin, the son of Aella. To him, while in exile, Quenburg, daughter of Creoda, king of the Mercians, bore two sons, named Osfrith and Eadfrith, the latter of whom had a son, named Hereric, who had by Beorhtsuith two daughters, namely, the holy abbess Hild, foundress of the monastery called Streoneshalh [Whitby], and St. Hereswith, queen of the East Angles. By his queen, St. Aethelburg, daughter of Aethelbert, the Kentish king, he had two sons, namely, St. Aethelhun and St. Wuscfrea, and two daughters, namely, St. Eanfleda and St. Aetheldrith. In the seventeenth year of his reign, and the forty-eighth year of his age, he and his son Osfrid were slain by Penda, the pagan king of the Mercians, and Ceadwala, the barbarian king of the Welsh. He [Edwin] was succeeded by St. Oswald, son of his predecessor, Aethelfrid, and his sister Acha. In the ninth year of his reign, Oswald was slain by the aforesaid Penda, king of the Mercians, and was succeeded by his brother Oswiu. In the ninth year of Oswiu's reign, St. Oswin, the son of Osric, who was the son of Alfric, who was the uncle of king Edwin, began to reign over the Deiri, and was slain in the seventh year of his reign. He [Oswin] was succeeded by Aethelwald, son of king Oswald. By his queen, Eanfleda, who was a daughter of king Edwin, king Oswiu had two sons, Ecgfrid and Aelfwin, and three daughters, namely, Osthrith, whom St. Aethelred, king of the Mercians married; and Alhfleda, married to Peada, king of the South Mercians; and Alfleda, whom her father dedicated to God as an offering of thanksgiving, after Penda, king of the Mercians, was slain: for three years he ruled over the Mercian and other southern provinces. He died in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, leaving his son Ecgfrid heir to his kingdom. Ecgfrid was slain by the Picts, in the fifteenth year of his reign. His brother Alhfrid succeeded him, and died in the twentieth year of his reign. Alhfrid was succeeded by his son Osred, who was slain in the eleventh year of his reign. Osred was succeeded by Kenred, the son of Cuthwin, who was grandson of a grandson of king Ida; after two years he died, and Osric was made king. Osric died in the eleventh year of his reign, and Ceoluulf, his predecessor's brother, succeeded. Ceoluulf became a monk in the ninth year of his reign, leaving the government of the kingdom to his nephew, Eadbriht, son of Eata. Eadbriht became monk in the nineteenth [twenty-ninth] year of his reign, and his son Oswlf was made king;

who after reigning one year was slain by the Northumbrians. Moll Aethelwald succeeded; but in the seventh year of his reign he abdicated the kingdom, and Alhred, the son of Eanwin, grandson of a grandson of a grandson of king Ida, succeeded to the kingdom. Him the Northumbrians expelled from the kingdom in the ninth year of his reign, and raised to the throne Aethelred, also called Aethelbert, son of king Moll. The Northumbrians deposed Aethelred in the fifth year of his reign, and made Alfwold king, who was slain the eleventh year of his reign by a very powerful man, named Siga. On the spot where he was slain,

"Sent down from heaven, a light resplendent shone."

He was succeeded in the kingdom by his nephew Osred, son of Alhred; after the space of a year the Northumbrians expelled him also, and took back king Aethelbert whom they had previously deposed. He being slain by his subjects, Osbald succeeded to the kingdom, and held it for a few days: he was succeeded by Eardulf, who reigned for one year.

For the next seventy-six years, the country was governed by kings, of whom Osbriht and Aella were the last; these, in the 867th year of our Lord's incarnation, according to the computation of Dionysius, were slain at York by pagans, consisting of Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Goths, and people of other nations. From this year, the Anglian kings, who had reigned for three hundred and twenty-one years in Northumbria, ceased to reign there for fifty-one years. And they remained for the space of eight years without a king, pillaged by, and in bondage to the said pagans. For during that period, St. Eadmund, king of the East Angles, being slain, and Burhred, king of the Mercians, being driven beyond sea, and their kingdoms brought under the Danish sway, and Alfred, king of the West Saxons, being nearly ruined, and the greater part of his kingdom being overrun, these Danes kept marching through and sailing round England, and were continually burning monasteries with the monks and nuns therein, and churches with the clerks thereof, and cities, towns, and vills, laying waste the fields, and slaughtering the inhabitants. Nor is this to be wondered at, for so powerful and numerous an army neither previously nor afterwards came to England. It was commanded by eight kings, namely, Bagseg, Halfdene, Hynguar, Hubba, Guthrum, Oskitell, Amund, and Eowils, and more than twenty earls, and was furnished with a great variety of weapons. Whoever wishes to become acquainted with the atrocities of all these, will find them set down seriatim and at large in the Chronicle of Chronicles: in this tract we have been careful to insert only the more important events. It only remains to be observed that Aethelstan, the glorious king of the West Saxons, was the first of the Anglo-Saxons who was sole monarch of all England; he became so in the 926th year of our Lord's incarnation, according to the computation of Dionysius, and the 477th year from the arrival of the Angles in Britain; he was crowned king of England, and was universally acknowledged as ruler of all Britain.

The Genealogy of the Kings of the West Saxons.

The English Chronicle states that in the 519th year from our Lord's incarnation, according to the computation of Dionysius, Cerdic and his son Kenric began to reign in West Saxony; Cerdic died in the sixteenth year of his reign, and Kenric became sole king: he died in the thirty-sixth [26th] year of his reign. His son Ceaulin succeeded and reigned thirty-three years. Ceol, who was his brother Cuthwlf's son, and whom he had made king under him two years previously, ungratefully rebelled against him [Ceaulin], and having expelled him from his kingdom, reigned for five years in his stead. After Ceol's death, Ceolulf, the son of Cutha, succeeded to the kingdom, and died in the fourteenth year of his reign. He was succeeded by Kinegils, son of his brother Ceol: he was the first of the kings of the West Saxons who received christian baptism, doing so with all his people in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, at the hands of St. Birin, the first bishop of the West Saxons: king Quichelm, his son, died in the following year, having been baptized by the same bishop. King Kinegils died in the thirty-first year of his reign, and his son Coenwalch succeeded to the government of the kingdom. Coenwalch was baptized in East Anglia by St. Felix, first bishop of the East Angles: he built the church at Winchester, where the episcopal see is, and died in the thirty-first year of his reign. His queen, Sexburg, reigned after him for the space of one year. Then Kenfus reigned for two years, so says king Alfred: but the English Chronicle says that his son Aescwin reigned for nearly three years after him. Then came Kentwin, son of king Kinegils, and he died in the eighth year of his reign. He was succeeded by Cead-walla the son of Kenbriht, who was a great-grandson of Ceaulin: for Christ's sake,

> "Leaving soon afterwards his earthly realm,
> He went to Rome, the holy papal see;
> By Sergius wash'd in baptism's sacred stream,
> He, full of faith, adopted Peter's name,
> Died, clad in sacred alb, and so reach'd heaven."

Ina, son of the subregulus Kenred, who was grandchild of a grandchild of king Ceaulin, succeeded him in the kingdom, and built Glastonbury;

> "Then the king spurn'd away his royal pomp
> From love to God his sovereign,—went to Rome,
> And dying holily, rests there in peace."

He had a brother named Ingels, and two sisters, namely, St. Cuthburg and St. Quenberg. Ina was succeeded in the kingdom by Aethelhard, who was descended from king Cerdic, and died in the fourteenth year of his reign. His relation Cuthred succeeded him, and died in the fifteenth year of his reign. Cuthred was succeeded by Sigebert, son of the subregulus Sigeric, who reigned for one year. Kineuulf, a descendant of king Cerdic, drove Sigeric from the kingdom and reigned in his stead. Kinehard, the etheling, who was son of Sigeric, and brother of Sigebert, slew

Kinewulf in the thirtieth year of his reign. Brihtric, a descendant of king Cerdic, succeeded, and died in the fifteenth year of his reign. He was succeeded by Ecgbert, son of the subregulus Alhmund, grandson of a grandson of king Ina; Ecgbert died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Aethelulf. He among his other laudable deeds, ordered three hundred mancuses of denarii to be taken every year to Rome, one hundred whereof were in honour of St. Peter, for the purpose of purchasing oil to fill all the lamps of his church on Easter-even, and also at cock-crowing; one hundred in honour of St. Paul for a like purpose, and one hundred mancuses for the catholic and apostolic pope. Moreover he exonerated a tenth part of his whole kingdom from all royal service and tribute, and dedicated it to the Triune God for the redemption of his own soul and those of his predecessors. After his death and burial at Winchester, his son Aethelbald succeeded to the kingdom, and died in the third year of his reign. His brother Aethelbert succeeded him and reigned for five years. After him his brother Aethelred reigned for eight [five?] years. During his reign Aella and Osbriht, kings of the Northumbrians, and St. Eadmund, king of the East Angles, were slain by the pagan Danes, who took possession of their kingdoms. On Aethelred's death his brother Alfred succeeded. Alfred was the most elegant of the Saxon poets, most watchful in the service of God, and most discreet in carrying out the judgments of his courts of law. He was sent to Rome by his father Aethelulf, and was anointed king by pope Leo the fourth. By his queen Ealsuith he had two sons, named Eadward and Aethelward, and three daughters, namely, Aethelfled, lady of the Mercians, Aethelgeova, a nun, and Aelftrith. In the third year of his reign, Burhred, king of the Mercians, was driven from his kingdom by the aforesaid Danes. King Alfred died in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Eadward. By his queen Eadgiva, Eadward had three sons, namely, Eadwin, Eadmund, and Eadred: and St. Eadburg and three other daughters, of whom Otto, emperor of the Romans, married one, Charles, king of the Western Franks, another, and Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, the third. His first-born son Aethelstan, was by Egwina, a lady of very high birth. He reigned over all the provinces of England as far as the river Humber. The Welsh kings submitted to him, and afterwards the kings of the Scots, Northumbrians, and Stretwadali [Strathclyde Britons]. On his death his son Aethelstan succeeded to the kingdom; after whom his brother Eadmund reigned, and by his queen St. Alfgiva had two sons, namely, Eadwi and Eadgar. Eadmund being horribly murdered in his palace, his brother Eadred succeeded to the kingdom, and died in the tenth year of his reign. Eadwi, his brother Eadmund's son, succeeded, and died in the fourth year of his reign. By Eneda, a lady of noble birth, he had St. Eadward, by St. Wulfrith he had St. Eadgitha, and by his queen Alftrith he had two sons, Eadmund and Aethelred. In the fourth year of his reign the canons were by his orders expelled from the

old monastery at Winchester by St. Aethelwold, and from Worcester by St. Oswald, and monks were substituted. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign, leaving his son Eadward heir to his kingdom. Eadward was murdered in the third year of his reign by order of his step-mother Alftrith, and his brother Aethelred succeeded him in the kingdom. By Alfgiva, daughter of Agilbert the ealdorman, Aethelred had three sons, Eadmund, Eadwi, and Aethelstan, and a daughter named Eadgith. By Emma, daughter of Richard, earl of the Normans, he had two sons, Alfred and Eadward. He died in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. He was succeeded by his son Eadmund, who had two sons named Eadmund and Eadward, by a certain woman of noble descent; but he perished in the same year through the treachery of Edric Streona. After his death Canut, son of Swayne, king of the Danes, (who had invaded England with a great fleet seven months previous to the death of king Aethelred,) succeeded to the kingdom and banished the aforesaid sons of king Eadmund. One of them, to wit, Eadmund, died in Hungary while yet a boy; but Eadward married Agatha, daughter of the German emperor, Henry the Third, by whom he had Margaret, queen of the Scots, the virgin Christiana, and Eadgar the etheling. King Canut died in the nineteenth year of his reign, having made Hardecanut, his son by queen Emma, king of Denmark. Harold, his son by Alfgiva of Southampton, succeeded him in England, and died in the fifth year after his father's death. His brother Hardecanut succeeded him, and died in the third year of his reign. To him succeeded Eadward, his brother by the mother's side, and son of king Aethelred. Eadward, king of the English, died in the twenty-third year of his reign. By virtue of a disposition made by Eadward he was succeeded by earl Harold, son of Godwin, earl of the West Saxons, by Githa, sister of Sweyn, king of the Danes, who was father of the holy martyr Canut; by his queen Aldgitha, who was a daughter of earl Alfgar, he had a son named Harold; he was slain in battle in the same year by William, earl of the Normans, who succeeded him in the kingdom. By his queen Matilda, William had three sons, namely, Rotbert, William, and Henry; he died in Normandy in the twenty-first year of his reign. He was succeeded by his son William, who died childless in the thirteenth year of his reign, being struck by an arrow in the New Forest in the province of the Jutes. He was succeeded in the kingdom by his younger brother Henry. By his queen Matilda, Henry had a son named William, and a daughter named Matilda, who was first empress of the Romans, and was afterwards made countess of Anjou.

Concerning the Kentish Kingdom.

The Kentish kings reigned separately in Kent; it contains the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the bishopric of Rochester.

Concerning the West Saxon Kingdom.

The kings of the West Saxons reigned over Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Dorsetshire; (these shires are under one bishop, whose see was formerly at Ramesbury, or at Sherborne, but is now at Salisbury;) in Sussex, which had a separate king for a short time, (the episcopal see of this province was in ancient times at Selsey, an island in the midst of the sea, as Beda tells us, where St. Wilfrid built a monastery; but the bishop now has his residence at Chichester,) and in the provinces of Southampton and Surrey; (these have one bishop, whose see is at Winchester;) and in Somersetshire (the bishopric whereof was formerly at Wells, but now at Bath,) and in Domnania, called Devonshire, and in Cornubia, now called Cornwall, formerly these had two bishoprics, one at Crediton and the other at St. German; but now there is only one, the see whereof is at Exeter.

Concerning the Mercian Kingdom.

The Mercian king had dominion over the following districts, viz: Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, (these have one bishop, whose see is at Worcester;) Chester province, Derbyshire and Staffordshire, (these have one bishop, who has jurisdiction over part of Warwickshire and Shropshire, and whose see was formerly at Lichfield, but now at Chester or Coventry;) Herefordshire (the bishop whereof has jurisdiction over half of Shropshire, and part of Warwickshire, and Gloucestershire, and has his see at Hereford); Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, half of Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, (over these is a bishop, whose see formerly was at Dorchester, but is now at Lincoln;) Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire; the spiritual care of these two last belongs to the archbishop of York; they formerly had a separate bishop, whose see was at Chester.

Concerning the East Anglian Kingdom.

The kings of the East Angles ruled over Cambridgeshire, which has a bishop whose see is at Ely, and over Norfolk and Suffolk, which have a bishop whose see is at Norwich, but was formerly at Helmam or Thetford.

Concerning the East Saxon Kingdom.

The kings of the East Saxons had dominion over Essex and half of Hertfordshire; the bishop of London had and has jurisdiction there.

Concerning the Northumbrian Kingdom.

The kings of the Northumbrians had dominion over all the region on the other side of the river Humber, as far as Scotland: in it were the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Hexham,

Ripon, Lindisfarn, and Whit-herne: the bishoprics of Hexham and Ripon no longer exist, and that of Lindisfarne has been transferred to Durham.

These were the divisions of the different kingdoms, although in the vicissitudes of fortune sometimes one king extended his dominions by his valour, while others lost portions of theirs by their incapacity.

Concerning the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

The archbishop of Canterbury had formerly these bishops under him, viz. the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, Sherborne, Worcester, Hereford, Lichfield, Selsey, Chester, Helmam, Sidnacester, and Dunwich: in the time of king Eadward the elder there were added those of Cornwall, Crediton, and Wells, in West Saxony, and of Dorchester in Mercia. The archbishop of York had under his jurisdiction all the bishops beyond the Humber, viz. the bishops of Ripon, Hexham, Lindisfarne, Candida Casa, now Witerne [Whit-herne], and all the bishops of Scotland and the Orkney islands; in the same manner as the archbishop of Canterbury has jurisdiction over the bishops of Ireland and Wales. Hostile invasions long ago put an end to the bishoprics of Ripon and Hexham: those of Chester, Sidnacester, and Dunwich have ceased, I know not how. In the time of king Eadward the simple, those of Cornwall and Crediton were formed into one, which was transferred to Exeter. Under king William the Bastard it was ordered in council that the bishops should leave their vills and fix their sees in the cities of their dioceses. So the bishop of Lichfield migrated to Chester, formerly called the City of the Legions; the bishop of Selsey to Chichester; the bishop of Helmam to Thetford first, and then to Norwich; the bishop of Sherborne to Salisbury; the bishop of Dorchester to Lincoln: the bishop of Lindisfarne long ago shifted to Durham, and the bishop of Wells only lately to Bath.

Concerning the Bishops' Seats in the Council.

When the archbishop of Canterbury presides at a council, let the archbishop of York be on his right hand, and next him the bishop of Winchester, and let the bishop of London be on his left. But if, in consequence of the death of the primate of Canterbury, the archbishop of York preside at the council, then let him have the bishop of London on his right hand, and the bishop of Winchester on his left. Let the others take their seats according to the times of their ordinations.

THE END OF THE APPENDIX TO FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

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